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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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ERRORS IN LAST REGISTER.

- p. 770. Five lines from bottom, read *early rising*, and not "early hours."
 p. 771. First line, second paragraph, read *far*, and not "for other matter."
 p. 798. Last line, first paragraph, *docks* and not "dark."
 p. 799. Read Right Honourable *ruiner*, and not "minor."
 Same page, last line, read *dead-match*, and not "death match."

Manchester, 27th Dec 1831.

HAVING received the Bishop's Prayer and Charles's Rescript at Birmingham, I felt bold, as Jonathan says, clapped them into my side-pocket, as near to my heart as possible, and on I came to face the cholera morbus. I arrived at Manchester on Wednesday, the 21st December; on Friday evening I met a committee of clever, public-spirited men, who are making preparations for those measures which are necessary to the curing of me to be elected a member for this town. I was very much pleased with the conduct of these gentlemen, generally young men, and I was particularly pleased at the absence of those things which indicate a love of drink. I should despair not only of effecting any good myself, but also of seeing any good effected by any-body else, if I had been invited to a committee engaged in this business, showing a fondness for that species of indulgence which is at once the disgrace and the ruin of every cause into which it at all intrudes itself. To these gentlemen, I, shortly, yet explicitly, stated my views with regard to the duties which would impose themselves upon a member of a reformed Parliament, and also

with regard to the line of conduct which I intended to pursue relative to matters connected with the election, whenever it should take place, at Manchester.

This, however, was not all that it became me to do, having come two hundred miles from London, and in the face of the cholera morbus. In short, it was determined by myself, as well as by friends here, that I should give six LECTURES, at the Minor Theatre in this town, on the 26th of December and the five succeeding evenings; in order that I might, in person, from my own lips, and in the hearing of the inhabitants of this great scene of industry and seat of intelligence, maintain the truth, the soundness, the justice, the necessity, and the easy practicability of the THIRTEEN PROPOSITIONS which I put forth some time ago addressed to the reformers of Manchester, and which gave such great offence to old SERJEANT BEST, and to LORDS FALMOUTH, CARNARVON, and LYNDBURST. Accordingly, upon last evening I gave the first lecture, of which I am now about to insert a report, as correct as my memory will enable me to make it. These are called lectures, though they are in fact *speeches*. To give the exact words is what I by no means pretend to do. The substance is all that can be interesting to the reader, and that I shall give with tolerable correctness. My intention is to publish all these six lectures in the *Register* successively, one week after another. My readers will then have before them, not only a clear statement of my intentions and my resolution with regard to my own conduct, as connected with this reform; but they will also be in full possession of the motives by which I am actuated and of the grounds upon which I proceed. In short, these lectures, when completed, will form my declaration to the country; my declaration to the people and to the peers and the King (if they think it worth while to attend to it), of what SHALL BE

DONE, or, at any rate, attempted to be done, if I have a seat in the House of Commons in the reformed Parliament. And, now, having given the history of these lectures, I shall here insert a report of the first of them.

MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE I.

26th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN OF MANCHESTER,

I AM here for the purpose of maintaining, in the presence and hearing of the inhabitants of the most intelligent town in the kingdom, those propositions which I some time ago put forth in an address to the reformers of this town who had sent to me an expression of their intention to put me in nomination as a member of Parliament, whenever the Reform Bill should give them the power of choosing one. Upon an occasion of so much importance to the country, as well as to myself, I thought it necessary to state, in the most distinct manner, the terms upon which I would undertake the honourable, yet arduous task which had been tendered to me. These terms I stated in thirteen propositions, to which I now add another, making fourteen propositions. and I am now here to submit to you, with the greatest respect and deference, that statement of facts and those arguments which occurred to my mind when I put forth the propositions; and which, when submitted to you, will, I trust, convince you of the reasonableness, the justice, the necessity, and the practicability of the measures propounded in those propositions; which, with your permission, I will now read to you.

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.
2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and

artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the sea-ports in a state of readiness for war; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.

3. To make the counties, each according to its whole number of members of parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods; so that at any time, a hundred thousand efficient men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.
4. To abolish tithes of every description; to leave to the clergy the churches, the church-yards, the parsonage houses, and the *ancient* glebes; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.
5. To take all the rest of the property, commonly called church-property; all the houses, lands, manors, tolls, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown-estates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the Debt which the late parliaments contracted with the fundholders.
6. To cease, during the first six months after June, 1832, to pay interest on a fourth part of the debt; second six months, to cease to pay interest on another fourth; and so on for the other two fourths; so that no more interest, or any part of the debt, would be paid after the end of two years.
7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5, and also in paragraph No. 2, in due proportion, on principles of

equity, amongst the owners of what is called *stock*, or, in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late parliaments, and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, nothing beyond these proceeds.

8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.
9. To abolish *all internal taxes* (except on the land), whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description; and to impose such a postage-charge for letters as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.
10. To lay just as much custom-house duty on importations as shall be found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.
11. To make effectual provision, in every department, for the maintenance of a powerful navy; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to the seaman as to render impressment wholly unnecessary; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and re-open the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough; to abolish all military *Orders*, and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.
12. To make a legal, a *fixed*, and a generous allowance to the King, and, through him, to all the branches and members of his fa-

mily; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as land-owners have over their estates; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purloin from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment; so that he may be, in all respects, what the Chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.

13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county on the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or, rather, payment, not more than *four hundred pounds* a year in any one county; to make the rate and amount of this tax vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.
14. To cause the PROTESTANT HIERARCHY to be legally repealed and abolished in Ireland; and to cause the Parliament of the whole kingdom to hold its sessions, and the King to hold his Court in IRELAND once in every three years; and to cause the same to take place in the city of YORK once in every three years, and also in the city of SALISBURY, once in every three years.

I am well aware, gentlemen, that, upon hearing these propositions read, many will be disposed to exclaim "What a visionary this man must be!" I am well aware of this: but, it is a great change which we want: something very great must be done; and, as to the propositions being visionary, are they more visionary than the man would have been

deemed, who, thirty or forty years ago, should have predicted many things of which we now behold the sad reality? The fourteenth proposition will, I dare say, appear to many more visionary than all the rest; but, let some one then, even that sensible Lord Althorp, who has recently been engaged in so dignified a correspondence with certain persons in this county, tell us WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH IRELAND, which, you will please to observe, is far too great to be treated as if it were insignificant; and with regard to which the Ministers know not what to do, any more than I should be able to obey an order to take this house and fling it into the air. However, my reasons for proposing these measures with respect to Ireland, I shall have hereafter fully to state.

As to the propositions being visionary, if any person had, thirty years ago, predicted that we should, in the year 1831, see a half-military police established in England; dressed in uniform, and in numbers so great as to constitute a real army, formed into companies and battalions, put under leaders with military titles, marching rank and file: in short, if any one had told me, thirty years ago, that I should live to see a Bourbon *gendarmerie* established in London, with a *lieutenant de police*, together with all the rest of these things, for which, from my childhood, I had been taught to hold the Bourbons in contempt and abhorrence; if any man had told me this in the year 1800, I should have deemed him a visionary indeed; I should have turned from him as a person unworthy of attention. Yet, we have seen this horrid thing come to pass; and we have seen a hundred English parishes burdened enormously for the maintenance of this army; burdened much more than for the maintenance of the poor. If, only a very few years before the late war, some one had predicted that there would be established in England a standing army of 100,000 men; nay, if some one had predicted during the last war, at the time when Pitt was promising us a peace that should give us indemnity for the past and security for the future, and calling upon us to make sa-

crifices of all sorts, in order to ensure the attainment of these objects; if, at that time, some one had said, "the peace will bring you neither indemnity nor security; you will have to maintain a regular army of 100,000 men, besides 10,000 Bourbon *gendarmerie*; you will have to maintain what they will call a dead weight, which shall surpass, in expense annually, the whole revenue of this happy kingdom at the time when his present Majesty was born; you will find this, indeed, a very lively weight, though called a dead one, and find it singularly prolific; though dead, it will breed exceedingly; you will have to maintain the widows and the children of the men, and lest the burden should cease, at some time or other, the old men will be allowed to sell their half-pay to young men, which these young men may repeat when they become old, and thus the burden will remain stack upon your children's children."

If, I say, any one had foretold this at the time when Pitt was promising indemnity for the past and security for the future, and was making this credulous nation believe that the monstrous sacrifices which it was making during the war would lead to a peace that would enable every man to sit under his own vine and his own fig tree, without any one to make him afraid: if at that time any one had told the nation that this standing army, this *gendarmerie* and this dead-weight, would be the result of the war, he would have been prosecuted as a stirrer-up of sedition, or pitied as a maniac. Yet we have seen these things, and see them yet; we have found them to be no vision, but a cruel reality, under which we are writhing. If any one had at that time foretold that the peace establishment, military and naval, would cost the nation a great deal more annually than the annual cost of army and navy during the war with the revolted states of America, when England had not only to carry on a war against those states, but against France, Spain, and Holland, at the same time; if any one had foretold this at that time, he would

have been treated as a visionary; yet such is the case, and the annual expense of army and navy, at the end of sixteen years of peace, exceeds that of any year of war against the revolted states of America, including the war against the three great countries before-mentioned; a fact which, of itself, is more than sufficient to convince any sensible man that this system must be totally changed, before any one can hope to see real peace and prosperity in England.

If, forty-five years ago, any one had told Mr. ELMAN, a very celebrated farmer in Sussex, who gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1821, and who told that committee, that when he began business as a farmer, *every man in the parish* brewed his own beer, and drank it with his family by his own fire-side; and that NOW (in 1821) not one single man in that parish did it, except a servant or two of his own to whom he gave the malt as a present. If any one had, at the time when Mr. Elman began business as a farmer, told him, that before his farming would be over, he would see the people of his parish become so miserable as hardly to know the taste of beer, and to be compelled to drink water and eat potatoes, he would have turned from the prophet with disgust: visionary would have been an appellation much too mild to be applied to such a person, yet this horrid state of things has come to pass; and this state of things we must change, or else Parliamentary Reform will be a mockery and a delusion.

One more instance, not going so far back. If, in the memorable year 1817, when the bankers and merchants of London, with their surprisingly wise Lord Mayor at their head, were assembled in what they call their Mansion-house, to address the King, and petition the Parliament, in approbation of the Power of Imprisonment Bill, and the Dungeon Bill, and the Gagging Bill, as being means absolutely necessary to put down those turbulent men, who, under pretence of seeking reform of Parliament, were, in fact, seeking to accomplish the treasonable design of overthrowing our happy constitution in

church and state; if, at that time, when a reformer could not move without a bayonet being presented at his breast, or a halter being shaken in his face; if, at that time, the wise men of Gotham, being so assembled as aforesaid, to express their unshaken attachment to things as they were, and their resolution to use all the means in their power to put down and annihilate those seditious men who were crying for Parliamentary Reform; if some one had stepped into the Mansion-house, and had just said, "My Lord Mayor, it will be better not to issue these declarations; for, in just fourteen years from this day, these very bankers and merchants of London, will meet in this very place, and will send forth addresses to the King, in which they will bully the Lords for not consenting to a Parliamentary Reform much more extensive than that which would satisfy the present reformers!"—"Turn him out!"—"Knock him down!"—"He's a parson!"—Something of this sort would have taken place to a certainty; the bankers and merchants of London, not being remarkable for their forbearance, when they possess power, and when their adversary is feeble. Yet, we have seen even this take place; and, in that very Mansion-house, we have heard speeches against the Lords, and particularly against the Bishops, more inflammatory than any where else.

Therefore, gentleman, I am not to be deterred by the imputation of visionary as applied to me on account of those propositions, which I shall suffer still to be called visionary if any one choose so to call them, but I am perfectly satisfied that the measures which they describe must be adopted, or that the reform which is talked of will be a contemptible delusion. A great many people mistake the Reform Bill for reform itself; and a very great mistake it is. The Reform Bill furnishes the means of making the reform. A reform means a *change for the better*; and, in this case, the change must be very great to be of any use at all. A great many people seem to imagine, or, at least, they act as if they imagined, that th

sound of reform would be sufficient, without any proceedings to produce a change in the state of the country. The Ministers themselves appear to be amongst these persons; for you never hear from their lips any-thing seeming to indicate that they look upon it as necessary that some great change should take place in the manner of managing the affairs of the country. Yet, if some great change do not take place, in this respect, I am perfectly convinced that the passing of the Reform Bill would lead to disappointment and discontent, such as must plunge the country into utter confusion. Does any one believe that the mere *sound* of the word *Reform* will quiet the country? That, when the trader, who feels the work of ruin still proceeding, is told, in order to pacify him, not to complain *now*, for that we have *got reform*: does any one think, that that will make him submit to his ruin without further complaint? When the hungry and angry half-starved labourers complain of their sufferings, and are ready to break out into acts of violence will they be quieted by telling them, that they must not complain *now*, for that we have *got reform*; will they, at the sound of that word, cease to harbour vindictive thoughts relative to those whom they deem their oppressors? Oh, no! the reform must be something more than a *bill*, something more than a bit of printed paper; it must, to be productive of harmony, cause something to be done to *better the state of the people*; and, in order to do this, it must produce, and quickly too, not only a change in the management of the affairs of the country, but a *very great change*. When a man is brought by his extravagance to the verge of insolvency; when, having been puffed up by *Pitt's paper*, and pulled down by *Peel's bill*, he sees bankruptcy staring him in the face, it is not savings in the articles of salt and pepper that will rescue him from his embarrassments. Oh, no! the turtle, the wine, the coach, the horses, the footmen and grooms and lady's maids must go, and even the house, the fine house itself, and the pianos and the music-masters, must all disappear. The

word economy will not keep such a man out of the Gazette. It must be real economy: there must be 20*l.* a year given for a house to live in instead of a *thousand*; otherwise the word economy is a delusion.

Such is our case now. If the *Reform Bill* be to leave the system of sway that which it now is; if the same sort of management of our affairs be to go on after that bill shall have passed, as is going on now; and really, to judge from the language of the Ministers, one would say that *they contemplate no change*; if the *tithes* and *taxes* be still to remain such as they now are; if a Bourbon gendarmerie be still to dog our steps, and stop us when they like at any hour of the day and night; if the Englishmen, who do all the work, be still doomed to live on potatoes and water, while those who take from them the fruit of their labour, are living on all the choice products of the earth; if Englishmen and women be still harnessed and made to draw like beasts of burden; if a reformed Parliament cannot find the means of protecting the *dead bodies* of the working poor, while such ample means are found for protecting the dead body of a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge; then, indeed, the bishops could right in opposing the Reform Bill; for a greater delusion, a greater fraud, never was attempted to be practised on any part of mankind. Let me stop here, gentlemen, to request your particular attention to this matter relating to the want of law to protect the dead-bodies of the working-people. You all know, or, at least, every Englishman ought to know, that for an unqualified person to have in his possession, the body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, was a few months back, a *crime*, punishable by fine or imprisonment; that to have in his possession *wires*, or other implements, for taking any of these wild animals, is still a *crime*, punishable in the same manner; that, to be out in the night *in pursuit of*, and seeking after, the bodies of either of these wild animals, and carrying with him the implements wherewith to take or kill them, is still a *crime*, punishable with *transport-*

ation for seven years, and this punishment may be inflicted, too, and has been, and is, frequently inflicted without the sanction of a *judge*, and at the sole discretion and pleasure of the justices in quarter-sessions, who, as you well know, are the game-preservers themselves. Yet those who could, and so recently, too, pass over this last-mentioned law, and those new and "*liberal*" members who have been able to sit quietly, and say not a word about this law for transporting men for making free with the bodies of wild animals, which, according to Blackstone, are the property of no man, and which belong in common to all men; those who could make and so vigilantly enforce this law, cannot, for the lives and souls of them, find out the means of passing a law to protect the bodies, *alive or dead*, of the working-people; other than that of making it lawful to *sell their bodies when dead*, to be cut up and cast away like the bodies of murderers or traitors.

Gentlemen, from every-thing that I have ever heard here in the North, and particularly in this town, I believe, that if the horrible bill to which I have just alluded had become a law, that law would have never been acted upon by the parochial authorities of Manchester. I nope that the same would generally have been the case; but I have no scruple to say, that an attempt to enforce the law in any of the agricultural counties would have produced open and desperate rebellion. Judge you, gentlemen, of the feelings of the country people on this subject, when I tell you that there are *clubs* in the country parishes in Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and, I suppose, in all the southern counties, which clubs are for the purpose of forming a *fund* for defraying the expense of *watching the graves of the relations of the members of the club*, if any of them should die, or the graves of the *members themselves* if they should die! How honourable to the feelings of the working people, and how disgraceful to the Parliament is this fact! Judge you, gentlemen, what would have been the consequences of an attempt to enforce amongst such a people the atrocious bill

for selling their bodies to be cut up like those of the most heinous malefactors! A labouring man, JAMES IVES, who worked constantly for me some time ago, came to me, with tears in his eyes, to get 12s. in advance of his wages, to pay (that being the price) for *watching the grave of his daughter*, who was just then about to be buried! Why, gentlemen, what *government-protection* could this man discover? What had this man to make him willing to be obedient to the laws? Great care is taken of the *property of the rich*; the law hunts it with inflexible eagerness go whither it may; here the law has grown harder and harder, till it has made the receiving of stolen goods a *felonious* offence, punishable with *transportation*. But those who passed and have enforced so rigidly this law, have not been able to find out any means whatever to punish the RECEIVERS OF STOLEN BODIES; though they MUST of necessity KNOW them to have been stolen, if not murdered as well as stolen! Common justice, even natural justice, would make it *felony*, punishable with death, in any one to have in his *possession* a dead body, or a part of a dead body, unless able to produce proof that he obtained it in consequence of a *sentence of a court of justice*, or in virtue of the *last will* of the party.

This is what the people have a right to demand from the Parliament. For the want of it, even the horrid murders recently come to light in London, are manifestly to be ascribed; and, if the working people find no better protection from a reformed Parliament; if such Parliament still show that it values the dead body of a hare above that of the dead body of the working man, his wife, or his child; if this be the case, far better would it have been never to have brought in the bill. If Irishmen be still to be treated as they have been; if they, whenever the Government pleases, be to be shut up in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise, on pain of *transportation for seven years* if absent for more than *fifteen minutes*; and if that punishment be still to be inflicted without *judge or jury*, at the sole dis-

creation of two justices of the peace and a barrister, all appointed by, and removeable at, the pleasure of Government; if these things be to remain; and if the *bloody tithe battles* be still to disfigure Ireland and fill the world with wonder and with horror; if, in short, the reform of Parliament, be still to provide heaps of luxuries for the idle tens of thousands, and to leave the labouring millions in misery, then *we want no reform*; then to talk of reform is to insult the suffering people.

But, gentlemen, if *we do want a reform*, we want a real one, and not a pretended one. We want a *great change for the better*; not merely a change, but a *great change*. The propositions which I have been permitted to read to you, have been said to aim at the destruction of the *institutions of the country*. I shall, in the future proposed lectures, prove clearly that they aim not only not at the destruction, but not at the impairing, of any one institution of the country, properly so called, unless to take money away from the industrious and to give it to the idle be "*an institution of the country*." We want no change in the form of the government; we want, indeed, to make this same government a *great deal cheaper* than it is; and, by so doing, we take the only sure course of preserving it; for it is utterly impossible that the millions can love it, while it is so very costly as it now is. We have, or at least, I have, no quarrel with the form of government. I know that our country has been the greatest, the most renowned, and the happiest in the world, under this form of government; I know that all its famous institutions have risen up, and that it was the cradle of real liberty, while there were a king, lords, and commons: I know that it is not republican government alone that can be *cheap* government; for I know that England knew nothing of an internal tax for century after century, while it still had this same kingly government; to which [*I might have added*] that the first time that it was cursed with an excise-tax, was during the short period that it was called a republic. I there-

fore wish to see no change in the form of the government; and while I express a wish to see it made a cheap government, and express my determination to have nothing to do with its affairs, unless I see a fair prospect to give effect to that wish, I am clearly of opinion, and, indeed, I know the fact, that it can be rendered, without injustice to anybody, even a cheaper government than that of the United States of America. But, to arrive at this end, I can see nothing short of the adoption, the hearty and cheerful adoption, of the fourteen propositions which you have had the indulgence to permit me to lay before you.

I am sorry to say that I do not discover in any of the acts of the present Ministers, any disposition, nor even any thought, to make that great change of which I have been speaking. I say not this in hostility to them. I have not the smallest desire to see them removed from their places, or to see them fall into discredit with the nation. If I could have my wish, my LORD GREY would remain in office until he had accomplished all the good which would arise from the adoption of these propositions. Nothing would please me better than to see this take place. But at the same time, it is my duty to state to you, that I have not been able to discover, either in the words or the acts of his lordship, any thing that encourages me to hope that he has any intentions at all of making so great a change as that which I hold to be absolutely necessary.

He who undertakes the great task which is now imposed upon the man who would set the affairs of this great kingdom to rights, must be prepared for exertions such as scarcely ever before were imposed upon any man. The thing, to be done well, and to make this reform really satisfactory to the nation, must be set about in right earnest; must be begun, as men begin to plough a field, or to weave a piece of cloth, and be pursued on from the beginning to the end, without relaxation, and with a resolution to finish the work in the manner in which it has been begun. What, then,

is the sort of men, to whom the people, who will now enjoy the right of voting, and especially in those great hives in the north; what is the sort of men whom they ought to choose to encounter this arduous undertaking? First, they should be stored with a great and perfect knowledge relative to the whole of the affairs of the nation. Next, they should possess the talent sufficient to enable them to state with clearness, and to argue conclusively, and to the producing of conviction, the matters, which they have the disposition to impress upon the minds of others. Next, they should possess resolution to speak what they think, in spite of every effort to damp or overawe them. Possessing all these endowments, however, still there would be wanting that prime quality of all; steadiness of purpose, and indefatigable industry, without which not all the virtues, and all the genius in the world, could do anything effectual, in the renovating a country, corroded with abuses of all sorts, embarrassed and entangled as the affairs of this country, and the country itself, now are. Even endowed with all these qualities, with perfect disinterestedness, with zeal, with devotion to country, all into the bargain, there would still be wanting a mind, not to be made to swerve from its point for one single moment by the blandishments of a court, or the still more dangerous blandishments of the aristocracy.

Whether I have been drawing my own picture, and thereby saying indirectly that I am the man to be chosen for this great town of Manchester, whose bounden duty it is to set an example to all the other towns in the north; whether I have been doing this or not, I must leave for you yourselves to decide; but, lest you should come to a conclusion in the affirmative, it is necessary that I should now address myself to you more particularly upon the personal interest that I take in this affair as connected with the town of Manchester. Gentlemen, if I were capable of affectation, I could not carry it to the point of saying, that it is a matter of indifference with me, whether I be

chosen to serve in Parliament or not, by this great town. I should, indeed, be an insensible clod, did no desire exist in my mind to have the great glory of being the representative of that town, the name of which is, throughout the whole world, synonymous with excellence in ingenuity and industry. But, justice to myself calls upon me to say, that I am not here for the low purpose of CANVASSING for a seat in Parliament. It has, for years, been my resolution, never to ask a man for his vote upon any occasion, a resolution from which nothing shall ever make me depart.

My sentiments with regard to this matter have been put in print, and the promulgation of them in that manner did not take place until I thought it was necessary to the public good, and until, indeed, it was called for by the circumstances which I am now about to state. The PROPOSITIONS which I have read to you had been published some time before that discussion in the House of Lords on the late Reform Bill, which ended in the rejection of that bill. During that discussion four of the Lords, FALMOUTH, WYNFORD (old Serjeant Best), CARNARVON, and LYNDBURST, alluded to the propositions, expressing, at the same time, their great alarm lest the ten-pound suffrage, as it stood in that bill, should lead to so disastrous an occurrence as that of putting me into Parliament. The great alarm of their Lordships made them less delicate and reserved upon this occasion than upon former occasions, it having, for a great many years, been their practice, in speaking of opinions or of matters connected with me, to content themselves with distant allusion, abstaining with all possible dignity from mentioning the *name*. Now, however, this reserve was thrown aside: Cobbett and Manchester were too much for dignity to endure in silence; and out came the names tumbling together. With regard to FALMOUTH and WYNFORD, my dignity would certainly have prevented me from bestowing a moment's thought on what they said; and with regard to CARNARVON, he being a HERBERT, could, I well knew, from my long familiarity

with the name, *have but one single point in view*; a HERBERT always sticking to that point, as a needle to the pole. But my Lord LYNDHURST was another sort of man: to what he said I paid great attention, having great respect as well for his talents as for his character, and always remembering his wise and good conduct while he was ATTORNEY-GENERAL. But nothing said by Lord LYNDHURST tended to convince any impartial man that Mr. COBBETT ought not to be elected for Manchester, while it had a very strong tendency the contrary way.

However, "COBBETT and MANCHESTER" having been made one of the great arguments against the Reform Bill, it became me to be more explicit than I had theretofore been, with regard to my own desires and my own views relative to a seat in the reformed Parliament. Therefore, in a published letter, addressed to my Lord Grey, soon after the rejection of the Reform Bill, I, in the frankest manner, and with the most perfect sincerity, fully stated to his Lordship, and, through him, to the nation in general, and to the people of this great town in particular, those desires and those views.

And, gentlemen, as this paper was written after the maturest deliberation; and as it is my determination to abide by every sentence contained in it, I will, with your permission, now take the liberty of reading it to you, begging you to be pleased to consider it as addressed to yourselves, and to receive it as tendered to you with the greatest respect.

"But, my Lord, the peers who oppose the bill seem to have thought of *nothing but the present moment*. They saw, as I saw, that the members coming from the great towns, and chosen by the working people, would never suffer that working people to be borne down to the earth as they now are; and they clearly saw that there was no possible way of relieving the working people, other than that of taking off the taxes to a very great extent; and they knew that this could not be done without beginning by taking from them and their families and dependents the enormous sums which

they now receive out of those taxes. They saw, for instance, that the ten-pound suffrage would, if I chose it, put me into Parliament, where they well know that I never would be, without making the most strenuous efforts to cause this object to be accomplished. I am fully warranted in believing that the certainty, or nearly the certainty, that the ten-pound suffrage would put me into Parliament, was one of the reasons for their rejecting the bill. I am fully warranted in believing this, because, while almost every one of them who spoke against the bill made allusion to me and to Manchester, no less than four of them named me and that town, and cited the intention of that town to choose me, as an *instance of the great danger* to be apprehended from the ten-pound suffrage in great towns; and, my Lord, I would not take my oath that it was not Cobbett and Manchester that convinced your colleague Lord BROUGHAM, of the propriety of being 'ready to re-consider' his opinions relative to that part of the bill!

"To be plain, I do verily believe, that Cobbett and Manchester had great weight in the rejection of the bill, and also great weight with most of your colleagues, if not, with your Lordship, in forming that design, which I believe to have been entertained, if it be not still entertained, to alter the bill in this respect, and to raise the suffrage and thereby diminish the number of voters in the great towns; and I further believe, that this is the conviction of every well-informed man in the whole kingdom.

"Such a thing as this never before disgraced any body of rulers upon the face of the earth! What a surprising thing that a man, literally bred up at the plough tail; never having been put to a school; never having had a patron of any description; having had to work all his life like a horse, to maintain and breed up a numerous family; having had no one contingency that has favoured his progress in life; having had no one earthly resource out of himself; never having

"written a line to catch the thoughtless,
 "or to flatter any description of persons,
 "high or low; having preferred living
 "on a crust to riches and ease obtained
 "by any of those means by which literary
 "men usually obtain wealth and
 "exaltation: what a surprising thing
 "that such a man, leading such a life,
 "should become so formidable to two
 "great parties, dividing between them
 "the whole of the powers of the Government
 "of the greatest and richest
 "country in the world, as to make
 "those two parties (waging eternal
 "strife as to every-thing else) unite
 "like children from the same mother.
 "in efforts of every description, to keep
 "that man down! Yet, surprising as
 "it is, it is not less true than it is
 "surprising. Before the Reform Bill
 "was brought in, and when we were
 "all on the tiptoe of expectation, I
 "said to a friend, who was sitting
 "talking with me on the subject,
 "'What sort of reform do you think
 "'they mean to give us?' His answer
 "was: 'I think they will give just as
 "'much as will enable them to keep
 "'you out of Parliament.' I told him
 "that I made no doubt, that that would
 "be *the wish*; but that if they gave so
 "little as that, they would soon become
 "more odious than their predecessors;
 "and that they could not very well *exclude me by name*, as they had very
 "nearly done in the SIX ACTS, two of
 "which might as well have had *the name*;
 "for every man in the kingdom
 "saw that the Acts were intended solely
 "for *the man*.
 "What adds to the curiosity of the
 "thing is, that I never have wished to
 "possess any public power of any sort,
 "except that of being in Parliament,
 "and that wish arose from a desire to
 "assist in effecting a Parliamentary Reform.
 "I cannot but know the prodigious
 "difficulties that must surround
 "a man who shall now undertake to
 "assist in putting the affairs of this
 "great and troubled country to rights.
 "I know well that my *thirteen propositions*,
 "which Lord WYNFORD (I think
 "they call him), who was once the
 "renowned SERJEANT BEST, lamented
 "that he had lost, and therefore could
 "not read them to the House, and
 "which I will subjoin to this letter, that
 "the late Serjeant may have them
 "another time; I know, my Lord, that
 "these thirteen propositions must be
 "adopted to the very letter, or that the
 "discontent after the reform will be
 "even greater than it is at this moment.
 "And am I, of all men in the world, so
 "stupid as not to perceive the great
 "difficulties attending that adoption?
 "Am I so short-sighted as not to foresee
 "the turmoil which will arise in
 "consequence? Do I know so little
 "of mankind as not to be aware, that
 "he who inflicts present evil on a comparative
 "few, is sure to find but weak
 "apologists in the many, on whom he
 "is bestowing future and permanent
 "good? Do I not know, that reproaches
 "follow the knife of the surgeon, though
 "it be necessary to the saving of life?
 "Can I behold in prospect, as I do, as clearly as I behold
 "the paper on which I am writing, swarms
 "of clamorous pensioners, sin-
 "ecure people, retired-allowance people,
 "discarded commissioners, dead-weight
 "people, by thousands upon thousands,
 "growing fundholders, and dependents
 "of all these, swarming like locusts
 "upon the banks of the Nile, and all directing
 "a good share, at least, of their reproaches
 "towards me: can I behold all this, and
 "behold, at the same time, the delivered,
 "the freed, the benefited, the happy nation,
 "leaving me to bear the reproaches as well
 "as I can: can I behold all this, and, still
 "possessing my senses, embark in the
 "perilous concern as on a party of
 "pleasure? Can I, who have lived all
 "my life as free as a bird in the woods;
 "who have never been thwarted in my
 "will by any-body, and who have never
 "had on my shoulders responsibility to
 "any living soul; who value not wealth;
 "who cannot gain a particle of fame;
 "who despise the very thought of possessing
 "what are called honours and dignities,
 "and who would not pass one evening
 "amongst the guttlers and gossippers
 "and spitters and belchers of the boozing-ken
 "of Beilamy, even

“on condition of thereby adding five years to the length of my life ;
“can I, for my own sake, sigh after a seat in the Parliament ?

“Yet, what a fuss, what a contriving, what a plotting, to keep me out of hole of candle-light confusion, to sit in which, more than one session by candle-light, would demand a motive much stronger than I can at this moment conceive ! What an intriguing, what a plotting, what a prosecuting, by both the parties ; and what terrible calamities to this our country ! And, at once horrible and ludicrous as is the thought, I verily believe that, at last, both parties would *prefer a going upon the rocks* to the seeing of me in that Parliament, in which I do not want to be, but to go into which I will *never decline*, if any body of electors shall freely, and of their own accord, choose me to be the representative of their will ; and in which Parliament the nobility, if they had had common sense, would have taken care to have me long and long ago, seeing that, while I would not have suffered them to take one penny unjustly out of the pockets of the people, I would not have suffered them to be despoiled by loan-mongers and Jews ; always having been convinced, as I still am, that an aristocracy of *title and of privilege*, when kept within due and constitutional bounds, brings none of that oppression upon the working people which is always brought upon them by a *darned aristocracy of money*.

“Now, my Lord GREY, [the propositions were inserted just before this], here, at any rate, there is nothing of an *abstract* nature ; nothing theoretic, nothing dark, nothing *covert*. This is what I would do, if I could have my will ; and if I were a member of Parliament, and found that this, *the whole* of this, could not be obtained by the Parliament, I would quit the concern as soon as I had ascertained this to be the fact ; as soon as I had ascertained that the people had chosen men not ready to do all this, or, at least, as soon as I had ascertained that

“the people would again choose such men. I would not consent to be the representative of any body of persons who would not pledge themselves most solemnly to support me in my endeavours to accomplish *all* this. And, further, I would accept of the post only on the condition that I should be at liberty to vacate it if I chose, at the end of one session, if the Parliament continued the shameful practice of sitting by *candle-light*, and under the same roof where there are an eating-house and a boozing-place. I will never sit, for any length of time, amongst ‘legislators,’ who drop in one after another, or half a score at a time, belching, and picking their teeth. In such a scene, how can attention and reflection exist ? From such a scene sober thought is excluded by the laws of nature. From the fumes of port and sherry and grog and brown stout and tobacco, from the spattering of the flying pan and the hissing of the gridiron, wisdom flees as men flee from a pestilence. To account for so great a country being brought to the state in which this now is, after ages will only want to be informed that its legislators lounged away the morning in bed, and held their deliberations in the night-time, under the same roof with a guttling and guzzling house, and that, on an average, a fourth, or a third, of them were eating or drinking, at the very moment that laws affecting the property, the liberty, the life of millions were under discussion. This is all that after-ages will want to know about the causes that produced a state of things such as that which now exists in England. To a body of men leading such lives and addicted to such manners, no motive, not much more powerful than I can have an idea of, would induce me to belong any longer than the time sufficient to enable me to ascertain that no change in their manners was to be reasonably expected. So that the renowned OLD SERJEANT need not be very uneasy about the danger to be apprehended from my being in Parliament. Those who have the power of choosing

"members of Parliament generally look for a little coaxing; and none will anybody ever get from me. It will be service for me to bestow, and not a favour for me to receive. I have, with the rest of the people, an interest in the general happiness of the nation; but I have none but a common interest; and there is no moral obligation on me to submit, for the sake of the general good, to endure the breath of the belchers from Bellamy's, who have, I am told, even a *'smoking room'*. All this must be changed, or there can be no good arise from reform. At any rate, it shall be changed, or I will have nothing to do with it for more than one session. So that, again I say, OLD SERJEANT BEST may make himself pretty easy on account of me."

Such, gentlemen, were my sentiments upon this important subject, and such they remain. I repeat that it would be great glory for me to be chosen a member for Manchester, but that that glory does not in my mind weigh as a single feather, when compared with the weight which it would give me in my endeavours to effect those objects which are described in the propositions which I have read to you this evening. Manchester includes, in its own name, in the opinions of the rest of the kingdom, not only all the industrious part of Lancashire, but extends itself into parts of other counties. It is the centre of them all. The word Manchester means industry, English industry, ingenuity, and opulence. To have my name go over the world coupled with that of Manchester, would be great glory indeed; and so great that the best efforts of the remainder of my life, even if successful, would be no more than enough to merit such reward. But I most solemnly declare to you, gentlemen, that great as the honour would be, proud as I should be of it, great as would be the triumph that it would give me over more numerous and more malignant foes than man ever had before to encounter; it would not give me a thousandth part of the satisfaction which I should derive from the certainty that it would give me much greater weight than I could

derive from being chosen for any other place in the kingdom. Westminster, with a vastly superior population, I consider a mere nothing compared to Manchester: it is a mass of drones and wasps got together, to swallow up the honey collected by the industrious bees: it is a heap of rabble, and of court sycophants: a swarm of loungers at clubs and gaming-houses, collected together, as it were, for the express purpose of devouring the fortunes of skilful and industrious masters, and the earnings of their work-people. The city of London is, in itself, what it always was, a place for the deposit of wealth, and for the reception and the circulating of goods; its inhabitants, indeed, pretty well corrupted by the crapulous crowds which the taxes have drawn together in its environs, and by the swarms of Jews that carry on their usurious traffic in its centre. The city of London, however, is a great commercial city, as it always was, and always will be; but the West-end of the town, as they call it, is at once the great corrupter of the nation, and the great devourer of the fruit of its toils. Millions upon millions of the hard earnings of the people have been drawn thither to be wasted on objects of mere show, and thrown away, scattered about with such profusion, and with such an abuse of all good taste, as to make it rational in me to believe that the squanderers have had no other object in view than that of wasting the substance of the people, and that of collecting together swarms of the most degraded, and, at the same time, most insolent and prostituted wretches that ever disgraced the human shape. Mr. Edmund Grundy, who lives at Bury, in this county, and who, being in London, last spring, and having been to take a look at what is called the House of Commons, saw, during the short time that he was present in the gallery, 60,000*l.* of the public money voted to widen and ornament some street in Westminster, at which he was greatly astonished, seeing that, in Lancashire, the towns themselves, by local taxes or collections, paid for works of this sort carried on within their precincts. Mr.

Grundy and I, being compelled to work for that which we possess, had not leisure for the purpose, or I could have taken him, in the course of half an hour, and shown him how at least ten millions of the nation's money had been wasted in a similar manner. And will these industrious towns send to a reformed Parliament one single man who will not pledge himself most distinctly to put a stop to this prodigal waste of the people's earnings? If one single man be sent from any of these towns without such pledge, the people of that town will deserve never again to behold days of prosperity.

Gentlemen, I have heard it said, that Manchester, being a commercial town, ought to choose none but *commercial men* as its representatives in Parliament. If the Parliament were intended for no other purpose than that of ascertaining what would be best for Manchester, relative to the importation of cotton and silk, and the exportation of cotton and silk goods, and what regulations would be best, relative to the use of machinery, of coals, and of engines; if, in short, the Parliament were to be merely a chamber of commerce, then, men brought up and engaged in commerce all their lives might be the most proper to represent Manchester. But, as the prosperity, as the well-being, of this great town, is, and always must be, completely inseparable from those of the nation at large; and as it requires, in order to determine that which is best for the whole, a thorough knowledge of all those relationships which bind the interests of one part of the kingdom to that of all the rest; as laws will have to be passed, affecting every part of the people, from the lord in his mansion down to the labourer in his cottage, it does appear to me that there is very little weight to be given to the opinion, which points out commercial men, as being the only men fit to represent great commercial towns. As far as my observation has gone, experience by no means speaks in favour of this opinion. In the city of London I have the honour to be represented by four commercial men; and I do not happen to know any

four other members of Parliament, with whose services I think the city of London could more conveniently dispense. However, against one thing I beseech the people of these towns to guard themselves, and that is, the choosing of men of such amiable facility as to be easily seduced from their duty by blandishment. Many a man of perfect honesty, of perfectly good intentions, and of real public spirit into the bargain, has been rendered a mere tool in the hands of the Ministry, or of the other party, by appeals well made to his vanity. He means well, goes with a resolution to be firm, even anticipates the heartfelt applause of his constituents as the reward of his fidelity to his trust, gets clapped down at dinner between an earl and a duke; or, if his virtue be of an extremely stubborn kind, by the side of a lord's daughter, or, if the wife be handsomer, by the side of the lady herself. In an instant the lights dance before him; his brain swims; he looks back to the town that has sent him, as a rich manufacturer looks back to the clogs which he wore when he was a boy; away goes all his resolution; and, though he become not an absolute rogue, he becomes of no more use to his constituents than if he were a man cut out of wood.

Once more, to speak of myself and of my views as to this matter, I repeat to you, Gentlemen, that, were I to consult my own private taste, my own private feelings and pleasure, I should decline serving in Parliament even for this famous town; and I again most positively declare, that nothing shall induce me to sit for more than two sessions by candle-light, and that I will not pledge myself to sit by that light for more than one session. It is impossible that an assembly keeping such hours, even if consisting of wise and upright men, should produce good works. As a strong instance in confirmation of this opinion, suffer me to relate to you what took place in the AMERICAN CONGRESS (when I was last in America) in consequence of *candle-light legislation*. In 1817, the war had broken out between the Spanish Colonies in South America and the King of Spain; and the United States had

passed an act, which they called an act of *neutrality*. This act had just been promulgated when I (fleeing from the dungeons that Sidmouth and Castle-reagh had prepared for the reformers) arrived in LONG ISLAND. Upon hearing the complaints, relative to this act, of some of the Spanish revolvers; I read it, and found, that, instead of its being an act of *neutrality*, it was an act of great partiality against the Colonies, which I reprobated with great severity, especially as it came from a country who boasted of that *independence* which it had acquired, and so recently too, by revolting against its own King. The paper, containing these just reproaches, was sent to be published, and was published, in the *Register* in England; but, at the same time, it was *published in New York*, because I would not say any-thing of the Americans that I did not say to their face. Now, observe, it had always been, and still was, the practice of the Congress to sit from nine o'clock in the morning to three in the afternoon. When the Congress met, in November, I having written about this act in the previous month of July, the very first subject that they took in hand was a *revision of this Act of Neutrality*; and a bill was brought in by Mr. CLAY to alter and amend that act; and this gentleman, in moving for leave to bring in the bill, said, that the House would be aware that the error had been pointed out by a celebrated Englishman then in the United States, who might with propriety, perhaps, have spoken of it in terms less harsh; but that his censure of the act, however unnecessarily severe, form no ground for not at once correcting the error, and thereby doing justice to the Spanish colonies. The bill was brought in and quickly passed; but, Gentlemen, that which is worthy of your particular attention is this; that Mr. CLAY stated, as an apology for the error, that the act was passed on the last day of the session, and, on account of the press of business, was passed *at ten o'clock at night!*

All the world knows, that the morning is the time for all matters of importance; that the mind is then serene, if it

ever be; that it is then unclouded by heavy food and muddling drink; that it is then, if ever, fit to be employed in the making of laws; that is to say, in the performance of things affecting the happiness of millions. When a man undertakes a duty like this, those whom he represents are entitled to his *best hours*. The present hours were resorted to in order to accommodate lawyers, clerks in office, merchants, and bankers, who want the prime of the day for themselves and their own private affairs, and who give to their constituents only that part which they have to lounge away. All this must be changed, or the reform will bring no good to the nation; and, as far as I am concerned, Gentlemen, *it shall be changed*: for I will never sit, at most, more than two sessions amongst men who debate by candle-light, and who have a guttling and a guzzling place under the same roof that covers the scene of their discussions. This is my firm determination. If I quit my pleasant course of life, it shall be for the purpose of accomplishing some *great good for my country*. My career has been long, and always brilliant, and brilliant it shall be to the last. On the first of January, the day after the close of these lectures, I shall have published a *Register* every week for *thirty years*, with the exception of the six weeks that it took to carry me across the Atlantic (out of the reach of Sidmouth) and the six weeks that it took to bring the first *Register* from Long Island to England. I, last January, expressed my intention to *close* this publication at the end of 1832; being resolved, that my light shall never go out twinkling in the socket; being resolved; that the last number shall want no part of the spirit that marked the first. Judge you, then, Gentlemen, whether I be a man to set any, even the smallest, value on a *mere seat* in Parliament! Judge you, whether I be a man voluntarily, and with my eyes open, to sink quietly down into that insignificant thing called an "*honourable gentleman*," sitting beside the "*gallant officer*" or the "*worthy alderman*." Judge you, whether I be made of vulgar stuff like this! Oh,

no ! Gentlemen of Manchester, great though I should deem the glory of having my name associated and sent through the world, coupled with that of this renowned hive of industry, not even that would I accept of unaccompanied with the assurance of being able to perform some great and memorable good for my country, and especially for its laborious millions; and, as I can have no such assurance; as I can have no such hope, unless those who choose me be ready to pledge themselves to stand by and support me in my endeavours to effect the purposes that I have so fully and so frankly stated to you, on that pledge being given or withheld, will depend whether I shall have that great honour, which is the only thing that could be a compensation for the labours that the task would impose upon me.

A PRETTY TRANSACTION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Dec. 9, 1831.

" Mr. Alderman VENABLES asked " whether the prosecution which had " been instituted against a house in " the silk trade, *had been continued* " or not ?

" The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that " his right hon. Friend, to whom it " properly belonged to answer that " question, was not present, but *he* " *thought he might take upon himself* " to give an answer to the hon. Gentleman. The prosecution to which " the hon. Member had alluded, was a " *prosecution for penalties* for evading " the payment of the *duty on silk*. " There were others, but one alone was " about to be brought to trial, when it " was *compromised for a sum of 20,000*l.** " He believed that that sum was *the* " *largest* the Government had ever received from such a prosecution. " There were *goods to be taken back*, " which might possibly amount to " 5,000*l.* So that the offending parties " would have to pay a sum of 15,000*l.*, " which *was* *insufficient* to make them " suffer severely enough not to repeat " the offence.

" Mr. Alderman VENABLES wished to " put one more question, which he did " *at the request of the silk trade generally*. They wished to know for " *what particular reasons* the compromise was effected ? for they felt very " strongly that it was the most injudicious course to compromise such " actions.

" The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was bound " to state that this matter had come " into his hands *without instructions* or " *restrictions* as to what he was or " was not to do. He believed that in " the pledge spoken of, his right hon. " Friend only intended that the case " should be *brought into court*, to be there " dealt with *as might be proper* ; and so " far there had been no violation of the " pledge. Now the fact was, that if " every-thing could have been proved, " the penalties could only have amounted to 20,000*l.* (Hear, hear !) The " compromise, therefore, was *only for a* " *sum of 5,000*l.** *less* than might have " been obtained had every-thing been " fully proved against the parties.

" Mr. Alderman VENABLES was bound " to say, that Government had on this " occasion obtained a more satisfactory " settlement of the prosecution than had " ever before been obtained ; but the " objection to *any compromise still existed*.

" Sir R. PEEL said, that as this case " had excited a great deal of attention, " he thought it would be of advantage " if the papers connected with it were " laid on the table. Those papers would " show the way in which the duties had " been originally evaded, and they would " inflict that punishment which the compromise had enabled the guilty parties " to avoid, but which was the most effective that could be employed against " them—*ne meant the punishment of* " *publicity*. (Hear, hear, hear !) If the " compromise was effected, as he supposed it was, *before the trial*, of course " there could have been no publication " of the circumstances of the case, and " the *disgrace attendant* on such a publication was wanting to complete " that punishment which, without it, " would be hardly sufficient to prevent

"parties from being guilty of the same offence.

"Lord ALTHORP, who spoke in a *very low tone*, was understood to say that the object of the parties in this case, in agreeing to a compromise for so large a penalty, was perhaps chiefly with the view of *avoiding the additional punishment of publication*, otherwise he agreed with the right hon. Baronet in the principle, that every publication ought to be given to the circumstances of the case, since it was the object of the Government to *prevent the recurrence of such offences*.

Ah! old George Rose, we thought that we never should look upon thy like again! Well, old George, thou art gone to be sure, and God knows whither; but thou hast left thy . . . mantle, oh no! but, as the Scotch call the skin of the snake, thou hast cast thy *slough*, and left it to this "*Corinthian pillar!*" What! give 5,000*l.* of silk back to the criminals! But I must return to this scandalous transaction. In the meanwhile, I want information as to the names of these robbers of poor silk-manufacturers. Merciful Whigs! You did not, and do not, think of mercy to Mr. CARPENTER, who offended against your revenue laws, and who is now in your jail for life, unless released by a Reformed Parliament. And DENMAN took it upon himself, then, did he! But this affair must not drop here.

HORRID ENGLISH MURDERS.

WE have heard much of the "*march of mind*," of the "*improvements of the age*," and of the "*schoolmaster being abroad*;" we have endless accounts of the brilliant exploits of the "*School and Bible Societies*;" and we Protestants are called upon to *bless God* for our liberation from the *superstition* against which the virtues of our *barbarous* forefathers had to struggle for existence! Base insolence! One of our improvements is, the causing to exist, openly and *unpunished*, receptacles for the *receiving of dead human bodies*, without any proof

of whether they have been *murdered* or not. We have *laws* to *punish* any one who has the dead body of a *hare* in his possession, without being able to prove that he came by it *lawfully*; we have laws for this purpose, and most severe laws too; but, for the life and soul of our *enlightened* legislators, they cannot put together a law for punishing those who have *dead human bodies* in their possession, whether those bodies have been murdered, or stolen from the grave! I have not time for much on this subject to-day; but I must insert the following (from a Police magistrate), addressed to, and published by, the MORNING CHRONICLE, of Monday, the 12th instant.

"To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

"SIR—Having dined yesterday with some of my brother magistrates, I learned, upon information which I have no reason to distrust, that beside the confessions published, another was made on Sunday last, which comprehended a *catalogue of about sixty murders*, and would have probably gone on to a much greater extent, but for the interference of the ordinary. When to this is added the large supply which, by the published confessions, Bishop appears to have furnished for dissection, the great number of persons employed in the same way, the probable profligacy of such persons, and, as asserted, a *great falling off in the number of burials*, notwithstanding the increased population of this metropolis, there is certainly but too much reason to believe that this *system of murder amongst the poor*, which Bishop said he resorted to as both *less expensive and less hazardous* than collecting from cemeteries, is become *extremely common*, that it is in a *state of progression*, and that *new and extraordinary modes*, however inconvenient to the professors and students of anatomy, MUST BE HAD RECOURSE TO, FOR THE PREVENTION OF SUCH ATROCIOUS CRIMES.

"J. SEWELL.

"21, Cumberland-street,
Portman-square, Dec. 8."

The "*new and extraordinary mode*" ought to be to HANG those who have dead bodies, or parts of dead bodies, in their possession, unless able to prove the possession to have been sanctioned by the *sentence of a court of justice*, or by the *last will of the party whose dead body is found in possession*. This is the mode, and the only mode. Not so, however, thinks Doctor BLACK, whose unfeeling, and, indeed, stupid, mind lets him see no remedy for these murders

but in another "DEAD-BODY BILL." Hear him, indignant reader.

The three wretches concerned in the murder of the poor Italian boy have been found guilty, and are ordered for execution on Monday next. Who knows how many other poor creatures have been destroyed by them! The evidence as to one other case seems complete. If rich people were liable to be burked, the *wants of anatomical science* would have been provided for long ago, without affording an incentive to murder. Had the child of a Lord been one of the victims of Burke, at Edinburgh, all other Lords would have taken the alarm and an *Act of Parliament* would have soon followed. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to carry off the children of Lords, and easy to deprive the poor of their children; and, therefore, Lords, knowing, of courses that the subjects must be provided, that the difficulty of procuring causes high prices, and high prices tempt the worthless men employed to procure them by murder—which is easier and safer than disinterment,—instead of providing against this monstrous evil, endeavoured to inflame the prejudices of the poor. It is affirmed by physiologists, that life may be destroyed so as to leave no trace of the act. Anatomists may be able to detect murder when violence has been used, as in the case of the Italian boy; but when no violence has been used, *how can they tell that the subject has been unfairly obtained?* There is no difficulty in obtaining subjects in France—none in Germany—none in Italy—and there need be no difficulty in England. Let the bodies of those WHO DIE IN WORKHOUSES and HOSPITALS [Oh! base *secliofer!*] whose relations do not claim them for burial, be MADE AVAILABLE for the purposes of anatomy. To this remedy we must come, or the schools of the anatomists must be closed, or burking will be continued. So long as ten guineas can be obtained, with less danger by burking than by burglary, burking will be preferred by the criminal.

It is useless to stamp and swear! The cold-blooded fellow would only draw his high cheek bones awry and sneer. I will in a week or two address a letter to the *chopsticks* on the subject; to them who are now paying part of their hard-earned pennies into clubs, to pay for watching the graves of their deceased relations! I will make the Doctor, body and soul, over to them.

OUR COLONIES.

When ADDINGTON was Prime Minister, I published some verses on him, in which was this:

"The Doctor, in every thing, equally wise!"

Which verses, only changing *Cholera Morbus* for *La Grippe*, would apply, with equal force, to this Whig Ministry. They are not only wise generally; but in every thing: no matter what it is, it is all the same to them; whether it be catching incendiaries by the legs, protecting the freedom of the press, impartially enforcing the Revenue-Laws, promoting emigration, no matter what, great they are in every thing, but in nothing, as will presently appear, greater than in governing colonies. I beg the reader's best attention to the following letter, and more especially to the curious and deeply-interesting MEMORIAL which follows it. Let the merchants in England especially, read these documents with attention. Let them see what sort of attention a governor pays to Colonists: let them read his laconic answer to this able and important memorial, which answer, for God only knows why, he calls "an APPOINTMENT." If the evil were not of such serious consequences, one would find in this mode of governing, everlasting food for laughter. Oh, no! reader: if you find it prudent to emigrate, if you do not wish to exchange the frying-pan for the fire, go to no colony, go the United States, or stay where you are.

"Barbice, 25th Sept. 1831.

"SIR,

"In several of your late *Registers*,
"Mr. Cobbett, you have, with your
"univalued ability and zeal, clearly
"pointed out to the people of England,
"Scotland, and Ireland, the absurdity
"of quitting their country at all; and
"more especially the very great folly of
"going to British colonies, governed by
"orders in council, through the agency
"of *superannuated* General officers, or
"such-like of the Ministers. As incon-
"testable proof of the soundness of your
"advice, I enclose you a memorial of
"the people of Demerara to Sir B.
"d'Urban, the Governor of the colony,
"and his *appointment*, or *answer*, there-
"on, and if, after reading this document
"throughout, any sane man should for
"one moment doubt the correctness of
"your views on the subject of emigra-
"tion, there is then no such thing as

"demonstration. I send you six ears of
 "Indian corn, the common corn of this
 "country, which, I think, will ripen
 "well and early in your climate. It is,
 "however, very subject to worm; and
 "I doubt whether it will get to you in
 "the perfect state which it now is; but
 "some of it you might get to grow;
 "and it may prove a better sort than
 "the one so successfully and beneficially
 "introduced by you into England, and
 "which, had it been introduced into the
 "country by the Peels, or any of that
 "gentry, the poor English tax-payers
 "would have been saddled with a pen-
 "sion, to him and his brats to the tenth
 "generation, of at least one thousand
 "per annum. But verily you will have
 "your reward in the blessings of mil-
 "lions of people to all posterity. I had
 "almost forgot to state, that the time,
 "from the day the corn was planted to
 "the day it was gathered, was ninety
 "days. I have reckoned the number of
 "grains upon one of the ears, which
 "you will find to be six hundred and
 "forty. No ear of your corn, I find by
 "your book, contained more than three
 "hundred grains.

"I have just had sent to me the De-
 "merara *Gazette*, with the proclamation
 "of Sir B. d'Urban, by which our law-
 "courts and laws secured to us by Act
 "of Capitulation, have been at once set
 "aside, and up to this day no other
 "court established in their stead. We
 "are literally without law or courts al-
 "together—a blessed state certainly!
 "What a state to place a colony! Have
 "the goodness, Sir, to show up these
 "Whigs in their proper colours; for you
 "are, beyond all doubt, the only man
 "who can do the thing right well.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant."

Memorial of the Committee appointed at a
 Public Meeting of the Colonists of Demerara
 and Essequibo, held at the Colony-house,
 in Georgetown, Demerara, on the 29th
 of July, 1831, to his Excellency Sir B.
 d'Urban, K. C. B., &c., Governor of British
 Guiana, &c. &c. &c.

*To his Excellency Major-General Sir
 Benjamin d'Urban, Knight Commander
 of the Most Honourable Military Order
 of the Bath, of the Royal Guelphic
 Order, and of the Portuguese Royal
 Military Order of the Tower and Sword,
 Governor and Commander-in-Chief in
 and over the Colony of British Guiana,
 &c. &c. &c.*

The memorial of the Committee appointed
 at a public meeting of the colonists of Deme-
 rara and Essequibo, held at the Colony-house
 in Georgetown, Demerara, on the 29th July,
 1831, by permission of his Excellency the
 Governor,

RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH,

That in approaching your Excellency upon
 a subject so vitally important to the best in-
 terests of the colonists at large, your memo-
 rialists firmly assert, that there exist not in the
 wide extent of his Majesty's dominions, sub-
 jects more truly loyal and devoted to his Ma-
 jesty and his illustrious house, than the colo-
 nists of Demerara and Essequibo.

That, imbued with every sense of loyalty to
 his Majesty, and respect to your Excellency,
 your memorialists take leave to lay before
 your Excellency, as the representative of Ma-
 jesty, the grievances and sufferings under
 which they peculiarly labour at the present
 moment.

That on the 21st day of July just past,
 your Excellency was pleased to publish, or
 cause to be published, a proclamation, where-
 by, amongst other things, it was declared,
 "that you had received from his Majesty's
 Government the therein following order of his
 Majesty in Council, and that the same was
 thereby published for general information."

That for the purposes of this memorial, it is
 unnecessary to set forth the whole of the said
 order in council; yet, nevertheless, the pas-
 sages to be transcribed, in consequence of their
 importance, are such as to induce your me-
 morialists to crave, in the first instance, your
 Excellency's patience and attention.

That passing over that part of the preamble
 of the said order in council, by which is ob-
 tained the conclusion, that it was fit that the
 courts of criminal and civil justice in Deme-
 rara and Essequibo (amongst others) should
 thenceforth be holden by persons of competent
 legal education—"It was therefore ordered
 by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and
 with the advice of his Privy Council, that
 thenceforth the Court of Criminal and Civil
 Justice of Demerara and Essequibo, and the
 Court of Civil Justice and the Court of Criminal
 Justice of Berbice, and the Court for the Trial
 of Criminal Prosecutions, and the Court of
 First Instance of Civil Jurisdiction in the island
 of Trinidad, and the Royal Court of Saint
 Lucia, should be respectively holden by, and
 before three Judges, and no more—that is to
 say, each of the said courts should be holden
 by and before the President for the time being
 of the Court of Criminal and Civil Justice of
 Demerara and Essequibo, and the Chief Jus-

tice for the time being for Trinidad, and the First President for the time being of the Royal Court of Saint Lucia, or by and before the persons who, during the vacancy of any such offices, or during the absence or temporary incapacity of any of the said Judges, might have received a provisional or temporary appointment to act as, and in the place and stead of any such Judges or Judge.

"And it was further ordered—That for the purpose of holding the respective courts aforesaid, the said Judges should, from time to time, repair to the said respective colonies of Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, and Saint Lucia.

"And it was further ordered—That two sessions, at the least, should be holden in each year of each of the said courts; and that the times of holding such sessions in such respective colonies, and the duration thereof in each, should be determined by proclamations to be, from time to time, for that purpose issued in the said respective colonies by the respective governors thereof.

"And it was further ordered—That the governors of the said respective colonies should, and they were thereby authorised to arrange with each other the times of holding such sessions as aforesaid, in such manner as might best promote the administration of justice therein, and the common convenience of the said respective colonies.

"And it was further ordered—That in each of the said courts the said three Judges should, in all civil cases, have, possess, exercise, and enjoy such and the same jurisdiction, powers, and authority in the every respect as the then present Judges of the said courts then had, or lawfully possessed, exercised, or enjoyed; and that the decision of the majority of such three Judges should, in all civil cases at any time depending in either of the said courts, be taken and adjudged to be, and should be recorded as the judgment of the whole court.

"That it was further ordered—That upon the trial of any person or person in any of the said courts for any crime or offence with which they, he, or she might be charged, three assessors should be appointed to the said three Judges, in the manner thereafter provided for—which assessors should be entitled to deliberate and vote with such Judges upon the final judgment to be pronounced in every such criminal case; and no person should be convicted of any crime or offence, or adjudged to suffer any punishment, by any judgment or sentence of any of the said courts, unless a majority of the total number of such Judges and assessors should, in open court, vote in favour of such judgment or sentence.

"And it was further ordered—That in each of the said courts, the said three Judges and assessors should, in all criminal cases, have, possess, exercise, and enjoy such and the same jurisdiction, powers, and authority in every respect as the then present Judges of the said courts then had, or lawfully possessed, exercised, or enjoyed; and that the decision of the majority of the total number of such

Judges and assessors should, in all criminal cases, at any time depending in any of the said courts, be taken and adjudged to be, and should be recorded as the judgment of the whole court.

"And it was further ordered—That the governor of each of the said colonies should, by proclamations to be by him, from time to time, for that purpose issued within the same, make and prescribe such rules and regulations as might be necessary to determine the qualifications of such assessors, the mode of conveying them, the penalties to be inflicted on persons refusing to act as such assessors when thereunto lawfully required, and the mode of challenging such assessors, and what should be the lawful ground of challenge, and how the validity of any such challenge should be determined, together with every other matter and thing which might be necessary to the effective discharge by such assessors of the duty thereby committed to them; and every such proclamation should forthwith be transmitted by such governor for his Majesty's approbation, and, should, in the mean time, and unless disallowed by his Majesty, and until such disallowance should be made known to such governor, be of the same force and effect as if the same had been contained in that present order.

"And it was further ordered—That during the absence of any of the said Judges from the colony to which he might belong for the purpose of holding such sessions as aforesaid, the Supreme Court of such colony should be holden by a single Judge, to be called the Vice-President of such court; and it should be the duty of such the Vice-President to hear and determine all such interlocutory matters arising in or upon any civil or criminal suit, action, or proceeding, depending in the said court as might be brought before him; and also to inquire into, and report to the said Judges in any such sessions as aforesaid, upon any questions which might, by such Judges at such their sessions, have been specially referred to any such Vice-President; and in the exercise of such jurisdiction, such Vice-President should, and he was thereby required to conform himself to, and observe such general rules or orders of court as might be made for his guidance in the manner thereafter mentioned.

"And it was further ordered and declared—That it should be lawful for the said supreme courts, respectively, to review, reverse, correct, or confirm, as occasion might require, any judgment, sentence, rule, or order, which might be made, given or pronounced by any such Vice-President as aforesaid, in the exercise of the jurisdiction thereby vested in him; and that in the exercise of such jurisdiction, such Vice-President should act alone, and without any colleague or assessor, and should have all such and the same powers and authority in that behalf, as then were or was vested in the said courts respectively for the said respective purposes.

"And it was further ordered—That it should, and might be, lawful for the Judges of the said courts respectively, and they were thereby authorised and required, to make and establish such rules, orders, and regulations, as to them should seem meet, concerning the form and manner of proceeding to be observed in the said courts respectively, and the practice and pleadings in all actions, suits, and other matters, both civil and criminal to be therein brought, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the said respective Vice-Presidents, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the executive and ministerial officers of the said courts respectively, and concerning the process of the said courts, and the mode of executing the same, and concerning the admission of advocates, barristers, attorneys, solicitors, notaries, and proctors, in the said courts respectively, and concerning all other matters and things which relate to the conduct and dispatch of business in the said respective courts, and all such rules, orders, and regulations, from time to time, to revoke, alter, amend, or renew, as occasion might require: Provided always, that no such rules, orders, or regulations should be repugnant to that present order, and that the same should be formed as to promote, as far as might be, economy and expedition in the dispatch of the business of the courts respectively; and that the same should be drawn up in plain, succinct, and compendious terms, avoiding all unnecessary repetitions and obscurity, and be promulgated in the most public and authentic manner in the colonies to which the same might respectively refer, for fourteen days at least, before the same should be binding and take effect therein; and provided also that all such rules, orders, and regulations, should forthwith be transmitted to his Majesty, under the seal of the court, by the governor for the time being of such colony, for his approbation or disallowance.

"And it was therefore further ordered—That it should be lawful for the governor of each of the said colonies respectively, with the advice of the Court of Policy of the said colony of British Guiana, and with the advice of the said council of Government in the said colonies of Trinidad and St. Lucia, by any laws and ordinances to be from time to time made for that purpose, to erect, constitute, and establish courts, having jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases within the said respective colonies, provided that the jurisdiction of such civil courts should not be extended to any case wherein the sum, or matter in dispute, should exceed the amount or value of twenty pounds, sterling money, or wherein the title to any lands or tenements, or the title of any person to his, or her freedom, or any fee, duty, or office, might be in question, or whereby rights in future might exist and be bound; and provided also that the jurisdiction of such courts in criminal cases, should not be extended to any case wherein any person might be accused

of any crime, punishable by death, transportation, or banishment; and that it should not be lawful for any such criminal court to inflict any greater or other punishment than imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding three months, or a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or whipping not exceeding twenty-nine stripes, or any two or more such punishments within the limits aforesaid.

"And it was further ordered—That the Judges of the said *supreme courts*, of the said colonies respectively, should, and they were thereby authorised to make, ordain, and establish, all necessary rules, orders, or regulations respecting the manner and mode of proceeding to be observed in the said petty courts, and respecting the manner and form of carrying the judgments and orders of such courts into execution, with all such other rules, orders, and regulations, as might be necessary for the giving full and perfect effect to the jurisdiction of such courts respectively, and such rules, orders, and regulations, from time to time, to revoke, alter, and renew, as occasion should require.

"And it thereby was further ordered—That all orders theretofore made by his Majesty, or by any of his royal predecessors, in his, or their Privy Council, and all laws, customs, and usages, then, or at any time theretofore, established or in force in any of the said colonies so far as such orders, laws, or usages, were in anywise repugnant to, or at variance with, that present order, should be, and the same were thereby revoked, abrogated, rescinded, and annulled."

That tedious and prolix as the preceding recital may appear, it has nevertheless been considered necessary, in order to draw your Excellency's attention to the peculiar situation in which the colonists are placed.

That protesting most solemnly against this memorial, or any of the matters, or things, herein contained, being construed into an abandonment or waiver of the rights of the colonists, to use all lawful ways and means to combat the doctrine, that an order in council, published and proclaimed in this colony by the sole authority of your Excellency, has the force and effect of law herein, your memorialists, nevertheless, yield to the urgent necessity of the case, and under the benefit of such protest proceed—

At the time, and immediately preceding the publication of said order in council, there existed in the united colony of Demerara and Essequibo a court of criminal justice, having jurisdiction over all crimes and offences—there also existed a court of Civil Justice of a wide jurisdiction, extending over all possible cases arising between subject and subject, except those peculiarly belonging to the Commissary Court, a court of inferior jurisdiction having authority to determine, in the first instance, all causes under six hundred guilders, and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters of transport and transfer of landed property,

mortgages thereon, and Acts of Ondertrouw and contracts of marriage.

In these courts, the existence of which was coeval with the colonies themselves, and which received their modified form since the year 1774, improvements might have been introduced, but it was certainly unwise prematurely to annihilate them before erecting others in lieu thereof.

Referring your Excellency to those parts of the order in council herein recited, it will be perceived that on the very instant that that order in council was proclaimed and published, the criminal and civil courts of this colony, theretofore existing, were annulled and abolished.

Again referring your Excellency to the order in council, it will be found that the authorities, by which the practice and manner of proceeding to be used in these courts are to be formed and established, are not yet within the boundaries of your Excellency's Government.

In the first place, your Excellency, and the Governor of Trinidad, and the Governor of St. Lucia, are authorised to arrange with each other the times of holding the sessions of the Supreme Court.

In the second place, two sessions of each of the said courts of each colony shall be holden in each year.

In the third place, courts of civil justice shall be respectively holden by, and before, three Judges and no more—that is to say, before the President of the Court of Criminal and Civil Justice of Demerara and Essequibo, the chief Judge of Trinidad, and the First President, for the time being, of the Royal Court of St. Lucia—and the courts of Criminal Justice, before the same three Judges and three assessors.

In the fourth place, the Judges of the said courts respectively shall make and establish the rules, orders, and regulations, concerning the forms and manner of proceeding to be observed in the said courts respectively, and the practice and pleadings in all actions, suits, and other matters, both civil and criminal, to be therein brought, and concerning the duties and jurisdiction of the said respective Vice-Presidents, and concerning the proceedings of the executive and ministerial officers of the said courts respectively, and concerning the process of the said courts, and the mode of executing the same.

In the fifth place, when such rules and regulations shall have been made, it will be necessary that the same shall be promulgated, in the manner prescribed in the order in council, for fourteen days at least, before the same shall be binding and take effect.

In the sixth place, by the said order, power and authority are granted to the Court of Policy to establish petty courts; but the rules, orders, or regulations respecting the manner and form of proceeding to be observed in the said petty courts, and respecting the manner and form of carrying the judgments and orders of such

courts into execution, with all such other rules, orders, and regulations as may be necessary for giving full and perfect effect to the jurisdiction of such courts respectively, shall be made, ordained, and established by the Judges of the said supreme courts of the said colonies respectively.

A perusal of the six foregoing abstracts from the order in council will convince your Excellency of the absence from the colony at present of all power or authority competent to carry into effect the said order in council.

Your Excellency must arrange with two Governors of distinct islands, before the session of any court can be appointed,—it need scarcely be observed, that the distance between the three respective governments, and the impediments to communication, unless the three governors should meet in any one Government, will naturally produce great delay, and that the powers delegated to three jointly, cannot be exercised by your Excellency alone.

The Supreme Court of Civil Justice shall be holden before three Judges, and no more,—those three Judges being specially deputed to be the President of the courts of Demerara and Essequibo, the Chief Judge of Trinidad, and the First President of the Royal Court of Saint Lucia; and the Court of Criminal Justice before the same three Judges, with the association of three assessors. In like predicament, to the first point, stands this:—The Chief Judge of Trinidad and the First President of Saint Lucia, have not only not arrived in this colony, but it is doubtful whether they, or either of them, are within the western hemisphere; for, of the arrival of the one from England to assume his office in Trinidad, no information has yet been received; and it is certain that the First President of Saint Lucia not long ago left that island for England, expecting to return. As your Excellency alone cannot exercise the powers delegated to you and the other two governors, so neither can his Honour the President of the Courts here alone legally perform or discharge the duties entrusted jointly to him and to the two other Judges or Presidents.

Although the Court of Policy has been authorised to establish within the colony petty courts, both of criminal and civil jurisdiction, yet (without entering into the question of the Court of Policy, as at present existing, having the power to act therein), it must be observed, that the mode and manner of proceeding before such petty courts, are to be framed by the same Judges who are authorised to frame the orders, rules, and regulations which shall govern the proceedings of the Supreme Court.

It cannot fail to be remarked that until the rules, orders, and regulations concerning the forms and manner of proceeding, to be observed in the said courts respectively, shall have been made and established by the persons authorised and required so to do, there cannot be a single legal process instituted within this colony, nor can those instituted and pending be progressed in one step.

With respect to the impossibility of instituting, under existing circumstances, a legal process or suit, the appointment of a precise and particular day to the defendant to appear, is as necessary in every summons or citation as that of having a person or defendant against whom to direct such process. If before a court, already legally constituted, there exists the necessity for appointing a precise or particular day of appearance, how great must the necessity be to have a court before which such an appearance is to be made! Circumstanced as the colonists are, however, their old courts declared to be abolished, new ones promised, but not erected, your memorialists cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that there is not at present in the colony any court having any the least judicial authority.—Such, your Excellency, is the situation in which the colonists are unhappily placed—the consequences of such a situation must be, and are, obvious; but that the colonists may not again incur the censure to which they have been repeatedly subjected—that they cannot be aggrieved because they complain not, your memorialists conceive it their duty to bring to the notice of your Excellency some few of the ruinous effects of this extraordinary state of things.

The effects in regard to criminal justice, are, that, with the exception of arrests and commitments by the fiscal, there is no proceeding extant.

The effects with regard to civil justice, are immediate and mediate.

The immediate are these—

That there can be no transport passed, consequently no transfer of immoveable property with title.

That no mortgage or other security on real property can be granted, received, or cancelled.

That no Act of Ondertrouw can be passed, or marriage contract entered into, by any parties howsoever competent to pass such act or enter into such contract.

That no arrest, or other provision of justice, can be sued out or issued without subjecting the plaintiff to the danger of having his proceedings hereafter declared illegal, and himself condemned to make good the consequences of such illegal proceeding,—and that hence in the event of a fraudulent debtor, being about to leave the colony, his creditor must either submit to the loss of his debt, or incur the risk of damages for the attempt to secure himself by illegal means.

That no citation or ordinary process can be issued, and that consequently no sentence, condemning a debtor to pay, however malicious his refusal, can be obtained.

That no sentence, already obtained, and of which there are very many, can be enforced, as the old mode of executing the same has been abolished, and no new mode framed and established.

That executions already levied are stayed beyond the possibility of their being proceeded in one step further—hence plantations under

execution are without sequestrators to administer and protect them; the sale of property, in *custodia regis*, impracticable—such property remaining meanwhile subject to deterioration and loss from every possible contingency,—and, in the case of slaves, subject to expenses ruinous to the interests of all concerned.

That the distribution of the proceeds of property already sold is delayed,—and as in the case of estates, money is seldom or ever actually told down, there exists every risk to the general creditor from the failure of securities.

That appeals noted and under prosecution, many of them solely for the purposes of delay, are unduly protracted, to the manifest injury of those beneficially interested in the sentences appealed from, and this, without the creditor having any the least security for the losses consequent on such delay.

That numerous suits, involving interests of immense amount not called, called and closed, but not pleaded, and in various other stages, are all in abeyance, and in very many instances without security to the creditor.

The mediate effects are—

That without entering into the question of the destruction of what little confidence may have remained in the colonies by those at home, connected therewith, the sudden and premature abolition of all courts of law, will naturally repel every thought of investing capital or extending credit in a colony, the institutions of which depend for their existence upon the will of the executive authority, and not as of right upon the immutable stability of law.

These matters brought to the notice of your Excellency, your memorialists maintain to be worthy of your most serious consideration, and of the application of a remedy.

Your memorialists presume not to point out or pray for any specific remedy.

All which is respectfully submitted by your memorialists.

(Signed) GEORGE WARREN, Chairman.
EDWARD DAWSON, Sec.

August 4th, 1831.

APPOINTMENT.

It is obviously incompatible with the obligations of the office which I hold under his Majesty, for me to go into the consideration of any document, bearing upon the face of it, as this does, an express denial of the rights of the Crown.

(Signed) B. D'URBAN.

King's House, 6th August, 1831.

A true copy.

(Signed) T. C. HAMMILL,
Asst. Gov. Sec.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND in the country asked me when I shall be at leisure to see him when he comes to town, and what house will suit me best. I have never any *leisure*. I am always at work or asleep. But I rise so early, and I waste so little time at meals, that, except sometimes on a Wednesday or a Thursday, I can see anybody, at any time, upon any business whatever, and am always happy to give every one that applies to me the best advice, or most correct information, in my power. As to whether I am to be found at Kensington, or at Bolt-court, that is a matter of complete uncertainty; but at Bolt-court, information as to this matter may always be had. Sometimes gentlemen call here, find me here, but *engaged*, and then they go away, naturally disliking to wait in the shop. They should not do this, if they really want to see me; for there is just opposite a very nice coffee-house and tavern called the DOCTOR JOHNSON, kept in a very excellent manner, where there is lodging and every accommodation. I have now been an observer of the conduct of the persons in this house for more than a year, and I venture to recommend it to gentlemen who come from the country, and who wish to live a sober and orderly life while they are here. The court itself is a remarkably clean place. Opposite the entrance of it is the great coach-office called the Bolt-in-Tun. We are situated within a step of the Temple, and other Inns of the Courts, and at only about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Royal Exchange, and at five minutes' walk from the foot of Blackfriars-Bridge. The best time in the day to see me is, a little before day-light in winter, and a little after daylight in summer. A Norfolk farmer knocked at the door here half-an-hour before day-light last winter. I was very busy, but the great merit of the hour made me cast aside all business, and attend to his affair with the utmost diligence and zeal.

I once more beg not to have any written application for information relative to *emigration to the United States*.

I wrote my little book called the *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE* (price 2s. 6d.) for the express purpose of relieving myself from the pain of not answering such letters. In that little book is all that I can say upon the subject, if I were to talk to the end of my life-time; yet, if any person happen to be near me, and have any particular question to ask, I at all times feel great pleasure in answering him. Men are wise to go, if they have large growing families, or if they wish to live well, instead of being pinched here under the tax-gatherer. And it will continue to be wise to go until the borough-monger power is completely destroyed.

I thank my correspondent for his extract from the *Morning Post*, which informs the public of the approaching matrimonial alliance between the families of *Butcher Mellish* and that of Lord KINNAIRD. And I observe what my correspondent points out, that there is a wish to make it be believed that it is not *Butcher Mellish*, but *Banker Mellish*. For what reason this attempt is made I know not, seeing that the butcher is by far the more respectable and dignified calling of the two. I am aware that this was a *government butcher*, and I am also aware that the other was a *government banker*. Besides, I do not see, for my part, any *honour* that the butcher is gaining by the alliance either with the KINNAIRDS or with the THYNNES. It is, however, curious to observe how sharply this high-blooded and lofty-minded race look out for the bags that have been grubbed up together through the means of the blessed system that they have been carrying on, and how they pounce upon them whenever they can. An instance of this, and of the consequences of it, will be seen below, in a report which contains an account of the proceedings relative to a fellow of the name of NEELD, who got the heavy bags of old *Rundle*, or *Bundle*, or *Grundle*, or some such name, who used to make the *services of plate for the ambassadors and envoys*, and who made the snuff-boxes and the *seventy-two-gallon silver wine-cooler* for the magnificent King George the Fourth, to whose toiling subjects WILTSHIRE BENETT and his brother

magistrates allowed *a pound and a quarter of bread a day, and a halfpenny for food and clothing*. This NEELD became an object of affection with the daughter of the lofty EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, and the enamoured couple, mutually smitten, doubtless, became man and wife, the result of which, the report to which I refer will most amply set forth, to the great amusement, if not to the moral advantage, of this (as Doctor BLACK calls us) *uneducated and unrefined* people.

CONSISTORY COURT.—MONDAY, DEC. 4.
(Before Dr. Lushington.)

NEELD v. NEELD—The further hearing of this cause was resumed this morning. Counsel was heard for and against the production of an affidavit, to the effect that Mr. Neeld had written a letter to Lady Caroline, requesting her to leave London, and come to Littleton-house, and that when she did arrive there, in pursuance of her instructions, Mr. Neeld had previously left the house, and was not present to receive her.

The Court: The circumstances of the case were not such as warranted a production of the affidavit at present.

The KING'S ADVOCATE, who appeared on behalf of Mr. Neeld, then went over the various allegations, grounded on the letters of the parties, and endeavoured to show that no proposal for a separation in the first instance emanated from Mr. Neeld; but, on the contrary, it came from Lady Caroline; and that a letter in evidence was written by Mr. Neeld to Lord Shaftesbury, in which the former, by desire of his wife, requested of his lordship that arrangements might be made for effecting a permanent separation; it was further shown in evidence, that Lady Caroline admitted, that in a moment of irritation she might have wished for a separation. Mr. Neeld protested against the imputation of proposals for a separation being laid upon him. Again, on the arrival of the parties in London, Lady Caroline, in a communication to Mr. Neeld, says that she had prepared two bed-rooms in their house in Grosvenor-square, and she waited to know which of them Mr. Neeld meant to occupy? To this the latter replied, "You have driven me from you, and I go to an hotel to-night." It was alleged that Mr. Neeld had practised cruelty, in order to force a separation and his own rate of maintenance on Lady Caroline; but that allegation was only grounded on a letter in which Mr. Neeld simply tells his wife that he did not mean to have a town house. The learned Advocate contended, that from the letters which were now produced, there was proof given that Mr. Neeld had behaved with kindness to his wife. Lady Caroline Neeld had persisted in staying at the house in

Grosvenor-square, though her husband had previously requested her to leave it. With respect to that article in the allegation which alleged that Mr. Neeld had taken no steps to defend his lady's character from the attack in *The Satirist*, what was the fact? In one of these letters now produced, and which it was said on the other side were immaterial to the cause, it appeared that Mr. Neeld had sent to his lady, requesting her to leave Grosvenor-square and return into the country, as he had taken measures to punish the author of the libel upon her in the newspaper, and that as her object in going to town to make affidavits to defend herself was accomplished, she should return. He (the King's Advocate) thought this fully showed that Mr. Neeld had not treated his lady in so cruel a manner as described. The King's Advocate referred to other letters to show that Lady Caroline might have gone to her father's house, and not have remained in that in Grosvenor-square. Mr. Neeld, in fact, suggested that it was indelicate for her to remain there while the house was to be let, and when she refused to leave it, he ordered the furniture to be removed. After a few other remarks, the learned Counsel concluded by expressing his conviction that the libel ought to be rejected.

Dr. PHILLIMORE followed at some length on the same side. A perusal of Mr. Neeld's letters to Lady Caroline would convince the Court that he had acted with propriety—a due attention to Lady Caroline's feelings pervaded them all; they not only decidedly disproved acts of cruelty, but showed that the case was a mere treaty for money; the allegations of cruelty were exceedingly frivolous; in one of the articles Mr. Neeld is charged with cruelty, grounded on the following sentence at the end of a letter to his wife, "I wish you a good morning—I am going to London." The other twenty-four allegations of separate acts of cruelty, said to have been committed in seven and twenty days, were equally frivolous—namely, whether she should have fish and pastry to dinner; and that Mr. Neeld had hurt her hand when pulling her into his cabriolet, and such-like. The learned Doctor read extracts of Mr. Neeld's letter to show that the latter had exhausted all means of effecting a reconciliation. He had been charged with committing a series of injuries and insults; but again he (Dr. Phillimore) called upon the Court to look to the letters produced; what did they say? In reference to the dismantling of the house in Grosvenor-square, Mr. Neeld gave his wife repeated notices that it was a proceeding necessary, previous to the sale of it; nay further, that Littleton-house was ready for Lady Caroline's reception, when she should leave the town-house, and that he (Mr. Neeld) had given directions that all her comforts should be attended to. These allegations were not worth the use of serious arguments in their refutation. Lady Caroline's refusal to quit the house in Grosvenor-square was an act of disobedience to her husband. She also

demanding four post horses, while there were plenty of Mr. Neeld's in the stable, and whilst he was of opinion that two were enough either for the purposes of business or pleasure. The learned Doctor concluded by observing that the case ought to be discharged.

Mr. DODSON, for Lady Caroline Neeld, at some length argued on the letter of Mr. Neeld, and contended that the libel was fully substantiated.

Dr. ADAMS followed on the same side. He maintained that a case of constructive cruelty was fully established against Mr. Neeld, who, by a series of petty annoyances, commenced at Warwick Castle, provoked Lady Caroline, in a moment of irritation, to say that she would sooner agree to a separation than submit to such treatment; but that did not warrant the imputation which had been cast upon her by the other side, namely, that the first proposal for a separation came from her; in proof of which it was in evidence that she had endeavoured to meet Mr. Neeld at his house in Grosvenor-square, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, but he refused to see her; she then met with this brutal usage, for he (Dr. Adams) could not call it by any other name. Lady Caroline, in her letters to Mr. Neeld, says that she was not anxious to force herself upon him; she was anxious, however, for a reconciliation; she had prepared two beds, in order that Mr. Neeld might have his choice; but he rejected both, and went to an hotel; a separation, therefore, became necessary; mutual friends were applied to; the maintenance proposed by Mr. Neeld was considered too limited when compared with his wealth; and her character, in consequence, would suffer by the smallness of the sum. Mr. Neeld was one of the richest men in this country. Allegations no doubt would be made to show that his income amounted to 50,000*l.* a year; but take it at 40,000*l.*, or even, at the very lowest, 30,000*l.* per annum; even in that case he was one of the richest men in the land. He (Dr. Adams) begged pardon for mentioning his Grace the Duke of Devonshire on the present occasion; but he did so for the sake of illustrating his observations; his Grace was known to be one of the richest of the aristocracy; taking, therefore, his annual income at four times the amount of Mr. Neeld's, namely, 120,000*l.* per annum, it became a matter of doubt, seeing that the noble Duke had an expensive establishment to keep up at Devonshire house, at Chatsworth, and other places, if he really had so much of what might be called expendable money as Mr. Neeld, who had not the splendid establishments of his Grace to support. Now, Mr. Neeld having been shown to be so rich, was it too much to allow his bride four post horses to her carriage? The refusal was purposely done to insult her feelings. But it is in evidence that he made a sort of ostentatious desertion of Lady Caroline; he went to Chippenham during the election there for a representative; being the successful candidate, he was an object of

importance in the eyes of the public; he knew that Lady Caroline was in the same town, but he took no notice of her, and left the place; in short, she was placed in situations in which no wife ought to stand; she was deserted, and left to herself; reports prejudicial to her character soon got afloat. The learned Counsel hoped that the Court would admit the allegation.

JUDGMENT.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then proceeded to give judgment. The case he had before him was one of singularity. There were two points to be considered, and to which the attention of the Court must be drawn in the first instance—first, as to whether the libel were admissible at all; and secondly, whether, if it were admitted, it should be reformed. The suit was promoted by Lady Caroline Mary Neeld against Mr. C. Neeld for a separation, on the ground of cruelty. The Court had to decide whether cruelty had been committed by the husband in the legal import of the word, and as laid down by his predecessors in that Chair. He took the main test of cruelty to be whether, if all the charges against Mr. Neeld were capable of proof, Lady Caroline could return to cohabitation with safety to herself. It was the bounden duty of the Court to protect the wife from personal ill-treatment, from cruelty by blows or threats, which might, to a timid mind, be productive of fear. Without violence, or such threats as he had referred to, the Court had no power to separate man and wife. It was the maxim of the English law, that parties could not be separated on slight grounds. He had not to consider whether the separation of the parties would operate to the comfort of the parties. He was bound to give his judgment on the libel and exhibits laid before him. The circumstances of the case now before him were painful indeed. The parties were married in January in the present year, and the cohabitation was short indeed, terminating on the 6th February. A separation of some time took place. Subsequently Lady Caroline commenced a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights, to which Mr. Neeld had assigned compliance. It had been stated, that if acts of cruelty had been committed by Mr. Neeld, it was condoned by her seeking a restitution of conjugal rights. He thought that extraordinary cases might occur where a female might seek a restitution of her rights, though she might hazard personal violence, for the sake of her children, or other things he need not mention. The learned Judge went over the different articles in the libel, and said he could not bring his mind to think, though Mr. Neeld had restricted Lady Caroline in many respects, that acts of cruelty had been made out, which, if proved, would warrant him in deciding in favour of a separation. The Court could not come to the conclusion that Lady Caroline could not return to cohabitation without apprehending personal violence. After going over many other facts, he learned Judge said, he felt it his bounden

duty to reject the libel. The Court had no power to interfere, where charges short of actual violence were not averred. He begged it to be distinctly understood, that in nothing he had said, did he wish to impute motives or blame to either of the parties. He thought it would be doing justice to reject the libel, and save the parties any further public animadversions. He rejected the libel. The suit consequently is put an end to.

The following are the letters which were kept back in the first instance, and to which allusion was so frequently made to-day:—

“Grosvenor-square, Tuesday.

“My dear Lord—I had reached Reading last night, on my route to Hastings, for a few days, for the benefit of my health, and the relief of my spirits, when Captain Boldero joined me there. His arrival changed my plans, and I determined to come up to town.

“I very much regret that the kindly-intentioned interference of Captain Boldero (an interference not sought for by him, but very reluctantly undertaken by him upon urgent entreaty) should have been rejected. As that has been done, and as I have exhausted all the means of approach to reconciliation which were left open to me, and as Lady Caroline (either from the impulse of her own inclinations, or from the advice of her friends) does not attempt any such approach, I see no course now open to us but to leave it to our friends to settle such terms of separation as shall, under all the circumstances of this extraordinary marriage, be thought proper.

“I do not intend to act so uncourtously as to conclude this letter with reproaches, but I must at the same time do justice to myself; and I should not do that if I did not positively and solemnly declare—first, that I am not conscious of one single imputation to my prejudice which Lady Caroline can justly make against me; and, in the next place, that I protest against the requisition of separation being imputed to me. The first suggestion of it came from Lady Caroline herself, in her conversation with me at Warwick; and her subsequent conduct has forced me to consider that suggestion as one, the adoption of which is the only course likely to produce to us mutual quiet and peace.

“I am, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

“JOS. NEEDL.”

Superscribed

“The Earl of Shaftesbury.”

“You have driven me from you. I go to an hotel to-night.

“Thursday night.

“J. N.”

“Brook-street, April 21.

“Lady Caroline—After it had been intimated to me that a separation between you and me had been agreed to by you and your family, I was not prepared to expect that such a treaty for money as has ensued would have taken place. I have now come to the deter-

mination of breaking up my town establishment for the present year, as I had before intimated to you the probability of my doing. I have written to Grittleton that proper preparations may be made for your reception, and the carriage will be ready to take you down on Saturday or Monday, at any hour you may name. I shall follow as soon as my necessary attendance in Parliament will permit.

“Yours,

“J. N.”

Superscribed

“The Lady Caroline Needl.”

“Cheltenham, Tuesday Evening.

“It is not my intention to return to Grittleton House for the present.

“I have given directions to have all your comforts properly attended to, and I hope you will find that those directions have been obeyed.

“Yours,

“J. N.”

“Coulson’s Hotel, May 24.

You cannot justly impute to me that my conduct towards you has been in any respect ‘disgraceful;’ all the reports which have arisen injurious to your character are ascribable to yourself alone. The only blame that I can lay to myself is that of having been too kind to you, and having submitted too much to your improper conduct.

Whether your remaining in my advertised house is detrimental to its sale or not, I am the best and choose to be the only judge. I think it so. I do not stop to inquire how far it is consistent with the ordinary delicacy of a lady to enter into a placarded house, open to the public inspection of every house-hunter, in opposition to my known wishes, and in contradiction of your father’s written engagement; nor how it can be proper for you to volunteer to stay in the house under such circumstances; nor do I stay to ask how it is compatible with female delicacy for you to proffer yourself to a joint residence with me, after you first separated yourself from me; after your father, corresponding and acting for you, has written to me that separation was inevitable; and after he referred it to our mutual solicitors ‘to settle the terms of our separation.’ Those terms went off upon the excess of the pecuniary demands made upon my purse.

“I now apprise you that if you do not like to go to your father’s house (upon which invitation you came to town), I will take apartments for you at the Coburg Hotel (which, I must presume, is unobjectionable to you, because it is the one you selected when we came to town in January), until Grittleton House is fit for your reception; but I cannot allow your longer stay at my house in the square.

“Yours,

“J. N.”

“Coulson’s Hotel, May 27.

“Your obstinate refusal to quit the house in Grosvenor-square, for the mere purpose of preventing its sale, is an act of disobedience on your part which I will not submit to.”

now give you notice, that to-morrow being the day I fixed for your departure, I shall send the upholsterer in, with orders to take down all the beds, and to put the house in a state fit only for the purpose of being viewed for sale. I shall also discharge all the servants from it, and shall leave it in the sole charge of the upholsterer's man.

"These steps can put you to no inconvenience, because I have given you already timely intimation that I required you to leave the house; that Grittleton House was ready for your reception, as it now is; and at the same time I offered to take suitable apartments for you at the Coburg, or any other respectable hotel, if for any particular purpose you wish to stay in town for a few days longer. I now repeat that offer.

"On your suggestion of an appeal to law, I have consulted one of the most eminent civilians in Doctors' Commons as to the course I am legally entitled to pursue, and the proceedings which I now notify to you are those which he advises. He further advises me that your arrogant claim to four horses, instead of a pair, for the mere purpose of a morning airing, is what you have no right to make, and upon his advice I shall resist it. And your extravagant hiring of four post-horses daily, while you had a competent supply in the stable, is equally objectionable, and the repetition of such conduct will not be permitted.

"In conclusion, I have only to say, that if you think a system of petty annoyances can drive me to submit to extortion, you will find your-elf mistaken; and further, that if you continue to forget, or at least to violate the obedience and duties of a wife, I will assert and exercise the power and authority of a husband, to their utmost legal extent.

"I leave town this evening, as you are aware I had arranged to do. I cannot delay my departure longer than eight o'clock, before which hour, I shall expect to receive your answer at my hotel as to your determination. If I should not receive it before that time, I shall desire my Secretary to call upon you at ten o'clock to-morrow for your directions.

"Yours, "J. N."

Superscribed

"Lady Caroline Neeld."

"Coulson's Hotel, May 21.

"Having taken measures, on the earliest possible day, to punish the author of the atrocious libel in *The Satirist*, and the object of your journey to town being accomplished, I request you will again return into the country. Your present stay in Grosvenor square, whilst the house is on sale and public view, is not only inconvenient and indelicate, but is prejudicial to the sale of the property, which I am desirous to effect without delay, as the season is fast running on.

"As, however, your return to Grittleton House for a few days; under the circumstances stated in the enclosed letter from the medical gentleman at Chippenham (it is a reply to a

letter I sent to him on Sunday, when I heard of the young woman's illness by the servant who came to town that day), may neither be prudent nor safe. I request to know whether you will go to an hotel, or prefer returning to your father's house, as he proposed when you came up to town.

"I shall give orders for the immediate removal of the young woman to a proper place, so that the house may be ready for your reception with the least possible delay.

"I wish to know what you decide upon, as I leave town to-morrow.

"Yours,

"J. N."

Chippenham, June 14, 1831.

"Mr. Lawes—Sir, Mr. Neeld has requested me to inform you, that there are now in his stables at Grittleton House, the carriage and two other horses for the use of Lady Caroline Neeld, and that he will not be responsible for the costs of any post horses furnished by you or Mr. Carpenter for the use of her Ladyship.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES LOCKE."

Superscribed

"Mr. Lawes, Chippenham."

"Dearest Har.—Both London and I are locked up, and men guarding the door outside. I do not know how to get out. Can you consult the Earl? Mr. N. is going out soon himself, I believe. Will the Earl give me a bed to-night? Do not let the Earl or H. C. come. I will manage somehow."

Superscribed

"Lady H. Corry, 24, Grosvenor-square."

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS.

CROWN OFFICE, DEC. 3, 1831.

His Majesty has been pleased to command the issuing of the following Commissions:—

William the Fourth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to our well-beloved and faithful Councillor Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux, Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain; our most dear cousin and councillor Henry Marquess of Lansdowne, President of our Council; our well-beloved and faithful councillor John George Lord Durham, Keeper of our Privy Seal; our most dear cousin Charles Duke of Beaufort; our most dear cousins and councillors William Spencer Duke of Devonshire, Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley; our well-beloved and faithful councillor Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Kut., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; our beloved and faithful Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Kut., one of the Justices of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir William Elias Taunton, Kut., one of the Justices assigned to hold pleas before us; Sir Thomas

DENMAN, Knt., our Attorney-General; Thomas WILDE, one of our Serjeants-at-Law; John Gurney, Esq., one of our Counsel learned in the law; and William Selwyn, Esq., one other of our Counsel learned in the law; greeting: Know ye, that we have assigned you, and any two of you, of whom one of you, the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thos. Wilde, John Gurney, and Wm. Selwyn, we will shall be one, our Justices, to inquire more fully the truth, by the oath of good and lawful men of the county of the city of Bristol, and by other ways, means, and methods by which you shall or may better know (as well within liberties as without) by whom the truth of the matter may be the better known and inquired into, of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, rebellions, counterfeitings, clippings, washings, false coinings, and other falsities of the money of Great Britain and other our kingdoms and dominions whatsoever, and of all murders, felonies, manslaughters, killings, burglaries, rapes of women, unlawful meetings and convenicles, unlawful uttering of words, assemblies, misprisions, confederacies, false allegations, trespasses, riots, routs, retentions, escapes, contempts, falsities, negligences, concealments, maintenances, oppressions, champerties, deceits, and all other evil doings, offences, and injuries whatsoever, and also the accessories of them, within the county of the city aforesaid (as well within liberties as without), by whomsoever and in what manner soever done, committed, or perpetrated, and by whom, or to whom, when, how, and after what manner, and of all other articles and circumstances concerning the premises, and every of them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever, and the said treasons and the other premises, according to the laws and customs of England, for this time to hear and determine.

And, therefore, we command you, that at a certain day and place, or at certain days and places, which you, or any two of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall appoint for this purpose, you make diligent inquiries about the premises, and hear and determine all and singular the premises, and do and fulfil them in the aforesaid form, doing therein what to justice does appertain, according to the laws and customs of England, saving to us the amerancements and other things from thence to us accruing: and we command, by the tenour of these presents, our Sheriffs of our county of the city aforesaid, that at such a day and place, of days and places, which you, or two of you, (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall

be one,) shall make known to them, they cause to come before you, or two of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), so many and such good and lawful men of their bailiwick (as well within liberties as without), by whom the truth of the premises may be better known and inquired into.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of December, in the second year of our reign.

BATHURST.

William the Fourth, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to our well-beloved and faithful Councillor Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux, Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Great Britain; our most dear cousin and councillor Henry Marquess of Landsdowne, President of our Council; our well-beloved and faithful councillor John George Lord Durham, Keeper of our Privy Seal; our most dear cousin Charles Duke of Beaufort; our most dear cousins and councillors William Spencer Duke of Devonshire; Richard Colley Marquess of Wellesley; our well-beloved and faithful Councillor, Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Knt., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; our beloved and faithful Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Knt., one of the Justices of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir William Elias Taunton, Knt., one of the Justices assigned to hold pleas before us; Sir Thomas DENMAN, Knt., our Attorney-General; Thomas WILDE, one of our Serjeants at Law; John Gurney, Esq., one of our Counsel learned in the Law; and William Selwyn, Esq., one other of our Counsel learned in the Law, greeting; know ye, that we have constituted you, and any two or more of you (of whom one of you, the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas DENMAN, Thomas WILDE, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), our Justices to deliver our jail of our county of the city of Bristol, of the prisoners therein being and detained, or who shall be therein detained, before the nineteenth day of December instant:

And, therefore, we command you, that, at a certain day, or at certain days, which you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas DENMAN, Thomas WILDE, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall appoint for this purpose, you meet at the said city of Bristol, to deliver that jail, doing therein what to justice appertains, according to the laws and customs of England, saving to us the amer-

ciaments and other things to us from thence accruing:

And we command, by the tenour of these presents, our Sheriffs of our county of the city aforesaid, that, at a certain day or at certain days, which you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), shall acquaint them with, they cause all the prisoners of the same jail, and their attachments, before you, or any two or more of you (of whom one of you the said Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Sir William Elias Taunton, Sir Thomas Denman, Thomas Wilde, John Gurney, and William Selwyn, we will shall be one), there to come.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the third day of December, in the second year of our reign.

BATHURST.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

DE BUCK, W. J., Broad-street-buildings, merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

BAUCHAMP, R., Holborn-bars, pawn-broker.

CHURCH, W., Mark-lane, wine-merchant.

GILLHAM, C., Romford, Essex, wine-mer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

ATKINSON, G. E., Leman-st., Goodman's-fields, painter.

DUNN, R., Wiveliscombe, Somersetshire, clothier.

PUCKERIDGE, J., Draycot, Wilts., farmer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, J., and T. Brown, Bromley St. Leonard, black-ash-manufacturer.

CANAVAN, M., Macclesfield, draper.

CHAPMAN, J., Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, merchant.

CLEMENT, M., Streatham, Cambridgeshire, cordwainer.

CLIFF, C., Sheffield, dealer in hats.

COLLARD, A. W., Liverpool, merchant.

CROOKS, E., Sheffield, laceman.

HARDISTY, J., Horsforth, Yorks., money-scrivener.

HAWKINS, J., and G. Reddis, Haymarket, wine-merchant.

HUNT, J., Preston, wine-merchant.

LAWLEY, T., Cotton-street, High-street, Poplar, cheesemonger.

MORTON, A., late of Richmond, Surrey, wine-merchant.

PALNE, H., Newman-street, Oxford-street, builder.

PLIMPTON, W., and W. S. Plimpton, late of Lower Thames-st., seedsmen.

RINDER, J., Leeds, butcher.

THOMPSON, A., Barnard Castle, Durham, linen-draper.

WILLIAMS, J., Saint Wollo, Monmouths., coal-merchant.

YOUNG, J., Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BELLIS, E., J. Burt, and J. Thundercliffe, Edinburgh, curriers.

DUTHIE, A. jun., Aberdeen, merchant.

GOUDLE, J., Edinburgh, merchant.

ROUTLEDGE, W., Glasgow, merchant.

THOM, G., D. Camerou, and R. Buchanan, Gartack, cattle-dealers.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

SCHOFIELD, T., Wakefield, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BAMFORD, J. Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire, wine-merchant.

BARGH, W., Dronfield, Derbys., victualler.

BLAKE, S. A., Plymouth, ironmonger.

BRADLEY, W., Manchester, manufacturer.

DAVIS, C. F., Nailsworth, Gloucesters., clothier.

DODGIN, D., Burlington-gardens, Bond-st., gold-manufacturer.

EMASS, W. Birmingham, bookseller.

HARDING, W. B., Gloucester, baker.

HILL, W., York, miller.

PARKER, J. H., Wells next the Sea Norfolk, ship-builder.

PHILLIPS, A., Bromwich, Tottenham-court-road, baker.

PRISEMAN, J., Putney, wheelwright.

TALBOT, W., Birmingham, grocer.

TILSTONE, J. R., Cheapside, and Bank Chambers, Lothbury, commercial-agent.

TREGENT, P., Postlip, Gloucestershire, paper-manufacturer.

WALLER, T., Birstall, Yorkshire, leather-dealer.

WALTON, C., and J. Walton, Toxeth-park, Lancashire, builders.

WYLIE, C. G., Watton-place, Blackfriars-rd., cheese-monger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CUPAR, T. V., Fife, baker.

LECKIE, R. Glasgow, spirit-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, DECEMBER 26.—Our supplies, since this day se'night, of English, Scotch, and Foreign wheat, English and Scotch barley, English malt, beans, and peas, have been moderately good; of Irish wheat and oats, English, Irish, Scotch, and Foreign flour, and Foreign linseed, great; of English and Scotch oats, as well as seeds (with the above exception), from all quarters limited.

This day's market, as is usual on a holiday Monday, was thinly attended, particularly in its early part, both by London and country buyers; consequently its trade was throughout dull; with wheat and barley at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; flour, 2s. to 3s. per sack; with oats, beans, peas, seeds, and rye (the latter nearly or quite nominal), at last week's prices.

The lower quotations of wheat are unaltered, owing to an improvement in quality.

Wheat	60s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	26s. to 31s.
— fine	33s. to 40s.
Peas, White	37s. to 42s.
— Boilers	40s. to 46s.
— Grey	37s. to 41s.
Beans, Old	35s. to 41s.
— Tick	38s. to 44s.
Oats, Potatue	25s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 27s.
— Feed	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	56s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 127s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 6d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 101s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 101s. to 105s.	
— Cork 99s. to —s.	
— Limerick .. 99s. to —s.	
— Waterford.. 95s. to 99s.	
— Dublin 96s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire... 60s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 56s. to 65s.	
— Gloucester, Single.. 50s. to 54s.	
— Edam 46s. to 52s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish, 62s. to 70s.	

SMITHFIELD.—December 26.

This day's market exhibited throughout the most limited Monday's supply recollected to have been witnessed in it. Nearly or quite a moiety of it was comprised of stock turned out unsold from last week's markets. The trade was, however, in the whole dull; with beef at an advance of about 2d.; mutton and veal 2d. to 4d. per stone; with pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 958; sheep and lambs, 8,210; calves, 27; pigs, 70.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 23.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Cons. shut.

Consuls for Account (Thursday), 84½.

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4. **YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.**—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

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6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

7. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

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MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE II.

27th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

I am this evening, under your indulgence, to enter upon a defence of the fourteen propositions which I have put forth in print, and which those who live in idleness upon the fruit of the toil of the people have not scrupled to declare to be utterly subversive of the institutions of the country. The first three of those propositions are as follows :—

1. To put an end to all pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, half-pay, and all other emoluments now paid out of the taxes, except for such public services as, upon a very scrupulous examination, shall be found fully to merit them; and to reduce all salaries to the American standard.
2. To discharge the standing army, except such part of the ordnance and artillery as may be necessary to maintain the arsenals at the seaports in a state of readiness for war; and to abolish the military academies, and dispose of all barracks and other property now applied to military uses.
3. To make the counties, each according to its whole number of members of Parliament, maintain and equip a body of militia, horse as well as foot and artillery, at the county expense, and to have these bodies, as they are in America, mustered at stated periods; so that at any time, a hundred thousand efficient

men may be ready to come into the field, if the defence of the kingdom require it.

Now, gentlemen, is there anything here destructive of the institutions of the country? This phrase, "*institutions of the country*," has become very fashionable, ever since a reform of the Parliament has been proposed by the Ministers. In the absence of all argument, in the absence of everything amounting to a rational objection against the Reform Bill, the general and sweeping charge of its tending to destroy the institutions of the country, has been in the mouth of every one, from the highest to the lowest, who saw, in the natural operation of that bill, the sure termination of that base corruption which has so long disgraced, and that system of plunder which has so long been beggaring, this country, which was once the foremost in the world for honour and for happiness.

Well, now, before we go further, before we enter on a consideration of the propositions which you have permitted me to read to you, let us, since these enemies of the Reform Bill will not do it, *name* the institutions of the country; let us say what they are; and then we shall be better able to judge whether these propositions of mine have any tendency to destroy these institutions. It will hardly be pretended that the power of justices of the peace to transport men for seven years for being in pursuit of their hares and pheasants, is an *institution* of the country. It will hardly be pretended that half-pay, military and naval, given to rectors and vicars and deans and prebends and bishops of the Church of England, is an institution of the country. It will not, surely, be pretended that tacitly sanctioning the receiving of dead bodies, whether stolen from the grave or murdered, and cutting them up, in order that men may acquire the knowledge necessary to ease the pains of the rich; it will hardly be pretended that this is

an institution of the country. It can scarcely be an institution of the country to harness poor men and women, and make them draw carts and wagons, only because they are poor ! But, let us see what the institutions of the country are. I have endeavoured to ascertain what they are ; and I find them to be sixteen in number, and to be as follows :—

1. The common law of England.
2. An hereditary king, having well-known powers and prerogatives.
3. An hereditary peerage, with certain titles and privileges, and certain legislative and judicial powers.
4. A House of Commons chosen by the people, and in the choosing of whom, the peers are forbidden to interfere.
5. A Court of Chancery, having a chancellor at the head of it, appointed by the King.
6. Three courts of law, the judges of which are appointed by the King.
7. Juries to try causes and accusations, under the advice and assistance of the judges.
8. Courts of quarter and petty sessions of justices of the peace.
9. Mayors and other magistrates, to administer justice in cities and towns.
10. Sheriffs to impanel jurors, and to execute the writs and other legal commands of the judges and justices.
11. Coroners to examine into sudden, accidental, and strange deaths of any of the people.
12. Constables to obey the judges and justices in the performance of acts necessary to the keeping of the peace and the execution of justice.
13. Manorial lordships, having, in most cases, the power of appointing constables, and other petty officers, for keeping the peace.
14. Jails for the purpose of enabling the sheriff to keep safe the criminals committed to his charge.
15. Parish stocks for the punishment of petty offenders.
16. A church established by statute law, having a ritual also established by statute law.

Now, these are the institutions of the country; they are the settled, permanent means of governing the country, of ma-

naging its affairs, of causing the laws to be obeyed, of preserving its peace, and providing for its honour and for its happiness ; and, instead of tending to the overthrow of any of these institutions, my propositions must necessarily tend to the preserving of them, or, rather restoring them to their ancient purity, and causing them to produce effects such as they used to produce.

But though I do not aim at the destruction, or at the impairing, of any one of these institutions, I do aim at the destruction of those things which have caused the far greater part of these institutions to be greatly impaired, and, in many instances, to become merely a screen for the hiding of oppression. I know of hardly one of these institutions which has not lost its due effect, which has not been adulterated or corrupted. In looking over the list of them, I hardly perceive one which is what it was, and what it still ought to be. The office of the King has been shorn of a great many things that made it beneficial to the country ; the House of Peers has been so multiplied, and so managed by one party after another, as to make it that which it formerly was not ; as to the House of Commons, the people have just called upon it to pass sentence upon itself. The Court of Chancery is quite another thing than it was in the time of Sir Thomas Moore and Bishop Gardiner, when the latter had a retinue more splendid at the opening of his seals than appertained to any sovereign prince in Europe ; of judges, juries, justices of the peace, and coroners, I shall speak by-and-by. After looking over the list with the greatest care, and comparing the present practice with the original institutions, and with the practice of ages, I really can perceive no one of these institutions of the country that has not been wholly changed, if not totally annihilated, save and except the fifteenth institution ; namely, the parish stocks, which seems to be kept up in all its pristine purity : for, there, in every parish, are still the two oak-planks which, when shut down together, have two circular holes going through them, to receive the legs of the patient : there

is still the post, and all, just as the thing was, a thousand years ago; and this, because, at common law, every parish is indictable that does not keep its stocks in perfect repair; and because country attorneys have a great taste for the little pickings which arise out of indictments preferred against parishes. But, though the institution still remains unaltered in its geometrical dimensions, the use of it has been wholly laid aside; and the solitary dungeon and the treadmill, two perfectly new inventions; these harsh things have come to supply the place of this old and gentle and good-humoured mode of chastisement.

But, gentlemen, there are some of these institutions of the country, which have undergone a change of a very important nature, and which must be changed back again before England will again be worthy of its ancient name. Of all the institutions of the country, none are of so much importance to the people as the institution of *judges*, *jurors*, and *coroners*. The judges of England have been, and very justly, its greatest boast, from the days of Alfred to the present time; for though we sometimes see what we do not like to see, pass upon the bench, taking the whole together, it is pretty nearly all that we have left, the person of the King excepted, which has not, more or less, been stripped of the veneration that belonged to it; but though the judges themselves are, I love to believe, everything that they ought to be, they have been stripped of their power of protecting the people, in those cases where their power was the most necessary. This stripping has not taken place by a direct and positive abridgment of their power, but by giving to justices of the peace most important power, which ought to have remained exclusively with the judges. You know, gentlemen, as well as I, that our boast has been that the judges were appointed by the King; and that by that appointment, being *for life*, unless put an end to by impeachment, or a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament, the King rendered the judges independent even of himself. This was our great security for the im-

partial administration of the law. All foreigners writing on our form and mode of government, have eulogised this part of our institutions, which has always been our great boast. The ground of the eulogy was this; that no person, that no Englishman could be made to suffer any serious punishment, whether pecuniary or bodily, except convicted by a jury of the vicinage, under the advice and expoundings of a judge, holding his office for life, independent even of the King; and this was not only the theory, but it was the practice in our country for ages. But how stands the matter now? By statute after statute; line upon line; here a little and there a little, we at last find the justices of the peace, who are all chosen by the minister of the day; who are appointed to, and who are turned out, of their office at the pleasure of the minister without cause assigned; we find these men, and perhaps more than half of them parsons, pensioners, placemen, officers of the army, or officers of the navy, whose preferment and promotion, and whose very bread, in many cases, depends upon the breath of the minister; we find these men empowered to try misdemeanors; to try felonies of a heinous character; we find these men empowered to imprison for any length of time, and to transport men and women even for life! And we have recently seen KNATCHBULL and his brethren on the bench of KENT, sentence a man to FIVE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT for agricultural rioting, and the magistrates of Surrey sentence a libeller to be imprisoned for two years in Horsemonger-lane jail amongst felons. We have seen a man, whom the presiding magistrate in Middlesex had sentenced to transportation for seven years, having uttered some insolent words to the chairman, called back again, and sentenced to transportation for life! Thus, then, I think, that there is not much fear that the adoption of my propositions would do much injury to this institution of the country.

Of more importance still is the institution of *juries*. And how stands this matter? If there be a jury, they are not chosen by the people, but by the minister, and exclusively *English*, in the main-

tution of *juries*. *MAGNA CHARTA* says that no man shall suffer in life, limb, person, or property; that no punishment shall be inflicted on his body, and that no money or goods shall be taken from him, except by the assent of a jury of the vicinage. Give me time, and I could point out, at the very least, five hundred instances, in which men are now liable to be fined, and frequently are fined, and sometimes to their utter ruin and the ruin of their families, without the intervention of a jury, and at the sole will and pleasure of justices or commissioners appointed and removeable at the pleasure of the ministers of the day. In an equal number of instances, the people's bodies are liable to be imprisoned, or otherwise punished, by the same authorities, and without the intervention of a jury; but in unhappy and ill-treated Ireland, though now united with England, though the English common law be applicable to Ireland as well as to England, we see that men and women may be, whenever the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland shall choose so to determine, even *transported without trial by jury*. Aye, and at the sole pleasure of two justices of peace, and of a barrister in the pay of the Government, and this for the heinous offence of being absent from their dwellings for the space of fifteen minutes at a time, between sunset and sunrise.

Whoever looks into the ancient and admirable laws of England, will see with what tenderness those laws watched over the *lives of the people*. The institution of CORONER, still unknown to every country but England and the United States, was, of itself, enough to immortalize the nation by which it was first adopted. So important was this institution deemed by our forefathers, that the regulations concerning it form no small part of their code. So careful was the law of the lives of the people; so imperative did it make the duty of every one to take care not to expose those lives to danger; that milks, wagons, wells, chalk-pits, bitten and goeing animals, in some cases, became forfeited in consequence of injury done by them to the life of any person, poor

as well as rich; and the institution of coroner, and the practice arising out of that institution, precluded almost the possibility of any man, woman, or child, coming by their death in any violent manner, or from any accident, without the true cause of the death being ascertained, and without punishment falling upon the guilty cause of the death, if guilt there were; or punishment of an inferior degree, if arising from fault or negligence. What do we behold now then? We have certain information that innumerable human bodies are taken possession of and cut to pieces, without any inquest on the part of a coroner. It has come to light that many of these bodies have been obtained by wilful murder, and yet we see the Parliament meet, after this horrible discovery has been made, and we hear no one come forward with a proposition to cause even inquiry to be made into the subject; and we hear of no one proposing a law to cause the office of the coroner to be applied, in order to put an end to these horrible practices.

Even the office of constable has been superseded; the power of the parishes, in many instances, has been taken away; their legitimate and ancient power of appointing their own constables. In the case of the justices, especially for the four counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Essex, the Government has been allowed to give the justices salaries; and these justices in these four counties form a majority on the bench. In the same counties the office of constable has been superseded by a half-military establishment called a "*police*," in imitation of the Bourbon government of France. This police is appointed by the Government and not by the parishes; and, therefore, even the institution of constable is gone.

After this review, let no one accuse me of contemplating the destruction of the "*institutions of the country*." It will clearly appear, on the contrary, that my propositions, if adopted, must tend to produce a restoration of the institutions of the country. And now, gentlemen, under that indulgence, of which I have already experienced so much, I will

proceed to lay before you the reasons which occur to me, in support of these propositions, beginning with that which relates to pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, and salaries.

I make an exception in all cases, except the sinecures and the salaries, in favour of those sums that shall be found to be fully merited by public services. With regard to the pensions and other emoluments, which are clearly unmerited by any such services, there being no other justification or excuse, my Lord ALTHORP, who has recently made so brilliant a figure in a correspondence with Mr. Hulton, of Hulton, said frankly that, in most instances, they must be deemed "*works of charity*." And, as charity covereth a multitude of sins, Mr Hulton might have been a little sparing of his lordship. But charity used to mean quite a different thing than this. St. Paul recommends charity very strongly; and the old-fashioned religion of our fathers, which held charity to be the first of the Catholic virtues, explained it to mean feeding the *hungry*, clothing the *naked*, harbouring the *harbourless*, and comforting the *broken-hearted*. The persons included in this proposition of mine answer to none of these descriptions. They are not hungry, naked, houseless, nor are they bowed-down in spirit, but very much the contrary; for, they are amongst the most arrogant, haughty, and insolent wretches on the face of the earth. But there was, according to the definition of St. Paul, explained and enforced by the ancient fathers of the church, and by all the great civilians, one very essential circumstance in constituting *charity*, which is wanting here. Charity, according to all these high authorities, meant the bestowing of something which was the property of him who bestowed it; and generally it meant the giving to another something of your own, which really might, if kept by you, be useful to yourself. Never before, in this world, did we hear it deemed an act of charity to make a gift of other people's goods. A distressed object going to a grocer, nothing so easy as for the charitable grocer

to go into the shop of his neighbour the baker, and relieve the poor object with a loaf, without giving the baker any thing for it, which, however, instead of being an act of charity, the law would call an act of theft or robbery. What term we ought to apply to those who take the people's money, and give it to persons selected by themselves, and, principally amongst their own order, I leave you, gentlemen, to determine.

St. Paul exhorts, and, not by dry precept, but by example, those to whom he addressed his epistles, *to work with their own hands*, and to live sparingly at the same time, that they might have to give to those who needed; but this is a species of charity, of which those who have the lingering of our money, do not seem to have any very distinct idea. Upon this list of pensioners; this long list of objects of charity, we find lords, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, duchesses, and countesses, and so forth, and whole families of children, beginning generally with the mother, and going down to the baby in arms. Amongst these we find a whole family of the name of HAY, one of the females of which was, at any rate about twenty-two years upon the pension list, and who, at the end of that time, became the "*lady*" of the present Sir JOHN CAM HOZHOUSE. Whether she have the pension yet is more than I can say. Some of these pensions are granted for life; some of them during the pleasure of the King, that is to say, his ministers; some of them for a term of years; there being all this concern a variety so great and so enchanting, as to make it the work of a man's life to come at any thing like a clear statement of the manner in which the money is taken away from us. But, in order to have a fair view of the extent to which the principles of justice are adhered to, let us look at the manner in which the settled laws of the country operate upon the middle and lower classes, when any of their families, any of their children, any of their parents stand in need of parochial relief. The celebrated act of Elizabeth, which first made parochial provision for the relief

of the poor, and of the cause of which act I shall have to speak to-morrow evening, when I come to speak of the property of the church; that celebrated act, while it imposed a compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor and indigent, compelled the father or mother, *if of substance sufficient*, to give, out of their own substance, relief to their indigent children, grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren; and also compelled children, *if of sufficient substance*, to give, under similar circumstances, relief to their fathers and mothers, and, if necessary, their grandfathers and grandmothers. Nothing could be more just than this provision of the law; such is the law still; a law bottomed upon the maxim of St. Paul, that he who abandons his own kindred to want, is worse than a heathen. But if this law be just, why is it not applied to the families of the nobility and the clergy and the gentry, as well as to the middle and working classes who toil for their bread? A few years ago, a man in the parish of TICEHURST, in the county of Sussex, applied to me for advice, under the following circumstances: The man was nearly or quite four-score years of age; he had been a hard-working man all his life-time; had reared a great family without any assistance from the parish; had from his long and sedulous savings, become the proprietor of two tenements, worth 15*l.* a year, upon the rent of which, together with what he was still able to do, in the way of work, he kept himself from the parish, and hoped so to do, till the end of his life. One of his sons had died, and left three children, who were all old enough to be able to work for the farmers. They did work for them; but, as the farmers paid part of their wages out of the poor-rates, they deemed the poor children to be *paupers*, according to the present debasing and infamous phraseology, the word pauper never having been used in the act of Queen Elizabeth. The children being thus placed upon the poor-book, the parish officers applied to the magistrates to make the grandfather pay to the parish that part of the wages which the children received out of the

poor-rates. The magistrates made the order accordingly. The old man answered that, if he did this, he must go to the workhouse himself. The reply was, that HE MIGHT SELL THE TENEMENTS; and that if he would not do that, the parish officers should do it for him. Precisely how the thing terminated I do not now recollect, but, I think it ended by a seizure of the tenements on the part of the parish officers, and I dare say that the dismal drama closed by the old man's expiring in that poor-house, from which, by constant industry and care, he had kept himself and his family for so many years.

Here, then, is an illustration of me Lord Althorp's English charity. Lady Juliana Hobhouse was doubtless thy child, or grandchild of somebody that had something more than two tenements worth 15*l.* a year; and, observe, my lady Juliana was not set to work as the poor children at Ticehurst were; they, poor things, were working in the fields, where it was right for them to be at work; while she was living like a lady, partly upon the fruit of the labour of these very children. Not another word need be said upon this part of the subject; for, if you, gentlemen, who will now have the power of choosing members of Parliament, do not choose men who will pledge themselves to do away with this injustice; if, under the influence of any motive whatever, you neglect the performance of this great duty, this so-much-desired Reform Bill will be of no benefit to the country, and you will deserve to suffer, all your lives, that pressing want of which many of you now so justly complain.

With regard to the sinecures, we have a very happy illustration in the history of that of the auditor of the Exchequer, the present Lord GRENVILLE, who, from this office, has received 4,000*l.* a year during about fifty years; and, of course, he has received from us, in this shape, besides others, about 200,000*l.* of principal money. A sinecure means a place which gives a man *nothing to do*. In this case, however, it was the duty of the auditor, just to *sign* the ex-

chequer bills issued by the treasury. This, however, Lord GRENVILLE did not do; but left them to be signed by a clerk. One HASLETT, who was in some office in the Bank, stole a great parcel of these exchequer bills, and disposed of them for his own purposes. He was tried for the offence, convicted; and, as every one thought, was surely to be hanged by the neck till he was dead; but a motion was made for arrest of judgment, upon the ground that these were a parcel of good-for-nothing papers, *not having been signed by the auditor of the exchequer himself*, a doctrine which was confirmed by the decision of the twelve judges! And, thereupon, Haslett was not hanged for stealing the *exchequer bills*, but transported for stealing bits of paper! Well, but Lord GRENVILLE signed the exchequer bills for the future to be sure? Not he; but *the Parliament passed an act* to authorise his clerk to sign them; and to make it a capital felony to steal them in future, though signed only by the clerk! An auditor means an examiner of accounts; and the business of this auditor professes to be to look into, and pass, the accounts of the treasury. By-and-by Lord GRENVILLE became *First Lord of the Treasury* himself; and it did seem too monstrous for a man to be auditor of his own accounts. The poet speaks of "soldering close impossibilities, and making them kiss;" but even his imagination never reached the reality of that which was now beheld. Lord GRENVILLE did not like to part with the 4,000*l.* a year; yet how was he to keep it? for, it was against law, as well as against reason, that a man should be auditor and treasurer at one and the same time; at last the difficulty was got over by the old remedy, a resort to the parish pump; and out came an *Act of Parliament*, brought into the House of Commons by Charles Fox himself, to make it lawful for Lord GRENVILLE to be First Lord of the Treasury and auditor of the accounts at the same time.

This is a sample of the whole sack. It would be tedious, gentlemen, to go over the whole list, which, adding the

suitable description in each instance, and printing very closely, would make a book bigger than that which contains the New Testament. These sinecures are only another name for the same thing; another channel through which those who have had the power over our purses have taken our money, and used it for themselves. There is enough, then, on the subject of pensions, sinecures, and grants, of which latter there is a pretty great number, and each of them of thumping amount, and founded in justice just as much as the two former items. We now come to what are called "*retired allowances*;" which means salaries, or parts of salaries, still paid to persons who have been in public employ, but who have, from no matter what cause, ceased to be in that employ. So that, for every office that there is, we have two, three or four persons to pay. Upon what principle of reason or of justice; upon what practice, ever heard of amongst men, are we taxed to pay these allowances? If a merchant, or manufacturer, or farmer, or anybody else, were called upon to pay his clerks or workmen, who were no longer in his service, I wonder what answer they would make to the call; but, if a *law* were passed to effect this purpose; if a law were passed to compel manufacturers, for instance, to maintain every workman who had worked for them, till he was worn out, for the rest of his life, would they not say that that was a most unjust and wicked law? Yet this case that I am speaking of is a great deal worse: for nineteen twentieths of these persons are not half worn out. If, indeed, they had been *forced* into the several offices, as seamen and soldiers are sometimes forced to become seamen and soldiers, it would be quite another matter. So far from being forced into these offices by the public, they and their patrons generally force the public to take them into their employ. They are very often reared up by their parents for the express purpose of being forced into the offices, even against the wish of the Ministers themselves; and, when a new Ministry comes in, it gene-

rally turns out whole shoals of these clerks and others, in order to make room for their own set; so that we have always two, and sometimes three, offices to pay on account of the same office. Before Sir Anthony Hart died the other day, we were paying three Lord Chancellors for Ireland, one in office, and two out; we are now paying two Lord Chancellors for England, one in, and one out; and, as Lord Eldon is a pretty tough fellow, and as the concern is in a very changeable state, I should not much wonder if we had another to pay before the next year be out. We have about fifteen ministers at foreign courts, and we are always paying more than half a hundred. Whenever you see a dozen clerks in an office, reckon that we have three dozen to pay for that office. Why, gentlemen, was there ever such a monstrous thing as this heard of before in the world? Thus it is that we stagger along under these burdens. The Americans have ten ministers at the courts of Europe; and ten they pay, and no more. They change them very often; they do not let them stay till they get too closely connected with the governments to which they send them; but, the moment they go back, they cease to pay them. When we cease to have any given service performed; for instance, if we no longer keep on a certain department of revenue, we discharge the officers, of course, but we *continue to pay them*. Some of them have *contingent* pay or pensions. The renowned Huskisson, for instance, took care, in the year 1799, to have a pension of 1,200*l.* a year granted to him for his life, at all times when he should not be receiving more than 2,000*l.* a year for an office; and, as he might die, he took care to have a pension settled on his wife for her life, in case of his death, for 600*l.* a year; at the time when this was done, he had never been any-thing but an under-secretary to Dundas. It is nonsense to talk of the Reform Bill, gentlemen, unless you send men firmly pledged to put an end to these practices, With regard to the *half-pay*: but, first, I had forgotten to mention a strik-

ing instance of this retired-allowance work. The public seem to congratulate themselves that Sir Byam Martin, who was in some of the offices of the navy, was turned out the other day, he having voted against the Reform Bill. Sir Byam, like a mouse in a barley-mow, was bred in the concern; and the navy is full of his young ones. But though turned out of his office, he loves us too well to part from us, and he remains to be paid by us at the rate of 800*l.* a year, a retired allowance. The character of those who serve this generous nation is indelible; once in our service, always in our service till death. Priests were formerly said to be married to their churches. With much more truth these fellows may be said to be married to our money; for when once they get their hands in our pockets, those hands never come out again till pulled out by the hand of death. If we appoint an ambassador he serves us four years; but we pay him for life. Thus it is in every case. If a commission be appointed, no matter of what sort, or for what purpose, the commissioners are commissioners for life; that is to say, however short a time the commission ought to endure, the commissioners continue to receive pay to the end of their lives. Much about forty years ago; indeed, *thirty-eight years ago*, a commission was appointed, agreeably to the stipulations of a treaty entered into with the American Government, in the year 1794, to arrange matters which were in dispute between the two Governments, relative to claims which each had on the other for real or pretended pecuniary injuries or wrongs. The commissioners on our part were a Mr. Thomas Macdonald, a Mr. Rich, and a Mr. Guillemard. This commission commenced its operations, or the commissioners began to receive pay from us, just about two years after I was married; and, if the commissioners be still alive, they have received pay to this day. I remember seeing in the public accounts, a charge on account of these commissions, *no longer than five or six years ago*, or thereabouts. In consequence of the commission, and which, indeed, was the object of it, cer-

tain English merchants obtained payment of debts, which, during the rebellion, had been confiscated by the American states; but, gentlemen, do mark, I beseech you, that the whole of the money obtained by this commission from the Americans did not amount to so much as the cost of these commissioners, while, on the other hand, the claims which the Americans had on us, we have had to pay to an enormous amount! Observe, too, that the American commissioners were forced to wind up their part of the concern pretty quickly; and they were paid only for the time that they were actually employed. And, accordingly, the working people in America are well clad and well fed, while those in England are in rags and half-starved.

But, perhaps, the most curious instance of all of the imperishable nature of offices in our service, is that of the commissioners of the Nabob of Arcot's debts. It is now between fifty and sixty years ago, since the East India Company took away, upon some ground or other, the dominions of a prince in Indostan, who was called the Nabob of Arcot. How they disposed of him I do not know; but there being certain parties to whom he was in debt, they came to our Government with claims for payment. Whereupon a commission was appointed to inquire into the nature of these claims, and to settle and liquidate the debts. This commission has existed from that day to this. It consists of a chairman and a parcel of inferior commissioners, who have a secretary, clerks, door-keeper, and a fine house for an office, with abundance of candles and of coals; and there stands an account of them all in the COURT CALENDAR, this commission being one of the regular established institutions of the country; costing, probably, in charges for stationery and every thing, not less than from ten to fifteen thousand pounds a year, more than half as much as is required to carry on the whole of the civil Government of the United States of America. The head commissioner, for about twenty-seven years past, has been Sir BEN-

JAMIN HOBHOUSE, the venerable father of the patriotic member for Westminster. So that even the pap of this latter has been paid for by us. Sir BENJAMIN being dead, it is more than probable that the son will succeed him in his office, as well as in his title of baronet; but it is also much more than probable that Sir Cam will be called upon to refund a part at least of this large sum of money, with which, doubtless, the father purchased that which remains behind. If this be not the case in some thousands of instances, little indeed would I give for the parliamentary reform. In spite of borough-mongers, I can live very happily amongst the woods and the fields; but if I quit them, for a seat in Parliament, it shall not be for long, unless effects like these be produced by the reform. It has been said, and even in this town, and cast as a sort of reproach upon me, that the putting forth of my propositions caused the late Reform Bill to be thrown out. Well, then, the propositions did good, for everybody allows that the present bill is better than the last; and, if this illustration of the propositions should throw out the pre-ent bill, we shall get a better still, according to all the analogy of reasoning. Besides, we have gained this great point; the new bill having passed in the face of those propositions, we have a right to conclude that the House of Commons, who have now carried the bill, two to one, mean, as a matter of course, that the bill is to be productive of the measures pointed out in those propositions. However, gentlemen, mean what they will, I here tell them plainly what I mean; and if this illustration of my meaning cause the throwing out of the present bill, out let it be thrown; for I will not disguise my sentiments and intentions, be the consequence what it may. But, gentlemen, the short statement of the case is this: the bill must have those effects which I have been pointing out, or it will only produce that disappointment and rage in the people which must end in a terrible convulsion: I can plant cab-bages, and do other things that I like,

without any other mortification and disgrace than those of living under the boroughmongers; but I cannot be a member of Parliament, and suffer these audacious plunderings of the people to go on without being covered with infamy.

To come now, in real earnest to the half-pay, or *dead weight*, as it is called. In the first place, it costs the nation very nearly as much annually as the whole revenue of the kingdom amounted to, at the time, when his present Majesty was born. It amounts to twice as much, very nearly, as the whole of the sum which is required to carry on the government of the United States of America, civil, military, and naval; including the interest of the debt of that country. Why, then, what a monstrous thing is here! During the last peace, the half-pay or dead weight did not amount to more than 200,000*l.* a year: now it amounts to nearer six millions than five! Let us, therefore, see, if we can, upon *what principle it is*, that the nation is loaded with this intolerable burden. Those who receive this pay are persons whose services are no longer wanted by the country. The principle, upon which the pay is given, is stated to be, that it is a *retaining fee for future services*, and *not a reward for past services*. I beg you to mark this well, gentlemen. It cannot be a reward for past services; if it be, we live under the most odious tyranny in the world. For it is notorious, that every Ministry, whenever they please, scratch any man's name, without cause assigned, out of the military and naval half-pay and pension lists. Thus, then, it is not a reward for *past* services, but a retaining fee for future services. And now, mark, I do beseech you, that none of these persons can ever be employed again, according to their own regulations; for they have a military and naval academy, filled with the sons and relations and dependents of the aristocracy and clergy, out of which academies all the new officers are to come. Hitherto, indeed, officers have, sometimes, if connected with the nobility and clergy, been taken from the half-pay; but sol-

diers never are taken from the pension list, unless scratched out of it for some offence which they give to the Ministry or the magistrates. Very few have been taken from the half-pay to fill up vacancies; and it is manifestly intended that the new officers shall be supplied from the academies (of which I shall speak more fully presently) for the excellent purpose of breeding gentlemen and ladies for us to keep, while projects eternal are on foot, to get the labouring and productive classes out of the country, on account of a pretended over population! And, if these things be still to remain, will any one have the audacity to say that this will be a parliamentary reform. This I will say, at any rate; that, if these things be suffered to remain, while these northern towns have the power to choose men to represent them, that which the people of these towns have hitherto suffered is nothing compared with that which they will deserve to suffer.

To give half-pay, as a retaining fee for future services, is the right principle on which to grant it; for, the parties receiving it, may, under certain circumstances, be wanted, to hold themselves in readiness to serve again. As a reward for past services, it is as unjust as the granting of the retired allowances before mentioned. These men were not compelled to go into the army and the navy. They allege, that they have spent their *best days* in the service, and that it is too late now for them to take up any other pursuit in life. Very well, but this is their own affair. If, indeed, they had been *impressed* into the army or navy, then the nation would be bound to support them for the rest of their lives, and that too, without being very scrupulous, as to the means they might have of maintaining themselves; but, if a man enter voluntarily into the navy or the army; if the indulgence of his own taste, if his desire to live without labour, if his vanity, or anything else, induce him to enter into that way of life, and especially, which is almost always the case, if he get into it in consequence of his own solicitation, and of some undue influence being

made use of to get him into the service, what claim has such a man to an hour's remuneration beyond the extent of that service? If I be asked how such a man is to live after he quits the service, or after he has been discharged from it, I answer, that he should have put that question to himself before he voluntarily, or by virtue of solicitation, got into it. He has been receiving, at least, four or five times as much as a private soldier, and he ought to have saved something during his service to keep him afterwards, if he chose not to go to work, just as other men do. In short, he makes a bargain with the nation to serve it for so much pay; he receives the pay punctually, as long as the service lasts; and when the service has ended, whether from his own desire, or from the will of the employer, he ceases to have any just demand upon the nation on account of that service. To receive half-pay, forms no part of the bargain; it can form no part of it; because he can, at any moment, be dismissed from the service at the sole nod of the Ministry of the day; he can be also scratched off the half-pay list at the sole will of the Ministry; and in either case, without any cause assigned; and that, too, upon the ground that the half-pay forms a retaining fee for future services, and that the King can, at any time, tell the party that he has no longer any occasion for his services. If all other views of the matter failed of producing conviction with regard to the justice of lopping off this heavy charge, this view of it would; namely, that the military and naval half-pay and pensions being a retaining fee for future services, what right has any man to complain that the nation gives up its claim on his services? It were a jest indeed for a man to say, You use me ill in not holding me bound to venture my life for you in future! In short, the plea is a mere pretence for taking money out of the pockets of the people, and giving it to the sons and other relations and dependents of the aristocracy. That's it, gentlemen; and it's nothing, neither more nor less, but that.

But, gentlemen, even at the risk of

fatiguing you, I must not here stop my remarks upon this affair of the dead-weight. This is not a question of a few pounds, or of a few thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of pounds. It is a question of millions a year. It relates to a larger annual sum of money than is given in parochial aid for the relief of the whole of the working people of the kingdom; and I have always reproached the farmers, when I have had them sitting or standing before me, for making such an outcry about the five millions a year or thereabouts, which is all that is given really in relief of the poor, while they never utter a word of complaint relative to the greater sum given to the dead-weight. They rail eternally against the helpless labourers, of whose sweat they have had the profit; but not a word do they say against the dead-weight, who do nothing but eat, drink, and swagger about the streets and the roads, or sit at benches of magistrates to transport men for what is called poaching; and in other cases to transport them, or imprison them for life; and to *inflict fines* on men for evading the payment of taxes, out of which taxes come their means of living in luxury, or without work.

Nevertheless, if the thing afforded us any chance of cessation, I should be less disposed to press it upon your notice; but here is no cessation; this dead-weight forces upon our minds the recollection of the at once sublime and awful description of St. Paul, who (having spoken of the burden of his sins) exclaimed, in allusion to the practice of tying the dead body of the murdered man on the back of the murderer, till he died also from the stench, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" Thus also we may exclaim with regard to this dead-weight, Who shall deliver us from the body of *this* death! If, like annuities in general, the half-pay ceased with the life of the party, it would be quite another matter: the sum would have been reduced more than one half, whereas the amount of it is now greater than it was the year after the close of the war; for, in the first place, men have been allowed to sell their half-

pay; *old* men have sold their half-pay to *young* men; and, in the next place, the widows of half-pay officers have a pension for life, and their children until they be a certain number of years of age; so that, here is at once a premium for matrimony, and a premium for breeding idlers at the expense of the industrious classes, while my Lord Howick is tormenting his brilliant imagination for the means of getting the working-people out of the country; all the agricultural distress, according to him, being produced by a surplus population! So that this dead-weight is eternal, unless the reform furnish the shears to cut off the thread of its existence.

However, while I insist that strict justice would demand the cutting of it off entirely; and that too, without sparing any one man or woman of the dead-weight, with whom I happen to be acquainted; there are certain cases in which that *scrupulous examination*, which is spoken of in the proposition, would result in a suggestion to continue the half-pay, and especially to officers of the navy. The regulation of the last peace was, that officers who had been wounded in the service, and who had long served in dangerous situations, should continue for life to receive their half-pay. The widows, also, of officers slain in the service, and of those who had lost an eye or a limb, or had been otherwise severely wounded in battle; these cases were provided for, and I would have these cases provided for, in the present instance. For, other than this, the generosity of the nation would not suffer it to be niggardly upon this score, if its other burdens were taken off; and, for my own part, I should be willing to contribute my share towards the half-pay to any officer that had been more than once in the face of an enemy out of the kingdom, and had, with that enemy exchanged a shot in anger. From the widows of officers who had been serving nearly all their lives, the nation could not withhold their pensions or half-pay; but, besides the bad policy of the thing; besides the inevitable mischievousness of the tendency of giving pensions to women married to

officers *after they become half-pay officers*; besides the stupid policy of this, the thing is so clearly unjust; it is so manifest a robbery of the industrious classes; it is such a barefaced and audacious insult to the understanding of the nation, that a man who will give his vote for another, as a member of Parliament, without that other pledging himself most solemnly to do his utmost to remove this oppression; the man who will give his vote, without receiving this pledge, ought to be deemed a slave by nature, and to be trampled under foot.

We now come to the last part of the first proposition; namely the salaries to be paid to persons in the Ministry, and other persons wanted to carry on the affairs of the country, exclusively of the King and his royal family; for of these I shall have to speak by-and-by. The proposition states that these salaries should be, if I could have my will, reduced to the American standard; and cousin Jonathan should no longer have to taunt us with our dear government. And why should they not be so reduced? I defy any man to state a *reason* why this government should not be as cheap or cheaper than that. This American standard is this, that the whole of the civil government of the United States, president, his ministers, his ambassadors, and other ministers to foreign courts, all the clerks, in all the offices; the judges, and all other officers of courts of justice; every person belonging to the civil government, including those civil officers who direct the affairs of the army and the navy, including also the pay to the members of both houses of congress, and all the expenses attending the holding of the session of the legislature, amount to a sum less than ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND pounds sterling a year; while (hear, it you who are now to have the power of choosing members of Parliament) Sir James Graham showed, that ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN persons belonging to the privy council, and chiefly belonging to the two Houses of Parliament, and excluding the royal family and the bishops, some of

whom belong to the Privy Council; he showed, the winter before last when he was out of place, that ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN of these persons received, amongst them, annually, SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS of the public money; and still he called the House of Commons, who permitted this, "*the noblest assembly of freemen in the world*," which was certainly true, if nobleness and freedom mean the taking of money away from the industrious people of the nation, great part of whom are pinched with want, and giving it to themselves, their relations, and dependents, to support them in idleness and luxury. Sir JAMES still belongs to the noblest assembly of freemen in the world; he is now one of the Privy Council himself; and even one of that select part of it, which is called the cabinet; and Sir JAMES, since this his translation has never uttered a single syllable about the 113, and about their 650,000*l*.

One argument (impudently enough, to be sure) used, in order to afford a pretext for this heaping the public money upon these persons, under the name of salaries, is, that unless you give high pay you cannot have the benefit of high talent in your service; that even in the vulgar-minded transactions with the butcher, if you will have the best beef, you must give the best price; and it has often been objected to my economising doctrines with respect to salaries, that I have always contended that the best beef was not only the best, but the cheapest in the end; and this is not only correct, but I am ready to apply it to the subject of salaries; only, the misfortune to ~~us~~ is, that we do not get the best talents, but the worst, if we are to judge from the effects: we are not suffered to go to the shop to pick out the best beef; we are shut out by a monopoly: there is somebody to choose the mess for us; and it is chosen precisely in that manner which is calculated to give us the worst that can be found. Some years ago, when men in power were a little more light-hearted than they are at present, and very prone to be jocular, in

answer to our complaints on the score of salaries; at the time when Canning set the House in a roar of laughter by an alliterative jest in speaking of the "*revered and ruptured Ogden*;" at the time when this despicable jester, who was at once as noisy and as hollow as a drum, was calling the reformers a "*low degraded crew*;" about the time, or a little before, a jest, which we find put forth by the late Mr. Windham, and which I have related several times, was the standing answer to every one who complained of the squandering of our money in high salaries. The jest consisted of a story of a farmer who went up to London from the country, and having a very bad toothache, was taken to an expert operator, who whipped it out in a moment, giving the patient hardly any pain; but when he came to ask what he had to pay, and the operator told him a guinea, he exclaimed "a guinea! why, Tom the blacksmith of our village, would have dragged me all round the room by the head for a shilling!" This story was always followed with an applauding laugh by the honourable persons in both houses, but they never had any man amongst them, with sense and with spirit sufficient to tell them that they *were not expert operators*, that they in fact demanded the guinea instead of the shilling due to Tom the blacksmith; for that no ignorant and clumsy blacksmith ever dragged poor chopstick round the room with more violence and less feeling than they have dragged this nation up and down and round about. No maxim is truer than that which tells us that we are to know the plant by its fruit, and that men do not gather grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles. Look, then, gentlemen, at the fruit which we have gathered, and are gathering from the salaries in question. Look at Peel's Bill and its effects; Brown-bread Bill of the year 1801; look at the laws for spending millions of English money in the Highlands of Scotland, to PREVENT EMIGRATION, while money was actually expending at the same time, to cause the labourers of England to emigrate! Look at the bill for putting out

the small paper money in the year 1822; look at the bill for drawing it in again, passed in the year 1826; look at the dreadful ruin inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of virtuous families, by the tossing up and pulling down the value of money; look at the blunder after blunder, the blind, the obstinate proceedings of these "expert operators;" and, to cut short the detail, look at the recent scheme, actually put into the shape of a bill, and passed by the House of Lords, for putting a stop to acts of arson; to put a stop to the destruction of ricks by fire, by granting *licenses to farmers*, to set guns and traps, to catch the labourers by the legs, or shoot them through the body, and containing a provision, at the same time, that the permission to set these engines should be confined to *enclosures*, while nine-tenths of the stacks are actually standing in the open fields!

Look at all these things, gentlemen, and say, whether, if this nation had been in the hands of any thirteen chopsticks a 1s. 6d. a day; or even in the hands of any thirteen babies, in any thirteen cradles in Manchester, blunders more gross, and mischiefs more deadly, could have been inflicted upon us. But, why need we bring any charges of this sort against them? They stand self-convicted; they allow the country to be in a state, out of which they are unable to bring it. They allow that its state cannot be made worse: they allow that they know not what to do in Ireland. We saw one Minister actually driven from his place by public indignation. Every man must acknowledge, and they themselves do acknowledge, that they know not what is to happen next; well, then, having now, for just forty long years, having had all the resources of this great and most favoured country at their absolute command; having had our purses and our persons as completely in their power, as, taking the beautiful simile of St. PAUL, the clay is in the power of the potter; having made war, having made peace, and *having been victorious in war too* (or else they are the greatest vain-boasters that God ever made); having done] just what they

pleased with this whole kingdom; having abrogated innumerable ancient laws; having made as many new acts as they pleased; having made new crimes without number; having punished our bodies, as they liked; and, as to our property, having made so many liens upon it, that no man has anything which he can properly call his own; having had the power to do all these things; and having at last come to the acknowledgment that they can go no further, without an appeal to the people, and without having their advice and assistance, how can they now have the face; high as is their blood, and accustomed as they have been to say and do what they liked, how are they now to find the face to tell us, that they are "*expert operators*," and that we are to continue to pay them high salaries, in order that we may lead lives of security and happiness?

There is one quality belonging to them, so peculiar as to deserve particular notice; that is to say, the quality of getting rich themselves, and going on increasing regularly in riches, while the nation, whose affairs they manage, has been getting poorer and poorer. Like the masters of our workhouses, their piety, or something else, brings such a blessing on them, and makes them so fortunate, that they, like the master of the hospital mentioned in the Spanish romance (from whom, if he had not been bound by an oath of celibacy, I should really be disposed to think that our rulers were descended) invariably got *rich*, by taking care of the concerns of the *poor*. If I had the time, and if I dared so much to trespass upon that patience, on which I have too much trespassed already, I could give a list of about one hundred of them off-hand, whose piety of *this sort* has produced most wonderful revolutions in their state of life. Not to mention the Duke of WELLINGTON, who enjoys more from the public purse of England than the annual cost of the American president and all his ministers and ambassadors and their secretaries and clerks, including, of course, the rental of the monstrous grant of

SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds sterling, as a reward for those "*victories*," as they are called; the effects of which are all now swept away; not to mention the monstrous sinecures of the late Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, and the present Marquis of CAMDEN; not to mention the equally monstrous sinecures of GARNIER and Lord ARDEN, and the WINDHAMS, brothers of Lord EGREMONT; not to mention these things, nor to poke about after the estates which have been purchased by the money; look only at LONG and VANSITTART. The former was a mere clerk somewhere or other, before he was made a secretary of the treasury under PITT; and in that capacity I knew him, just thirty years ago. He is now a peer, and is called Lord FARNBOROUGH, having a thumping estate, near that little village which is in Kent. The same county has the honour and happiness to contain a village

which must have marked the life of LONG and VAN, and all such fortunate persons! "A penny saved is a penny earned," says the proverb; and how saving these gentlemen must have been, then, to be able to purchase such fine estates. They *might*, indeed, have possessions of their own, of which a man in my state of life was not likely to be informed, but there presents itself to us another still greater subject of praise and admiration, namely, that, though possessed of such great pecuniary means, they humbled themselves to become mere clerks and "commissioners of Scotch herrings," from their anxious desire to assist in taking care that their beloved country was not cheated in any of its *mighty* pecuniary transactions.

All this, however, though tending greatly to mitigate my hostility to high salaries, does not take out of my wishes, and out of my propositions arising from them, the part which describes a resolu-

ago, VAN regularly came to the court of quarter sessions in Berkshire; but, VAN, following his high destiny, went up to London, and having written a pamphlet applauding the economy of PITT, and the war against France, VAN became a "COMMISSIONER OF SCOTCH HERRINGS." From this he became a Secretary of the Treasury, under ADDINGTON; and under LIVERPOOL he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. This personage signalized his career by divers remarkable acts, two only of which I think it necessary to mention. In 1811, he moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution, stating that a *one pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a golden guinea*; and in 1819, he being still Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Government brought in a bill, founded on a report, which declared that a *one-pound note and a shilling had never been worth a golden guinea*, since a period long prior to 1811. That VAN should become a peer, after this, will surprise no man; but what may reasonably surprise every man, and indeed fill every man with admiration, is the *exemplary* economy

main in the Parliament two years; and without a pledge, a distinct pledge, to support me with all their might in an endeavour to accomplish this object, I would not receive even from the people of Manchester one of those seats which it will be in their power to bestow.

We now come to the *standing army*: and the first question that presents itself to us here is, what we can want this standing army for? We have already been at peace sixteen years; and every time the Parliament either meets or separates, the King assures us, from his own lips, that the continuance of peace with all the powers of the world becomes more and more certain. During the last peace the regular army cost the nation less than one million of pounds in the year. It now, including every-thing, costs nearer eight millions. What, then, do we want this standing army for, which now consists of more than one hundred thousand men? The common notion is, that it is wanted to support the Government; and I wish men had a clear conception of what the word government means. Our Government is

to be found in each county; just as the Government of the United States is to be found in each state, with this difference, that their state governments are not near so expensive as our county governments are. Let us look at our county governments, however, which are, in their form and manner, stripping them of their abuses, just what they were seven hundred years ago, and are the very best governments in this world.

What is government, and what is its business? Its business is simply to keep the peace; to take care of men's persons, and property, and to give to people all the enjoyments which nature tenders to them, as far as the mutual safety of the whole will permit. To effect these objects, we have in each county a chief magistrate called a Lord-Lieutenant, appointed by the King; he has deputy-lieutenants appointed by himself; and that they are men of spirit we know from the circumstance of one of them having called to account even a minister, who, poor man, seems to have felt the superiority of his antagonist. We have justices of the peace in abundance, holding their petty sessions in every small district, and bringing their collective wisdom to a sessions of the whole county once every quarter of a year. We have, in case of emergency, a sheriff to call out his *posse*, to protect persons and property. The *posse* being thought insufficient, we have one, two, or three battalions of militia in each county, ready to be called out by officers already appointed. This is the Government of England. This is English Government; and, in God's name, what do we want with more? What do we want with an army to cost us, besides our county governments, seven or eight millions a year? God has drawn the waters around us; and by all that he has done for us, seems to have said to us, "Be wise and be virtuous, and be the greatest, the freest, and the happiest people in the world"; what, then, gentlemen of Manchester, are we to cast these blessings from us? Are we impiously to reject what appears to be the commands of Providence itself; and are we still, though left to choose for

ourselves, to encumber ourselves with this standing army, with this burden, which presses us to the earth, and which exists in open violation and defiance of all those principles, which were the guide of our free and happy forefathers? If you cannot rouse yourselves, so as to make a pledge to cast this burden and this disgrace from you, by these legal means, which the law will now so amply put into your hands, think not of me, but find some other to be the bearer of your irresolute and slavish behests.

How many times were we promised that the long, bloody, devastating, cruel, and wasteful war which was waged against the republicans of France, should give us "*indemnity for the past and security for the future*?" The distresses of the nation, the unparalleled miseries of Ireland, the confusion in the affairs of the wisest and most punctual of men; the still enormous amount of the taxes, tell us whether we have gained indemnity for the past; while the fires in the south, the menacing attitude of Ireland, the building of carriages *to convey foot soldiers swiftly by land*, and the existence of a standing army of a hundred thousand men, ask our rulers in a voice of angry thunder, whether they have given us security for the future. Go and ask the parson in Ireland; go and ask the big farmer in Norfolk or in Wiltshire, who, most likely, was a yeomanry-cavalry man, for the purpose of keeping down jacobins and levellers, whether the wars of PITT, DUNDAS, and GRENVILLE, of ADDINGTON, PERCEVAL, and LIVERPOOL, whether the victory of Waterloo, to celebrate which they roasted whole sheep and whole oxen; go now, and ask them, when they are sleeping with their clothes on by night, and have watches to wake them, in case of danger; ask them, whether *the wars and the victories* have brought them security for the future?

Blackstone, the great teacher of our laws, though a court sycophant, tells every student that the laws and constitution of England know nothing of a standing soldier; that those laws hold barracks, inland fortresses, and everything tending to make the soldier a cha-

character different from the citizen, in abhorrence; that those laws, in their very principle, forbid any thought of keeping the soldier in a state of separation from the people; that, when men have arms put into their hands, and are embodied for the purposes of war, they ought to be disbanded, and become citizens again the moment the war is over; that the character of a soldier can never be permanent consistently with the laws of England; that the citizen becomes a soldier only for a temporary purpose, and then returns to his character of citizen again; and that, in whatever country there is a permanent standing army, there can never be, and—was, anything worthy of the name never of public liberty.

Well then, gentlemen, this is not an "*institution of the country*," at any rate. I am not here recommending any-thing hostile to the institutions of the country, unless the great teacher of our laws knew not what those institutions were.

But, as if our rulers were determined to leave nothing undone, in order to make the Government of England precisely the contrary of that which Blackstone says it is, not only have they made a permanent standing army, in time of peace; not only are they in time of peace continually augmenting that army, not only do they by the means of barracks, fortresses, depots, and other establishments, carefully keep the soldiers separated from the people; not only have they made it death by the law, in any man to attempt to seduce a soldier from his duty; not only do they keep up the enormous half-pay; not only have they numerous bands of military officers **ON FULL PAY**, and engaged in no service at the same time, which they call **UNATTACHED** officers; not only these have they done, and these things they do, but they have establishments for the purpose of taking children from their homes at a very tender age, keeping them shut up in what they call a military academy, which is an enormous building, standing in the midst of the wildest heath in the kingdom, at a great distance from all the habitations of men, there to be cut off from the rest of

the people, to have their minds formed in a purely military mould; to imbibe no feelings in common with the people at large, taken so young as to require *nurses* to attend them; an establishment, in short, the very outline of which conveys to the mind of every man who contemplates it, a complete conviction with regard to the motives from which this establishment was made.

If some one, when Blackstone first published the book of his Commentaries, had told him not to be too positive, for that one **PITT**, and one **GREENVILLE**, and one **PERCEVAL**, would arise, who would establish academies blowing all his English constitution to the air, what would he have said? Without, however, stopping to answer this question, you shall know what I say, gentlemen; that is this, that I will be the representative of no body of men who will not pledge themselves to support me with all their might, in my endeavours to cause these academies to be put down, and to cause a legal sale of the materials of which they are composed, to go towards a fund for the liquidation of the debts alleged to be due to the fundholders.

It is not a small aggravation of the evil of these last-mentioned establishments, that the expenses of them are defrayed out of the general taxes raised upon the nation, and, as none but the sons of the rich, or the dependents of the rich, can, in the nature of things, be admitted into these academies, the middle and working class are here compelled to pay for the education of the sons of the rich and their dependents, and, as all the future commissioned officers of the army are to come out of these establishments, a private soldier never can again become a commissioned officer, so that the immense sums of money, which we pay on this account are not only for the purpose of educating the sons of the rich and their dependents, but, in effect, for securing the exclusion of our own children from all possibility of ever shining in military rank, honour, and emolument, however distinguished their conduct, their genius, or their valour. In this academy, as the accounts laid before Parliament tell us, there are

bourers? Does not the bare sight of it tell them, that you mean to shoot them or chop them down, if they do not quietly submit to live upon what all the world says is insufficient? You do not tell them *in words*, that you will shoot them, or chop them down; but your swaggering hairy caps tell them so; aye, and it has been over and over again stated in speeches in Parliament, that the object of embodying you is to repress disturbances in your counties; and have you so great a contempt for the understandings of the working people as to imagine that they do not fully comprehend the meaning of these words? Will a parcel of labourers, working in a farm-yard, see the farmer mount his cavalry-horse, and go swaggering out with pistols in holster, and sword by side; are you such jolter-heads as to imagine, that they do not ask one another *what that can be for?* They know that the swaggering blade ought to stay at home; they, better than any-body, know how much his absence will cost him; and they discuss amongst themselves, to be sure, what can be the motive of his thus acting, at which motive they arrive by a process of reasoning, the brevity of which is not less admirable than the conclusion on their minds is impressive.

In time of war, indeed, there might have existed in their minds *doubts*, with regard to this motive. Then they were told that the yeomanry corps were destined to *fight the French*, if they should land; which French, they were told, would, if not defeated, come and take from them, not only their potatoes and water, but also the chastity of their wives and daughters, and their belief in the Christian religion into the bargain. When, therefore, the labourer's wife saw the fat-jowled yeomanry-cavalry man prancing along by her cottage, she was filled, stupidly enough to be sure, with feelings of admiration at the self-devotion of the patriotic defender. But, NOW, at the end of sixteen years of profound peace, with the word war never pronounced, and having almost lost its meaning, even the women, who used to terrify their children with the name of

"Bossy," must be filled with astonishment, to see the Government, especially when it is in the hands of the *liberty-loving Whigs*, calling out corps of yeomanry cavalry. As if for the express purpose of making the thing complete, the yeomanry corps were *disbanded* in the year 1827, as being *unnecessary in time of peace*, and *especially in the agricultural counties*. To behold them rise up again now, especially after the riots of last year, what must be the conclusion in the minds of the labourers? Why they know to a certainty that the corps are raised to make them submit to that which they would not submit to without compulsion; they know that, scattered and divided as they are, they cannot resist that force; but this does not make them *love* those who exercise the force; but on the contrary, fills them with hostility to a degree which they did not before entertain, and produces in their breasts revenge which otherwise never would have existed there, and that revenge stimulates them to deeds, at the thought of which they would otherwise have startled with horror. The whole of the history of this horrid plague lies in a very few words. By orders of magistrates; by evidence given before the House of Commons; by numerous documents of character the most authentic, it has been proved that the labourers have, especially since the passing of Sturges Bourne's bills, been reduced to a state, and to a manner of living, beneath those of hounds and pointers; that they have been treated with the greatest possible harshness and insolence; that hired overseers have been set over them to make them draw carts and wagons, and otherwise to treat them as beasts of burden; that old men, little boys, and women, have been harnessed and worked in this way; that men have been put up at auction and sold for length of time to labour for the highest bidder; that husbands and wives have been forcibly separated, as the males and females of live stock are, in order to prevent the natural consequences of cohabitation; that young women applying for relief have been, by the hired overseer, by this salaried hire-

ling and his myrmidons, laid upon the floor, held down by force, and have had the long hair cut from their heads with shears, as wool is cut from the body of the sheep; and that they have been compelled to submit to this, or to starve, or to become prostitutes.

You cannot deny, that such has been the barbarous treatment of the labourers and their families; and your landlords, while they have been moulding four farms into one for their own profit, have not only connived at all this, but have upheld you in it, in their capacity of magistrates and parsons. The labourers know well, that it is unjust to treat them thus: common sense tells them that God never intended that those who raise all the food, who make to be all the clothing, all the fuel, and all the houses, should be turned out into the wild waste to perish with hunger and with cold. Common sense tells them that God never intended that they should be fed worse than gentlemen's dogs, lodged far worse than those dogs, and treated worse than the least valuable of farmers' horses. When they read the Bible, or hear it read, which they all do, they find, from one end of the book to the other, the most positive commands of the rich to treat the labourers well, to consider them as brothers, by no means to keep from them a sufficiency of food and of raiment; and they find endless denunciations against those who have the hard heartedness to disobey these commands. They find God commanding that even the ox was to share in the produce of the harvest; that even he was not to be muzzled while treading out the corn; they find God forbidding the employer to keep back the wages of a labourer even for a day; they find Him commanding the master, at the end of the labourer's servitude, to send him away amply provided for out of his granary, his flocks, and his wine-press; they find Him denouncing vengeance and punishment on the oppressors of the widow and the orphan, those who drove the needy stranger from the gate, and particularly on those who should lay "*house to house and field to field, so as to cruse the poor of the land to*

fail." They find Him threatening miseries unspeakable, upon those who should grudge to give the labourer his due hire. They have read, or heard read, the following passage in the epistle of St. James, which LUTHER, the founder of this Church-of-England religion, "*called an epistle of straw.*" You seem to think it an epistle of straw too; but remember the labourers have all heard it read; and they know that if that be straw, all the rest of the book is straw; and that then all that the parsons tell them about Christianity is a farce. I advise you however not to consider it as straw; but to consider it as valuable grain; and that you may have it to read, here it is in the fifth chapter of the epistle of St. James. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth. You have feasted upon earth: and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts, in the day of slaughter. You have condemned and put to death the just and he resisted you not."

You may be well assured that the labourers all understand this. They have read too, or have had it read to them, that the children of Israel were ill-treated by the *Egyptians*; that they had task-masters set over them, who compelled them to make bricks without straw, though we are not told that they made them draw wagons and carts like beasts of burden; they have read that MOSES, seeing one of these villanous task-masters strike one of his brethren, he looked about him, this way and that way, and seeing no one there, he slew the task-master, and buried him in the sand; and they have read, that after this Moses

became the servant of the Lord, and the leader and the guide of his people.

Besides this, the labourers well know that the tithes were not given for the parsons alone; but that they belong to the public generally, and particularly to the poor: they know that by the ecclesiastical law, by the common law of England, and by the statute law of England, that every indigent person has as much right to relief out of the tithes, whether clerical or lay, as any landlord has to his rents, or as any farmer has to the stock upon his farm.

Thus taught by common sense, by the word of God, and by the well-known laws of the land, they demand that they shall not be compelled to live upon potatoes, while you are living on the best of meat and bread, and have beer and wine always on your table, and are dressed in the best of clothing. Your answer to them is: We do not want your labour; to which they reply, Give us then some of the produce without labour, or give to us some of the numerous farms, four, five, or ten of which you have turned into one; at any rate give us relief according to the law. To prevent this, the Parliament changes the laws; it enables you to set hired overseers over them, who treat them in the manner before described; till at last all relief is pretty nearly refused. After long endurance they assemble in groups, arm themselves with clubs and with hammers, and go about compelling you to promise to raise their wages; and here and there they ask for money from you and the parsons, to get them some victuals and drink. For the former they are imprisoned for great length of time; for the latter they are *condemned to death*, some of them transported for life, and others of them hanged; though in the whole course of their proceedings they have neither shed a drop of blood, nor inflicted a wound. Fearing the natural consequences of this; namely, a more general rising and more violent proceedings, you arm yourselves, mount your horses, form yourselves into military corps, assume a menacing attitude, and prance over the country. They, on their part, unable to collect into large

bodies, and unprovided with sharp and deadly instruments, see that they cannot answer your threats by open defiance and attack; but they know that there is one destructive element, one irresistible arm always at their command; and, thus reduced to extremity, this arm they are now employing with the most deadly effect, as every newspaper from the country is now proclaiming to the world. Against this arm, which they employ at their convenience, and with not the smallest danger to themselves, you have no possible defence; and this curse to you, and disgrace to the country, must go on *until the cause be removed*.

Here, then, you have the fires traced to the real source. It is very true, that while the present taxes and tithes exist, you have not the means of duly rewarding your labourers; but this is what you *never tell them*; your answer to them is, *that they ought not to have more than they get*: and therefore they are at issue *with you*; and they are not called upon by reason to look any further than to you. You are at your wit's end: offering rewards is of no use; setting guards and watches is of no use; arming yourselves is of no use; the labourers have determined to live upon potatoes no longer; and live upon potatoes they will not. A writer in a stupid and base paper called the *Norwich Mercury*, which appears to be edited by as grovelling a beast as ever fed at manger, trough, or crib, tells the labourers, that in setting fire to farm stock they do not injure the farmer, because his property is always *insured*! Very well, then, why do you offer rewards for detecting the burners; why do you pay watches and guards? If the fires do you good by getting you a market in the lump, ready money down, instead of being plagued with the thrashing and sending to market, why do you hire watches, at high wages, and pamper them with suppers and with spirits, to prevent these beneficial fires? Why do you form yourselves into parochial patrols; why do you burn candles all night in your houses, and lie down on your beds with your clothes on; wearied, as you must be, with the military performance of the day?

Poh! the chopsticks know well how the fires affect you; they see, that at any rate, the fires induce this beastly writer in the *Norwich Mercury* to suggest, as a remedy, *better treatment of them* than they have experienced for many years past. Just so, gentlemen yeomanry cavalry; that is the remedy, and the only remedy; and if this filthy slave of the bull-frogs of Norfolk should prevail upon you to follow his advice in this respect, I shall be almost ready to forgive the dirty fool for ascribing the fires to the instigation "of *miscreants* who mean "to make use of these fires as the means "of accomplishing a political revolution!" He includes, I suppose amongst these *miscreants* those who do not think that the old veteran patriot Whig Coke of Norfolk ought to have received four thousand pounds a year of the public money, in a *snug sinecure*, for more than half a century; and that he ought to be made to *refund* that which he has so received. I am one of these *miscreants* at any rate; and I can tell you, that your hairy-caps and Wellington-boots will not at all tend to prevent the accomplishment of my wishes, revolutionary as those wishes may be.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE LABOURERS,

On the Folly of their putting their Money into Clubs.

MY FRIENDS,

It is the general practice of those who invent something to delude and cheat other people, to give a *good name* to the thing which they invent; and, accordingly, those who have invented this scheme for inducing you to give up your earnings, to prevent them from paying poor-rates, have christened these clubs "*BENEFIT clubs*," instead of calling them, as they ought to have done, clubs to wheedle money out of the hard-earned pence of the *working people*, in order to spare the purses of the landowners, big farmers, and other rich men. It was not till about seventy years ago that clubs

like these were ever heard of in England. Before this Protestant Church of England sprang up, the poor were relieved out of the tithes. Since that, the parsons, the bishops, the deans and chapters, and the nobility and gentry, have taken all to themselves; and the poor have been relieved by what are called the poor-rates. The same may be said with regard to the church-rates, which also formerly came out of the tithes.

There needed no clubs before this Protestant Church establishment came, because the priests relieved all the poor out of the tithes, and out of the rents of lands, and other property which had been bequeathed to the clergy for that purpose. There was therefore no occasion for poor-rates, for all poor persons were sure to be taken care of, whether in sickness or in health, to the end of their days; and besides so happy was the state of the country, that there were few persons poor in any one parish; the wages paid to labourers were so good, that no man who was able to work, ever stood in need of relief; and in case of sickness, people in general were so well off that there were few who could not be conveniently relieved by their relations. This fatal change took place about two hundred and fifty years ago; and it is about two hundred and thirty years ago that the poor-rates were enacted. For many years poverty was not so great, wages were not so low, in proportion to the price of provisions, as to compel many persons to apply for parish relief. When I was a boy, it used to be deemed *a shame* to apply to the parish. But the desolating and extravagantly expensive, and long and bloody, wars of George III. plunged the nation into debts, so great, made the taxes so heavy, and made wages so low, in proportion to the price of provisions, that labouring men were compelled, in case of sickness especially, either to expose their families to be starved, or to obtain assistance greater than their relations were able to give them. In this state of things, the cunning fellows, who had to pay the poor-rates, invented what they called "*BENEFIT clubs*," which was a scheme for drawing out of the

wages of the labourers, who were able to work, the means of relieving those who were unable to work; or, in other words, to make the healthy labourers pinch their bellies and their backs, in order to relieve the sick labourers, and thus save the pockets of these cunning rich fellows.

Every penny that a labouring man pays into these clubs, is a penny given to the rich; and, besides that, it is a penny given to uphold Sturges Bourne's bills, and to pay hired overseers, and, in short, to pay for causing himself and his neighbours to be put into harness and to be made to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden. If you could have any doubt in your minds about the tendency of these clubs, you would only have to look at the persons who are the most eager to promote such clubs, and to uphold them and perpetuate them. There was a fellow, some years ago, a Scotch fellow, named OLD GEORGE ROSE, who had been a purser in the navy; who was a famous tool of the famous Pitt; from a PURSER he became *Right Honourable Privy Councillor*; he received for many years not less than ten thousand pounds a year of the public money; he got a sinecure place settled upon him for life of *three thousand pounds a year*, and settled upon his son, GEORGE ROSE, for his life also. This man became, about forty years ago, the great promoter of benefit clubs; he lived at Cusfiells, in the New Forest, in Hampshire; he was himself a *member of a club there*; he used punctually to pay in his pennies; he used to *dine with the club*; and thus he drew in, thus this cunning Scotchman humbugged, all the poor chopsticks about that country, taking good care never to tell them that his carriages and horses and fine park and deer, all came out of their labour.

Another great patron of benefit clubs is that FLEMING (whose name was WILLIS), who was lately a member for Hampshire, and who was so pelted off the hustings at Winchester. Can this man want to do good to the people? Can he be the friend of the working people? Can he, who was the tool in the hands of the parsons in Hampshire, mean to do the

working people any good? Besides, you see all the greediest of the big farmers, the most eager to promote and uphold these clubs.

Then, again, mark the conduct of the Government! What business had it and the Parliament to meddle with the affairs of these clubs? What right had they to interfere with the management of these concerns? What right had they to meddle with the management and distribution of money belonging to the members of a club, any more than with money belonging to any partnership whatsoever? Yet they have interfered; they have passed laws to give their magistrates a superintending power over these clubs; they have passed laws to prevent the members from dividing the money at their own pleasure; they have passed laws which, in effect, take the money from under the command of the members of the club; and, in a great measure, take it away and make it a part of what is called the national debt.

The *savings banks*, as they are called, were invented by that same cunning Scotchman, old GEORGE ROSE. The money collected by these things is, what is called *put into the funds*, and the poor people imagine that the funds mean a chest or box where the money is locked up. Alas! my poor friends, there is no such chest or box; the *funds* mean the national or government *debt*; and the putting of money into the funds is the lending of money to the Government; and the Government pays the interest of it, not out of any *fund* that it has, but out of the taxes, a part of which you pay in every gallon of malt, pot of beer, pound of sugar, bit of soap, or candle, that you consume, and upon every bit of tobacco that goes into your mouth; so that, first, you put your earnings into the clubs, or the banks; next, the Government borrows it; and next, if you ever get any interest, you get it out of the taxes that you yourselves have paid! Nothing that ever was heard of in the world before is equal to this delusion and folly on your part; and to the craft of those who induce you to put your money into these clubs and banks.

When a club man is ill, the parish

give him *no relief*; because he has an allowance out of the club. When a man becomes seventy years old, he has an allowance from the club for the rest of his life; and, whether sick or well, the parish never give him any relief to the day of his death! One would think that this was enough to open your eyes: one would think that here was enough to make you see why the big, the grasping, the grinding farmers, are so eager to get you into clubs, "into *benefit* clubs;" that is to say, into clubs that are of great benefit to them, and of great injury to you; here is enough to make you see why they do you the honour to come and dine with you once a year, though, all the rest of the year, they treat you far worse than they treat their dogs.

If a man earn more money than is necessary to supply him with food and with raiment and the other things that he wants, *cannot he keep his money himself*? Cannot he take as good care of it as the grinding farmers and the Government can! Yes, and if he happen to be sick, he has relief from the parish, and his own money too, and he ought to have both; for the money that he has saved he ought to keep till old age, as the just reward of his extraordinary industry and frugality. A drunken and dissolute life produces illness; and as there will naturally be some drunken and dissolute persons in the club, they will be sick oftener than the rest; so that the sober and orderly man has to work to maintain the profligate in his sickness. Then, again, some men have hereditary diseases, such as consumption and king's-evil. These unfortunate persons are entitled to compassion from the healthy labouring man; but they are entitled to support from the lands of the parish, and ought not to be made in this manner to extract their maintenance from the healthy labouring men.

The depositing of money in this way, has a very bad *moral* effect; it makes men less careful to adhere to such conduct as is necessary to the preservation of health. It tends to make them drunkards, and to be less cautious how they expose themselves to bodily harm. In many cases it makes them successful

hypocrites; makes them either sham illness altogether, or to affect its existence after it has ceased.

But, after all, and if all the other objections were removed, what sense is there in the thing? What is there in it but pure folly? What is there in it but giving away your money? All the men that enter the club must be young and healthy at the time; and why should a young and healthy man give his money to *anybody else* to keep for him against a day of sickness? Either he pinches his back or his belly for the sake of lodging this money in the club, or he has this money over and above that which he wants for his back or his belly; if the former, then he enfeebles himself; makes himself a poor mean-looking fellow; undermines his health and strength, solely for the advantage of those who live in luxury and splendour on the fruit of his toil: if the latter, why not keep the money in his own chest? In the course of the year he pays thirty or forty shillings into the all-swallowing club. In the course of five years he pays in ten pounds perhaps. But suppose it to be only twenty shillings a year, how many times does a man see an occasion in which, by the means of this little bit of ready money, he could, to very great advantage, purchase a pig, plant a bit of ground, or do something by which the money would produce him more to eat, drink, or wear, than two pounds laid out from hand to mouth? Many are such occasions that present themselves; but you cannot avail yourself of them, for your money is locked up in the club. You cannot brew without malt and hops; the club has got your money, and you must go to the ale-house, and purchase your beer by the pot. So that these clubs, view them in what light you will, are injurious to the working people, and serve no other purpose than that of making their lot harder than it would have been without them. Young men deem a *bastard child* a great burden; but, not to mention, that, in this case, there has been something like value received, and that time, and reasonable time too, takes the burden from your

shoulders, which, besides, you may at any time remove by doing justice to the mother; whereas the club sticks to you all your life long, while you have health and strength sufficient to enable you to sit all the day and crack flint stones with a hammer.

Therefore, my advice to all young men is, Never give a farthing to one of these clubs: and if you have begun to give, cease to give immediately; to have been foolish, is no reason for being foolish still; and be you well assured that the first loss is the best. Stuck on to one of these clubs, you cannot remove out of the kingdom; nor even very well from one part of the kingdom to the other, without losing all that you have put into this craftily-contrived trap. Get out of it if you be in; keep out of it if you be out; and trust to God, to your own industry, and sobriety, and to the law of the land, for aid in case of sickness; and thus merit the commendation of your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

THE FIRES.

THE London papers have come to an agreement, it seems, not to give any account of the fires that are blazing all over England. The wise politicians who conduct these daily supplies of intelligence and knowledge, are constantly telling us that the fires arise from the working people not being able to get at the sight of a London paper; and yet these patriotic philosophers suppress all mention of the fires, lest such mention should encourage the labourers to proceed in the burnings. These patriots appear to be very pious men, and to be duly convinced of the existence of a future state. So great is their awe, that these present transient fires seem constantly to remind them of the fire everlasting, at the bare idea of which they seem to tremble. It is very curious that the two assemblies down at St. Stephen's seem fully to participate in this reverential feeling; they talk of the unsettled, the dangerous, the horri-

ble state of the country; they talk about political unions, about unlawful combinations, and about all sorts of things; but as if they had bound themselves by an oath upon the altar not to do it, never does any one of them, even by accident, or in a figure of rhetoric, pronounce the word FIRE! Nevertheless, that the fires do blaze, will appear from the following paper, which I have received in a great staring placard, printed by Baker, of Dereham, in Norfolk, and dated on the 28th of November, 1831. It comes from that part of Norfolk which is called the hundred of LAUNDITCH, in which, it seems, great sums of money have been raised; a large subscription has been made for giving rewards to *informers*, and for employing *guards*. I will insert this paper just as it stands in the placard, except that I shall number the paragraphs, in order to be able to refer to them with more ease.

FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS REWARD,
*In addition to any Sum which Government
may offer.*

To the Well-disposed Cottagers of the Hundred of Launditch.

Friends and Neighbours,

I. Will you listen for a few minutes to a friendly address from persons who, though unknown to many of you, are well-wishers to you all? We would talk with you of the dreadful scenes which many of you have witnessed with your own eyes. You have seen the darkness of night suddenly lit up with a terrible blaze. You have asked the cause of this unnatural sight, and you have been shocked to learn that it was *the wickedness of man destroying the bounty of God*. As *your heart has sickened at the sight*, you have said to yourselves,—“What wretched times are these!” Wretched times indeed they are, and such as call upon every man of right feeling, whether high or low, rich or poor, to do his best to improve them. We are persuaded that we are now speaking to persons who detest these horrid practices. We believe that most of you, whoever think seriously upon the matter, would *rather thrust your hand into your own fire* than employ it in setting fire to the property of others. Some of you have, perhaps, grown a little corn yourselves: almost all have had a little gathered in by the gleanings of your family. If any person, who fancied himself ill-treated by you, should steal to your little store, and set fire to it at the risk of burning you in your bed, what a vile and wicked fellow would you call him! You

would all agree to scout such a villain from your company. Nay, if you knew of any one's intending to do such mischief to a neighbour, your conscience would never rest without giving your neighbour notice of it. Now the wickedness of such a man is exactly of the same kind as that of him who steals to a stack or barn and sets fire to it, careless whether or not any lives may be lost. We trust, therefore, your conscience will not rest without giving all the information you can, if you happen to hear of any one who threatens to set fire to stacks or houses, or who has already done so. By so doing you will certainly gain the favour and encouragement of all good men; and we are sure that if you do otherwise, you will carry a sadly-burdened conscience to the grave. There can be no doubt but that in the sight of God, *as well as in the eye of the law*, a person who allows any crime to be committed, which it is in his power to prevent, *is as guilty as he who actually commits it*. And little less is the guilt of any one who encourages such crimes by helping to conceal them after they are committed. It is greatly folly for such a one to talk of not liking to injure his neighbour. He is really injuring an innocent neighbour in order to spare a wicked one. And can this be right? But, as we said, we believe far better things of you. *Our fear is most for young and thoughtless men, who give themselves up to the feelings of the moment, and bestow no thought upon the awful consequences of what they are doing*. Some of you may, perhaps, have some such thoughtless connexions or acquaintances. We would help you to open their eyes to the malignity of such practices. We would recommend you solemnly to show them, in the first place,—

2. *How wicked such burnings are in the sight of God*. It is almost impossible to look at a yard full of corn stacks without lifting up our hearts in thankfulness to that bountiful Providence who has given such a provision for the support of his creatures. And when one of those creatures dares to commit this provision to the flames, does he not seem to throw back the blessings of God in his face, and to say, "*I despise the gift of thy hand!*" The wickedness of man did once, you know, provoke God to curse the earth, and make it bring forth thorns and thistles. Is not such *base ingratitude* almost enough to bring down a second and a heavier curse—that it shall bring forth nothing but thorns and thistles? Show them next,—

3. *How foolish such burnings are in respect to their own wants*. A moment's thought must show them, that if they could destroy the *whole property of their employer*, instead of paying them better, he would be able to pay them nothing at all; and that the very last means to make bread cheap is to make wheat scarce. Show them again,—

4. *How little after all these burnings injure the property of the corn grower*. This indeed is a *wretched reason* for not doing a wicked act: but they who will listen to no other, may

perhaps stay their hand, from the knowledge that almost every grower of corn *takes care to protect himself by insurance* of his stock to its full amount in some public office—Show them again,—

5. *How thoroughly un-English these burnings are*. A bad character enough is the open robber who dares to commit his crime in the face of day. But the villain who screens the workings of his deadly malice under the darkness of night,—who has *courage* only to do that which a mere infant might do,—whose *villany* is of so black a kind that he dares not confess it to his most intimate acquaintance, but is obliged to *skulk* about and hide his crime in solitary silence, scarcely daring to look an honest neighbour in the face;—does such a *wretch* deserve the name of an *Englishman*? As you value that *high title* yourselves, we call upon you, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS, not to allow it to be disgraced by such *miscreants* as these, but to take the first opportunity of *dragging them to justice*.—Lastly, show your young friends,—

6. *How dangerous to themselves these burnings are*. All the honest part of the public are joining together to detect and punish these destroyers. In your own hundred an association has been formed, headed by gentlemen of the highest character and largest property, and joined by almost every man of substance and respectability, for the express purpose of preventing and punishing this horrid crime. *A number of active men will be on the constant look-out* against these practices. When a fire has taken place, they will be soon upon the spot, and spare neither time nor labour to detect the criminal. *Nor will expense be grudged*. A large subscription of money has been made to furnish the means of *detection and the reward of discoverers*. The very first person who shall be the means of bringing to justice a single offender on the property of a subscriber, will receive the above reward, *a sum which may place him for all his life out of the reach of poverty*. When once convicted, the criminal can have no hope of mercy: the law will assuredly take its course, and the miserable man will quickly end his days under a load of infamy and remorse of conscience and forebodings of the vengeance of God.

7. We would hope, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS, that if you press these considerations closely upon the *thoughts of the young and heedless*, they may be sufficient to check the first rising of any desire to do these deeds of darkness.

8. We have taken up *more of your time than we intended*: but we cannot conclude without one other friendly caution to all of you, young and old. *Our country is overrun with STRANGERS of the most mischievous character*. They hope to prosper by the progress of crime, and will therefore leave no stone unturned to make others as wicked as themselves. They will tell a thousand false tales to delude the unwary, and lead them into practices which may end in their ruin. Be on

your guard against these men, and *believe nothing that they say*. The county of Norfolk was always famous for its honesty: do not endanger your character, your conscience, perhaps your life, by listening to these *artful and wicked strangers*.

9. We speak on the part of the association which we have mentioned above, and with *sincere wishes for your welfare* are

Your faithful friends and neighbours,

THE COMMITTEE.

November 22th, 1831.

First of all, let me observe that this COMMITTEE do not choose to tell their names; and this clearly proves that there was no man amongst them bold enough to sign this at once canting, threatening, and stupid address. In paragraph 1, we have a deal of cant and one lie; for whoever had the impudence or the folly to say before that a man who has had it in his power to prevent the commission of a crime, and does not prevent it, is equally guilty with him who actually commits the crime? If, for instance, I were to see a chopstick about to give this canting fool a drubbing, I should be able to prevent him from doing it; but I certainly should not prevent him; but must I then *be guilty of an assault*? Poh! impudent canter. This is not the way to produce a cessation of the fires. In this first paragraph a miserable attempt is made to persuade the labourers in general, that *they* are not suspected; that *they* are now become "*friends and neighbours*," who used to be *low orders, peasantry*, and mob. Yet the writer is very much puzzled to find out somebody to whom to impute the fires; and, in short, it is impossible for any labourer to read this without being filled with contempt for the writer; he must see the insincerity of the stuff; he must see the meanness of the coaxing; he must clearly perceive the wretched motive; and the impression upon his mind must be quite the contrary of that which the writer intends to produce.

In paragraph 2, this wise Committee call upon God. They tell the labourers, that when they see a yard full of corn-stacks, they ought to lift up their hearts in thankfulness for this provision which God had made for his creatures. They seem to have forgotten that the labourers

know that the provisions have been made by *their hands*; and they should have showed them, that they were amongst the *creatures who partook of the provision*. Poh! foolish canters! they know well enough that the land will bring forth something besides thorns and thistles; they know that it will continue to bring forth potatoes. In paragraph 3, the labourers are told that the burnings will not raise their wages, but will make the farmers unable to pay them any wages at all; and they will make bread dear instead of making it cheap. They should have showed them that what they get now, in the shape of wages, is sufficient to keep them from being half starved; and when they were representing it as desirable to them, that *bread should be cheap*, they should have explained to them very clearly, what it was that made Daddy Coke and the rest of the land-holders and big farmers, especially in Norfolk, never cease to worry the Government till they had got the Corn Bill passed for the express purpose of making bread dear, for what they called the "*protection of agriculture*." But it would not have answered to have mentioned this, because the burners might then have proceeded in their work, looking upon themselves as protectors of agriculture. The foolishness, the shocking emptiness of paragraph 4, are fully exposed by the contents of paragraphs 5 and 6; for if the fires do the owner of the consumed property *no harm*, why be in such a passion with the burners? Why call them villains, skulking cowards, wretches, and miscreants? why keep guards constantly on foot? why make subscriptions? why offer a reward so enormous, as to "*place the inform. r for his life out of the reach of poverty*?" why hold out this temptation to perjury, the like of which was committed in Berkshire last year? and why put into print the infamous lie, that death is *sure to follow conviction*, when it is notorious to all England, that THOMAS GOODMAN, who set five fires with his own hand, and for private malice too, had his life spared?

If, in paragraph 7, the "*friends and neighbours*" had been requested to press

some good lumps of beef and bacon and some good beer down into the bellies of the "*young and heedless*," instead of pressing this rubbishing threatening stuff upon their "*thoughts*," there would have been some sense in the request; but even this would have been swept away by the stupid stuff of the next paragraph, about the country being overrun with STRANGERS, which impudent lie is still kept up for the basest of all purposes. Whether the county of Norfolk always was, as this fellow says it was, "*famous for its honesty*," I know not. I believe that, in that respect, it always fully participated with the rest of this once-happy country; but if it had that fame, this canting, mean, lying, and at the same time, threatening Committee have done their best to deprive it of that fame. In the sentiments expressed in the concluding paragraph I heartily concur; that is to say, I sincerely wish for the *welfare* of the labourers; but the welfare that I mean has something tangible and even *corporeal* in it; namely, good wages to the labourer, paid him by the farmer, at the fire-side, over a familiar mug of ale, as in former times; and not half wages, handed to him by a bailiff from one of the out-house windows of DADDY COKE'S agricultural villas. "*The young and thoughtless!*" Those young and thoughtless *ought to be sleeping in the farmer's house*, and not driven out to make room for the music and the dancing master. Here is the root of all the evil; and until this root be torn up, you may cant and coax and bully and threaten and watch and offer rewards and lie till you be black in the face, you never will have peace again. But, how is anybody to compel the farmers to take yearly servants into the house as formerly? An Act of Parliament, without any thing unconstitutional in it; without any injustice to anybody; without any direct interference in private affairs; without any penalty inflicted on anybody, would have accomplished the whole thing in one single year; but, to have such an Act of Parliament, we must first drive away the candles and BELLAMY and his regiment of cooks and cork-drawers. In

short, when Daddy Coke shall cease to pocket the proceeds of the light-house, the young and thoughtless country people will again live in the farm-houses, and then the fires will totally cease.

WM. COBBETT.

ANSWER

of the Labourers to the above Canting and Bullying Address.

MR. COMMITTEE,—We have read the following in the *Cambridge and Huntingdon Independent Press*, of the 10th Dec.: "We last week copied from a Tory paper, the *Hertford County Press*, a statement of a poor man at Ware, who having been yoked by the neck to a gravel-cart, was dragged beneath the wheel, and crushed to death. Is it to be wondered that the minds of the poor become brutalized, while their tasks are assimilated to those of beasts of burden?"—There, Mr. Committee! Now come and cant again to us, and call us your "*neighbours and friends*." That is our answer to you. Go, you hypocrites! Nothing but that *fire*, to which the Bible dooms you, will ever soften your iron hearts!

We read also, in the *Scotsman* newspaper of the 30th November, the following:—"Barbarity.—A case, indicating such a total want of feeling as Scotland could scarcely have been expected to exhibit, occurred a few days ago in Calton, Glasgow. The child of a poor man having died, he was under the necessity of applying to the elder of his district for a coffin. It being a rule lately adopted by the heritors of the Barony, that the elders are not to be allowed to give any occasional aid during the interval of their meetings; in other words, to give no aid to a pauper without authority obtained at the monthly meetings, the elder applied to was not at liberty to do more for the poor man than to give him the coffin, but out of his own pocket he gave him 1s. 6d. to aid him in burying his child. The body was enclosed in a coffin, carried

"to the church-yard, and deposited in the grave; but there it was destined not to remain. The poor man was unable to pay the expenses required by the bailie of the burying-ground, and the elder not having authority to pay them from the funds of the parish, the body was disinterred and given back to the parent, who carried the coffin home under his arm! Could it have been believed that in Scotland, enlightened Scotland, such barbarity would have been practised?" "Enlightened!" Oh no! You, Mr. Committee, are more enlightened than these poor Scotch people! And, in time, you will be, and they too, most effectually enlightened! Poh! you fools! keep your breath to cool you. Go, and get justice for this Englishman and this Scotchman, before you call on us to fear the vengeance of God!

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

BUSH, J., late of Blackman-street, Borough, victualler.
FARRAR, W., Bread-st., Cheapside, ware-houseman.
HOLGATE, G. R., late of Elizabeth-street, Euston-sq., wine-merchant.
STEPHENS, T., London-road, Southwark, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

COVENEY, T., Benenden, Kent-farmer and horse-dealer.
CRAMPTON, J., late of Kirkoswald, Cumberland, paper-manufacturer.
EVANS, J., Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, ware-houseman.
GILLELAND, H., Liverpool, bricklayer.
GRIFFITHS, B. J., Wrexham, Denbighshire, draper.
LEES, J., Droitwich, Worcestershire, salt-manufacturer.
MASON, T., Pinner, Middlesex, horse-dealer.
SHERWOOD, R., late of Princes-st., Stamford-st., Blackfriars-rd., builder.
WATSON, B. L., Liverpool, flag-manufacturer.
WINTER, W., Bristol, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BAYNE, A., Glasgow, miller.
STEVENSON, A., Edinburgh, grocer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

HERON, J., and J. Comer, Liverpool, tailors.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HILL, J., Little Pulteney-st., Golden-square, dyer.

BANKRUPTS.

BUTT, W., Sheerness, linen-draper.
CALVERLEY, H., Scotton, Yorks., tanner.
CARPENTELT, J., Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, linen-draper.
CAZENOVE, J., Broad-street-buildings, under-writer.
COURTENAY, C. B., Robert-st., Adelphi, doctor of medicine.
DIXON, M., Hessele, Kingston-upon-Hull, corn-dealer.
EDGE, J., Derby, mercer.
ELSTON, W., Eyre-street-hill, victualler.
HALL, J., Kingston-upon-Hull, and Cottingham, Yorkshire, tobacconist.
HARVEY, W. sen., Birmingham, sword-cutler.
HINDE, J., New-st., Crutched-friars, wine-merchant.
HUDSON, J., Sheffield, table-knife-cutler.
HUDSON, R., Manchester, timber merchant.
MITCHELL, H. G., Bermondsey-wall, Surrey, wine and spirit-merchant.
NOBLE, W. A., Devonshire-square, Bishops-gate-street.
PITT, R., Ibstock, Leicesters., inn-keeper.
PLATT, J., Manchester, publican.
SHAW, J., Gracechurch-st., cheese-monger.
THOMSON, E., H. and T. G. Thompson, St. Martin's-lane, and Cockspur-street, linen-draper.
WOOD, C., and K. Poole, Abchurch-lane, bill-brokers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DUNCAN, A., Angus, and M. McRa, Inverness and Ross-shire, &c., cattle-dealers.
HENDERSON, W. and Co., Edinburgh, victuallers.
SCRYMGEOUR, J., Edinburgh, cabinet-maker.
TWEEDIE, J., Edinburgh, banker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 2.—The past week furnished our market with plentiful supplies of all descriptions of grain, and a considerable quantity of flour, which, with the fresh supplies of this morning, caused a large show of samples of all kinds of corn. The finest parcels of wheat alone have obtained last quotations: to make sales of other sorts the trade is so exceedingly dull that less prices were taken. Superfine barley cannot

be reported lower, there having been some demand for such to-day, but other qualities are extremely dull of sale. Beans, both old and new, all very dull, and rather lower. Boiling peas, of fine quality, meet sale at last week's rates. Grey peas are again full 1s. per quarter cheaper. The superabundant supply of oats has tended to depress this article, as our buyers hesitate to purchase; and for such parcels as have met sale, a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter have taken place from the terms of last Monday. The flour trade remains in the same stagnant state, but the top nominal price is not altered by our millers.

Wheat	50s. to 66s.
Rye	36s. to 40s.
Barley	25s. to 30s.
— fine	—s. to —s.
Peas, White	36s. to 40s.
— Boilers	—s. to —s.
— Grey	36s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	40s. to 44s.
— Tick	34s. to 36s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 27s.
— Poland	—s. to —s.
— Feed	—s. to —s.
Flour, per sack	58s. to 63s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new	50s. to 54s.
Pork, India, new	125s. 0d. to 127s.
Pork, Mess, new	67s. 6d. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	101s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	101s. to 105s.
— Cork	99s. to —s.
— Limerick	99s. to —s.
Waterford	95s. to 99s.
Dublin	96s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	60s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Double	56s. to 65s.
— Gloucester, Single	50s. to 54s.
Edam	46s. to 52s.
Gouda	44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish	62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—January 2.

In this market, on Friday, there was no alteration worthy of notice, as regarded good things, excepting for veal, which was lower. Though the supply to-day is not large, there is quite enough of both beasts and sheep. A few picked scots have made something more than our top quotation, but the general trade is about the same as this day week. For muttons, the best downs are selling at 5s.; but other sorts are considered a shade lower than last Monday. There is some difference of opinion on this point, but we think our statement will fairly meet it. Veal, for the best, is no higher than 5s. 2d.

Beasts, 2419; sheep and lambs, 16,500; calves, 127; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 6.

The arrivals this week are fair, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent Cons. shut.

Consuls for Account (Thursday), 83½.

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On the 1st of February, 1832, will be published, price 1s., to be regularly continued on the first of every month, No. I. of

THE CHURCH REFORMER'S MAGAZINE.—The plan of this publication has been suggested by the loud and incessant outcry which has been raised throughout England and Ireland for a reformation of the abuses of the Established Church, in respect to the temporal power, and the revenues of the Clergy, particularly tithes.

From the extraordinary and growing interest and anxiety which this very important question has excited in the public mind for some time past, and more especially since the rejection of the Reform Bill, and the eager desire for information respecting ecclesiastical affairs which is now manifested by persons of every rank in society, it is hoped that a favourable reception will be afforded to a periodical work exclusively devoted to the consideration of questions affecting the temporal establishment of the Church, and the laws by which it is regulated, without any reference to its spiritual doctrines, and containing full and accurate intelligence of the various measures which are about to be brought before Parliament relative to tithes and other ecclesiastical matters, and of every other occurrence connected with the subject of church reform, and which is intended to exhibit such a faithful mirror of public opinion as will enable both the clergy and laity to discern the signs of the times.

The following is an outline of what are intended to form the principal contents of the work:—Original articles, and extracts from books of authority, relative to the nature, origin, and institution, of tithes and other temporalities of the Church; amount of Church Revenues, and their distribution; values of bishopricks, deaneries, prebends, and other spiritual livings and benefices, and salaries of stipendiary curates; temperate, but unsparing exposures of the abuses of the Church generally, its enormous expenditure, useless dignities, sinecures, pluralities, &c. &c.; policy and expedience of the tithe system, and evils and abuses of the law of tithes, and digests of remarkable tithe cases recently decided in the courts of equity and law; local and personal grievances arising from non-residence of the

clergy, vexatious and oppressive tithe suits and exactions of tithes, clerical magistracy, &c., as to which authentic communications are particularly requested; cases of hardship and oppression in the ecclesiastical courts, and their evils and abuses; abstracts of bills in Parliament for regulating tithes, &c., which will be strictly examined and commented upon, and their objects and tendency explained, and the debates on such bills; petitions to the two Houses of Parliament respecting tithes, &c., which, if copies be sent to the editor, will be printed at length, or abstracted, according to their importance; events of the preceding month, including debates in Parliament, speeches and proceedings at public meetings, political unions and other societies in Eng and Ireland, relating to ecclesiastical reform, tithes, &c.; reviews of recent publications on the same subjects.

Letters and communications from correspondents, which are respectfully solicited, are requested to be sent free of postage, addressed to the Editor, at the Publisher's.

London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1832.

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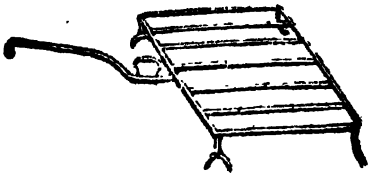
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 75.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 14TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE III.

28th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN OF MANCHESTER,

It is my business this evening to submit to you the reasons upon which the fourth and fifth propositions are founded, and to endeavour to convince you that the measures described in them are just and practicable. I will first read them to you again.

4. To abolish tithes of every description; to leave to the clergy the churches, the church-yards, the parsonage houses, and the *ancient glebes*; and, for the rest, leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people.
5. To take all the rest of the property commonly called church-property; all the houses, lands, manors, tolls, rents, and real property of every kind, now possessed by bishops, chapters, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and all the misapplied property of corporate bodies of every sort; and also all the property called crown-lands, or crown-escates, including that of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; and sell them all, and apply the proceeds to the discharge of the debt which the late parliaments contracted with the fundholders.

I shall have to show, by-and-by, that, without the adoption of these measures, a reform of the Parliament must be a mere empty sound; that, though the rest of the propositions ought to be adopted, it is absolutely *necessary* that

these two should be adopted, and strictly acted upon; because, without this, it will be impossible to provide the means for carrying into effect the measures which I recommend with regard to the national debt, the subject of which I am to discuss to-morrow evening. With any show of justice and humanity, this debt cannot be got rid of without an abolition of the tithes, and without an application of the other property of the church, as it is called, to the purpose of liquidating such parts of the debt as ought to be liquidated.

Many gentlemen present will recollect, that the first time that a proposition was openly made, and in print, for meddling with the revenues of the church, was in a petition of the county of NORFOLK, in the month of January, 1823. Many gentlemen here present will remember, that that memorable petition which I had the very great honour of being permitted to draw up, and to present to the meeting, was passed almost unanimously in an open meeting, fairly assembled, in that very great and spirited county; that, upon the appearance of this petition, which also contained a proposition for a great reduction of the interest of the debt, the whole of the London press appeared to be in a state of absolute commotion; that the parsons called me "*infidel*," while the fundholders called me "*robber*," not appearing to perceive that I myself was in a situation of life which exonerated me from the payment of tithes, and that, at any rate, I myself owed but a very small portion of the debt; and not appearing to perceive also, that, if there were infidelity and robbery in the proposition, the whole of the county of Norfolk, farmers, trade-men, and working people, who met in the great hall of St. Andrew's, at Norwich, *rose up*, and *robbers*. Nevertheless, the London papers rang with accusations against me particularly, laying the blame upon my poor shoulders; and, in the fulness of their humanity, ascribed the

sanctioning of the petition to the delusion practised by me upon the simple people of Norfolk.

Above all things, this proposition relative to the property of the church, was represented as "*wild and visionary*." It was called unjust, cruel, ferocious, diabolical, but utterly *contemptible* at the same time, on account of its wild and visionary character. Now, gentlemen, what is the language of these same newspapers now? It is very well known to you all; or, at least, to those who have done me the honour to read my writings for some years past, that I have constantly endeavoured to press upon the minds of my readers, that the passing of enclosure bills, and the moulding of several farms into one, together with the operation of the tithe system, had gone on rendering the lot of the labourers worse and worse, and that it would finally reduce them to the necessity of breaking forth into acts of violence, or submitting to a life very nearly approaching that of starvation. My readers of long-standing will recollect, that when that impudent old sinecure placeman, and formerly purser in the navy, old GEORGE ROSE, used to cite the increase of the number of inclosure bills as a proof of the prosperity of the country, and of the *goodness of the Government*, I said these bills were laying the sure foundation of misery to the country, and adding to the chances of a final violent overthrow of the state. With regard to large farms, I have always contended, that they were a species of monopoly growing up out of the system of fictitious money; and that, at last, if not put a stop to in time, they would produce two classes in agriculture, haughty masters, and work people whom they would deem their slaves; the natural result of which would be a violent contention between the two at last, and something like a general convulsion. Within the last ten years, the evil having gone on increasing in magnitude, the debt and other causes of taxation having so enormously increased in weight, in consequence of the doubling of the value of money by Peel's bill; within these ten years, I have contended that some

great branch or other of expenditure must give way; that the debt was the thing first to give way; and that, yet, common decency, very ordinary morality and conscience, would not suffer that to be totally extinguished, until the emoluments had been taken from the aristocracy and the clergy; and that, therefore, resort must be had to the property commonly called church-property.

Now, gentlemen, these are opinions which I have been promulgating for the last five-and-twenty years at the least, as will be seen from those pages which will remain to be read for many years yet to come. With regard to the church-property, my opinions, openly expressed, are of about ten years standing. During these five-and-twenty years, Brougham's best possible public instructors have been constantly inculcating the great benefit of new inclosures of wastes, as they call them; the greater benefit still of putting many farms into one; the monstrous injustice of touching the property of the church; and they have been, without measure and without mercy, censuring my opinions, whenever they thought them worthy of anything beyond expressions of contempt. All this is well known to many gentlemen now present, to whom it is equally well known that these best possible public instructors have all of a sudden changed their tone, and are now far more vehement than I ever was, in censuring the greediness of landlords and farmers, in stripping the labourers of the wastes; far more vehement in censuring the monopoly of farms; and coming almost up to my mark in recommending the abolition of the tithes, and the seizure of the other church-property for public uses. If I had a bundle of their recent broadsheets, and dared so far to trespass upon your time as to rummage up their rubbishy columns, I could occupy ten evenings as long as this, in merely reading passages from these papers in confirmation of what I have heard said. I will content myself, however, with reading a passage from the *Morning Chronicle*, and from the pen of the editor of that paper, of only four days ago;

namely, Saturday last, the 24th of this month of December, in the following words:—"The first effect of throwing several farms into one was favourable to cheap production. But the demoralization of the labourers was not calculated on. No man can possess property in security, with a demoralized population around him. The labourer who, while independent, was honest, now steals without scruple. The farmer finds this to his cost, when he casts up his accounts. We must retrace our steps; and the landholders, who have robbed the labourers of their little possessions, must be made to contribute to their emancipation. The real and the able-bodied poor must be distinguished from each other; and where there is a redundancy of able labourers, land must be allotted to the supernumeraries. But without an alteration in the tithe as well as the poor system, all attempts to benefit the poor will be fruitless. A thorough reform is required. And as soon as the Reform Bill is carried, that great curse of the country—the tithe tax—must be placed on a rational footing."

It is not true that throwing several farms into one was favourable to cheap production. That is not true, except cheap production mean cheapness to the monopolist, and dearness to the rest of the community. But now they have discovered, then, that this amalgamation of farms tends to demoralize the labourers; and this man says that no man can possess property in security, with a demoralized people around him. What a vast improvement we have made in words! I do not know what demoralized means; but, if it mean empty-bellied, it is a very proper word to make use of in this case; for, not only cannot a farmer, or landholder, or any other person, possess property in security, with empty-bellied labourers around him, but I contend that he ought not to possess it in security, surrounded with labourers who have not a sufficiency of food; and it is not stealing to take, without scruple, that which is necessary to sustain life. Gentlemen, I am aware that this assertion of mine will startle some per-

sons; but I am sure that it will startle no one who is well acquainted with the law of either God or man; for, according to all the laws laid down by God himself, according to the canon law, the common law, and the statute law of England, it is not criminal stealing for a man to take food or raiment, and no matter from whom, if the person himself be not in absolute want, if such taking be necessary to preserve the taker from perishing with hunger or with cold. I wish to be very explicit upon this subject: it is a matter which all persons of property ought clearly to understand: I say, then, that if a man, and the same applies to women, boys, and girls, be in want of food and raiment necessary to sustain life, and if he cannot obtain the food and raiment by supplications to private persons, or by his application to parochial authorities, he is fully justified in taking that which he wants for the purpose just mentioned, in whatever house or place he may find it, and that this justification he has, in the laws of God, in the decisions of the fathers of the Christian church, in the decisions of all the great civilians, and in the letter, as well as the practice, of the canon law, the common law, and the statute law of England. The poor-laws of England, provided they be put into practice, strip him of all excuse for this sort of taking; but, if it were to happen that those laws were to fall into disuse, or to be set at defiance by the parochial officers, the right of taking would revert to every man in such a state of deplorable want. And this doctrine I am ready to maintain, in the face of all the clergy and all the lawyers of England. So that this writer of the *Morning Chronicle* may talk about stealing as long as he pleases; it is no stealing to take under such circumstances; for, as Solomon says, in the 6th chapter of Proverbs, I think it is, and the 30th and 31st verse, "Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry." Very strange, that men should not despise a thief: and both the Catholic Bible, and the learned Grotius, who was a Protestant, say that the word thief

was not in the Hebrew text, but that it was, "We do not despise a man:" and as to the word steal, it only meant secretly taking: and, to be sure, it would be monstrous indeed, and mankind would be monsters, if they were to maintain that the persons of property of any community had a right to withhold the means of existence from even any one soul in that community.

But here we have, at any rate, a confession that the scheme of throwing several farms into one has produced great evil; and that we must "*retrace our steps*." This is a great declaration; for it means that we are to throw open the enclosures again; make allotments of land to supernumerary labourers; make them compensation for the "robbery" that the landowners have committed upon them! 'Tis not I that wrote this, gentlemen: God preserve me from so doing; for, on a charge of sedition, how soon would the sagacious Denman have me by the heels were I to write in this manner. I verily believe that we shall have small farms again: and if I did not believe it, I should not care a straw what became of the country; but this is not to be effected by the grovelling means which writers like this appear to have in view. But we now come to the great matter of all; **THE TITHES!** This gentleman tells us, that all attempts to benefit the poor will be unavailing, unless there be an *alteration in the tithe system!* It is quite amusing to observe this fresh source of anxiety with these public instructors. I have known them for thirty years, for unfeeling revilers of the labouring poor, and particularly the writer on whose writing I am now observing; for ten years at least I have known him for a proposer of harsh and cruel measures towards this best description of persons in the country: I have known him for a prater about *surplus-population*; I have known him for a condemner of *premature marriages*; I have known him to recommend, like the hard-hearted and well-paid Thomas Walker, Esq., of Lambeth, to leave the poor to their *own resources*, and hanging them if they take, in order to pre-

serve their lives; I have known him for a reviler of the famous act of Queen Elizabeth; I have known him for a recommender of driving the poor from the estates of the nobility in Scotland and in Ireland; I have known him for an advocate of *compulsory emigration*; I have known him for an advocate of the atrocious proposition to sell the dead bodies of the poorest of the poor, and thereby to terrify those that were alive from putting themselves into the hands of hospital-keepers, and keepers of workhouses: all this I have known of these *best possible public instructors*, and of this one in particular: and now I find him anxious above all things to improve the situation of the poor. Gentlemen, you know I dare not say that *the fires have done good*, and I do not say it, therefore; but I must be an idiot not to see that it is the fires, and the very just alarm excited by that dreadful and irresistible mode of taking revenge, that have produced such a wonderful change in this very hard-hearted man.

However, all attempts are vain, he tells us, to benefit the poor, unless there be an alteration in the tithe system. There is, he tells us, *a thorough reform* required; and that as soon as the Reform Bill is carried, that *great curse* of the country, the **TITHES-TAX**, must be placed on *a rational footing*." What a *rational footing* may mean, according to his view of the matter, I cannot tell. But it must include a taking of some part, at least, away from the parsons. This is worthy of particular attention. The alteration of which he speaks can do no earthly good to the labourers, unless it cause the parson and his family to take less of the produce of the land than they now take. What can be the use of composition, or commutation, or of any other measure, unless the parson take *less* than he now takes? How am I, being a farmer, rendered better able to give sufficient wages to my labourers by the parson ceasing to take in kind, the corn, the wool, the wood, the calves, the pigs, the eggs, the milk, the lambs, the apples, and the cabbages, and all other things; how am I to be

rendered better able to pay my labourers sufficient wages by the parsons ceasing to take these in kind, and by taking the full value of them in money? If a man come to me, to take away any thing that I have, what do I gain by prevailing on him not to take the thing away, if he compel me to give him the full worth of the thing in money? But there is this further disadvantage in giving him a money-right; for, whether I have crop or no crop, he comes and demands the money; and the money-claim gives him a right over me as a creditor; a right to take my goods and seize my person; a right which the law of tithes never yet conferred.

In short, gentlemen, by "*rational footing*," this writer must mean taking part at least of the tithes from the clergy; and what principle is there which will sanction the taking of a part, which will not sanction a taking of the whole? and, indeed, there is no other scheme which has anything rational in it: it is a case in which there can be no compromise; and if you were to attempt a compromise, you would instantly get into confusion. To give the parson the use and command of the churches; the control over the church-yards; all their present authority, as far as relates to these matters; to give them the parsonage-houses, and the glebes of ancient endowment; and for the rest, to leave them to the voluntary contributions of their parishioners for every thing beyond the fees to be settled and determined by law: this would be placing the concern on a rational footing; on a really rational footing; and I am quite satisfied, that it would be a change greatly beneficial to the working clergy of the church, and to the religion of the church itself.

Having to maintain the proposition which I have just read to you; having expressed my determination to forego any honour that may be tendered to me, unless those who tender it pledge themselves to support me in endeavouring to accomplish the purpose described in the proposition, it is incumbent on me to show that that which I propose is *just*; that there is nothing

in the proposition that is contrary to the law and usage of the nation; but, as a thing may not be strictly just, though agreeable to law and usage, it is incumbent on me to show that it is just in itself; that it is not cruel; that is to say, unnecessarily severe. But before I do this, and in order to remove all suspicion that I have any sectarian feeling of hostility to the church itself, I think it right, as I have always thought upon similar occasions, to put forward my fair and undeniable pretensions upon this score. In the first place then, I was bred and born in the Church of England as by law established; that I have never, in word or deed, called in question the truth of its doctrines, or the apostolical origin of its worship; that I have never, in any way whatsoever, impugned any of its creeds; and that I have never joined, or leaned towards any dissent from it. But, gentlemen, my orthodoxy has a far better testimony in its favour than any professions that I can put forth, however solemn; for some years ago; it is pretty nearly twenty, Bishop Burgess, then Bishop of St. David's, and now Bishop of Salisbury, declared in a letter, published in the form of a pamphlet, with his name to it, and addressed to Mr. Belsham, that, *of all the laymen of the Church of England, Mr. Cobbett appeared to be the only true son of that church.*

Having thus established, as I think, my impartiality at least upon this subject, I proceed to maintain the legality and justice of taking away the tithes. The whole of the tithes collected by the clergy and lay-impropriators in England, leaving Ireland out of the question for the present, ARTHUR YOUNG, more than forty years ago, estimated at five millions a year. Suppose them to be worth that now, and I suppose them to be worth a great deal more. Alexander Baring, in the first session of 1830, stated the revenues of the church to amount to **TEN MILLIONS A YEAR.** It is possible that all these estimates may be incorrect; but certain it is, that the tithes amount to a very great sum.

Now it never can be believed that this large part of the produce of the land was intended to be given to persons who should have the name of being ministers of a church, and who should not render services in some degree proportioned to the amount of the thing given. It was property belonging to the nation, and given for the support of the morality and religion of the people. The legislators who made this disposition of the property, must have believed that it would be employed in a way to induce the people to go to the churches, there to have inculcated in their minds those principles which would tend to make them good towards men, and dutiful towards God. If this were not the motives of those who gave the tithes to this church, they were hypocritical and profligate tyrants; and if it were their motive, as it certainly must have been, the establishment has not answered the purpose for which the tithes were given to it. It has not answered the purpose; for do we not all know, that not one tenth part of the people ever enter the doors of the churches, while the meeting-houses are crowded in every town and every village? The cause of this has been, not the fondness of the people for strange doctrines; not a want of piety by any means; for in spite of every thing, the mass of the people are the most religious in the world, those of the United States not excepted. There is scarcely a parish in the kingdom, however small, in which we do not find one or more chapels of some sort or other, established by private and voluntary contributions; and these chapels are crowded, while the parish churches are empty. Be the cause, however, what it may, this is the fact, and in this fact we have the proof, that the establishment has failed of its object; and that some great change with regard to it is necessary, to make it once more efficient, if ever it be to be efficient, for the purposes of religion.

The fault is not, generally speaking, with those who do the work of the church; but with those who receive its revenues. The working clergy of the

Church of England, are, perhaps, taking them as a body, as good men as any in the world; but those who have the benefices it is, who have destroyed the respect and veneration for the church; it being quite impossible for men to venerate an establishment which gives to one man the labour, and to another man the profit; it being quite impossible that men should remain attached to an establishment in which the example of the teachers gives the lie direct to all their precepts.

Thus far as to the utility of the establishment, and the accordance of its effects with the intention of those by whom the establishment was made; but now as to the law and justice of taking away the tithes. As to the law, we must first look into the *origin* of the tithes themselves. When we talk of taking them away and applying them to public purposes, we are answered by the astounding assertion, that they are as much the property of the clergy and of the lay-impropriators, too, observe; that they are as much their property as any man's farm-house is his property; and, I remember that the *debut* of Mr. Stanley in the House of Commons was marked by his making this very assertion. Now the fact is this, that the tithes, and that every other species of church-property, if traced back to their foundation, will be found to have been granted for purposes of *charity*; that, in every instance, the grant was made in the name of charity; that, in fact, they were grants for the purpose of supplying the faithful, not only with spiritual food, but with means for providing for their bodily wants; and that the practice of these charities was established from the beginning, and the order of deacons was instituted for the purpose of superintending the tables at which the poor were fed. We have an order of deacons in our church still; but does ever any one hear of any tables at which they superintend the feeding of the poor from the produce of the tithes and other property of the church? The Apostles, in imitating the regulations of Moses, to prevent mendicity and misery, collected alms, in order to relieve the

poor. As the church advanced, the part that was taken by the ministers was considered merely as the necessary means of preserving their lives, and not even as a remuneration for services, because that which they had freely received, they were freely to give; and, accordingly, St. Paul supplied himself with necessities out of the fruit of his labour. This was the foundation of all landed and other property when it came to be bestowed upon the Christian church in every part of the world; but our church seems to have wholly lost sight of this, the origin of its property: it seems to regard it as mere worldly property, held by law; held by the laws of man, and by no other laws, and to be used, as other property is, solely for the benefit of the possessor, he being at liberty to carry it away from the parish in which it is raised, and spend it in St. James's-street, up at LONDON, at BATH, at BRIGHTON, at PARIS, at ROME, or in shooting or fox-hunting.

However, since they will have it that they hold it by law; since they will call the church, the church by law established, that will relieve us from a great deal of the trouble which we should have to take in order to prove that tithes of all descriptions are *the property of the public and the poor*. For, if they have it by law, it must be by statute law; and, then, we look back to this statute law, and there we find that the first statutes on the subject of tithes and all church-property, indeed, declare in the most strong and distinct terms, that this property belongs to Holy Church in trust for the poor; that this property and this trust are sacred; and that no law shall ever be made to alienate the property or enfeeble the trust. When, at a later period, we find that parochial tithes had been appropriated to ecclesiastical communities, and *vicars (vicarii)* had been placed in the parishes to supply the place of the rectors; and when, in consequence of these impropriations or withdrawals, the vicars, in some places, were left with an insufficiency to enable them to relieve the poor in a proper manner; then we find the statute law interfering, and com-

PELLING the impropriators to leave in such parishes a sufficiency of such tithes for the relief of the poor and the indigent. So that, if they will have *law* for it, here is the beginning of the statute law.

Thus things stood when the *Protestant Reformation* came. Then came a series of statutes, or acts of parliament, relative to the church-property; and act after act, meddling with it more and more; these acts finally created this Church of England as "by *law* established:" and these acts, all taken together, took away, in spite of Magna Charta, in spite of the solemn ratification of it, at the beginning of every reign of perhaps twenty kings successively; in spite of the canon law, which had been in force for a thousand years at that time or thereabouts; in spite of the famous code of Edward I.; in spite of the common law, which had existed in all its force from the time of Alfred; in spite of all these, and in defiance of the word of God itself, came the series of acts of parliament before-mentioned,—took away all the church-property from out of the hands of Catholic priests, and out of the hands of Catholic ecclesiastical corporations; and gave this property partly to a Protestant and a married clergy, and partly to *mere laymen*, after which last, to talk of *sacrilège* is a mockery such as the world has seldom witnessed. Well, then, since the *law* could handle this property in this manner: nay, it did a great deal more than this, for it seized the property of *private* chantries or chapels, which were, to all intents and purposes, private property, and had never been other than private property: it seized besides, the property of guilds and fraternities, which had been established for the purpose of protecting different trades and callings: the law could do all this; the King and the two Houses of Parliament found themselves invested with legitimate power to do all these things; not only to take away all the property of the church from men of one religion, and give part of it to priests of another religion and part of it to laymen; but to do an act which would be equal to the

seizing of all the Methodist and other dissenting chapels of this day, and selling the ground on which they stand, and seizing upon all the endowments of such meeting-houses and chapels.

Well, then, if the King and the Parliament could do this, and that too, in those rude and unpolished times, when the schoolmaster had not yet been abroad, surely a King and Parliament can now take the same property wherever it is to be found; surely it can take all the same church-property, whether in the hands of clergy or laymen, and dispose of it as it pleases. Indeed, the Parliament has always had a control over it ever since the church and the Parliament co-existed; for the Parliament interfered to prevent the impropiators, when they were ecclesiastical corporations, from withdrawing from the parishes so much as not to leave a sufficiency for the relief of the poor. The tithes were, according to the rules on which the Christian Church of England was founded, to be divided thus: one third part of the amount of them was to be distributed amongst the necessitous by the priests, who were enjoined to make the distribution *with their own hands*, "in charity, mercy, and humility." They do little of this now, certainly; and they plead the exemption given them by law. They say that theirs is a church different from the church that so distributed the tithes; and, God knows, very different it is. When the change took place, and this law church was established, those who had seized hold of the property which was before the patrimony of the poor, very soon ceased to afford the poor any relief at all. The short and true history of the thing is this: a full third part of all the real property in England was held in trust by the priests, and by the abbey, priories, and other conventual establishments, for the benefit of the poor; and there never was, and never could be, except in extremely extraordinary instances, anything like misery in England. At the reformation, the King and the aristocracy, agreeing together, seized upon the whole of this property, put monied

persons and their families into the livings, reserving the appointment of the parsons to themselves, and dividing amongst them all the estates belonging to the convents, and also a large part of the great tithes. Thus, therefore, they say that they have these things by *law*. Who denies it? We know that they have them by law, and that it is our duty to obey the law; but, has the law by which they hold them set aside Magna Charta, and all the laws of England of a thousand years' standing? Surely we may pass another law to set aside this, their law, which is not yet of three hundred years' standing.

With regard to the right, therefore, that the Parliament has to pass the law which I propose, not one single syllable more need be said. But, in order to show that the Parliament do still possess the clear right of doing this, the clear right of abolishing the tithes, and taking away the other revenues of the church for public purposes, let us see what the Parliament has done in this respect, even in Protestant times; let us see what it has done, even with this church as by law established. I beg to observe here, that this is not necessary. I beg to observe, that I have already proved enough; for the parsons must either allow that the Parliament had the right to do what it did with regard to the seizure and transfer of the property, or they must confess that the act was an act of violence and tyranny; and it would not be convenient for them to allow that their church was built on violence and tyranny. However, by way of surplus proof, let us see what the Parliament has done with regard to this church, since it has been "by law established." The Parliament has three times altered even the *service* of the church; and at every alteration it was set forth that the persons making it were instructed so to do by the Holy Spirit. Let that pass, however, and let us come to the temporalities. In the first place, by three or four separate acts of Parliament, passed at different times, they made a *union* of parishes, putting two, and sometimes three or more livings into one, and giv-

ing the people one vicar or rector, instead of two, three, or more; and in ill-treated Ireland they have, in some instances, moulded ten livings into one, letting nine-tenths of the churches fall down; but, in all instances, taking care to keep up the full demand for tithes in all the parishes. Next, the Parliament has, in several instances, and particularly during the ministry of the heaven-born Pitt, actually taken away a part of the real property of the church. This was done no longer ago than in the year 1798, by an act of Parliament, which was called an act for the *redemption of the land-tax*. This act first imposed a perpetual land-tax, and then it provided, that any land-owner might, if he chose, redeem his land-tax; in other words, pay the whole sum, pay the whole of the fee-simple of the land-tax down at once; and thus free his land from the land-tax; in other words, this act took away part of every man's landed estate: for if you did not redeem your land-tax, the government might *sell it to your neighbour*; and thus give him a perpetual rent-charge on your estate; in other words, this was taking away a part of every estate in the kingdom, and selling it, to raise money to be paid into the Exchequer. This act, which violated wills, which cut off entails, which annulled marriage settlements, and all other settlements on real estates, as far as these were necessary to effect its purposes, did not spare the church, "as by law established;" and it contained a provision, authorising the bishops, deans, and chapters, colleges, and other persons holding church property, to sell part of it; and commissioners were appointed to see that the proceeds were paid into the Exchequer. The bishops, deans, and chapters, colleges, and others, sold, in some cases, the *tithes* which they were entitled to receive; and thus made lands tithe-free which were not tithe-free before. Here, then, the Parliament meddled to some tune; it forcibly took away a part of the church property, and alienated it from the church for ever, putting the money into the Exchequer, for the purpose of carrying on the war. What is meant then

by those who pretend that the Parliament has no right to meddle with this property? If it could thus abolish part of the tithes, for the purpose of carrying on a war, surely it can abolish the rest, in order to enable the nation to pay off the debt contracted for the carrying on of that war!

Not only, however, with the ownership of this property has the Parliament been constantly meddling, but it has meddled also as constantly with the *revenues* of the property, and particularly with the revenue, arising from tithes. In 1713, and again in 1813, acts of Parliament were passed to compel the owners of livings to give their curates, when they had curates, certain specified sums, in proportion to the worth of the living and the extent of the population of the parish. These acts fixed the sums which the incumbents were to be compelled to give. They provided also that the curate should occupy the parsonage-house and the glebe lands, in certain specified cases and on certain specified terms. Now, if a living had been private property, what acts of tyranny were these! What should we say to the Parliament if it were to compel manufacturers to give certain specified wages to their overseers and their work-people; to compel merchants to pay their clerks certain specified salaries; to compel gentlemen to pay their stewards and butlers and other servants at a certain specified rate of wages? Why we should call such a Parliament a band of hare-brained tyrants, who had come reeling down from Bellamy's drunk, hiccuping drunk, when they passed such a law. But viewing the tithes, as well as all the other revenues of the church, as public property, and as being completely under the control of the representatives of the people and the peers, we see the legality of these acts of Parliament; and, as far as they go, acknowledge their justice. The tithes being held in trust for the benefit of the people, and the rectors and vicars, generally pluralists and non-resident, having given to their curates so miserable a stipend as hardly to enable them to exist with their families; the Parliament

seeing the establishment disgraced, and the people alienated from it by this cause, acted wisely and justly, as far as it went, in compelling the incumbents to make better provision for their curates; but with all these acts, meddling with, and disposing of, the real property and the tithes, whether in the fee or in the revenue, at its sole pleasure, there cannot remain in the mind of any sane man the smallest doubt that this is a mass of property, the remains of which, in whatever hands found, is now lawfully at the disposal of the Parliament. And would I touch the *impropriators* too? That is to say, not the incumbents of livings, but those who own the great tithes, and in some cases the small tithes also, without being bound at all to provide any one to perform the services of the church. I can see no reason for exemption here. No title can be shown to these impropriations higher than that of an act of Parliament. If an impropriator demand tithes of me, and I resist the payment, he has nothing to show as title but an act of Parliament, which took the tithes away from the public and the poor; and as one act of Parliament can always be repealed by another, this reduces itself to a question of expediency and of policy, both of which will, I think, decide in favour of the repeal.

We are to consider here what is due to the nation as a whole; and not what may affect particular individuals or classes of men. The bishops, deans, and chapters, colleges, and other corporate bodies, some ecclesiastical, and some lay, are great owners of impropriated tithes. These, of course, would come under the general description of church-property. The private lay-impropriators are of two descriptions. Some who have to rest their claim upon grants direct to themselves or their predecessors; others who are become lay-impropriators *by purchase*. But even these last do not seem to have any very valid plea of exemption from the general rule. If I have purchased an estate which, in fact, is yours, my long occupation, and my having paid money for it, does not prevent me from being ousted. These owners of impro-

priate tithes, may, indeed, have been in private possession beyond the length of time within which the law would restore a private estate to the right owner; but the maxim of the law is, that *no length of time weakens the claim of the church*; and as these impropriators have never failed to resort to that maxim in maintaining their pretended rights in the exaction of tithes to the utmost extent, they cannot complain if the nation act upon the same maxim in reclaiming the property. Besides, coming to the equity of the thing, the title to such tithes has always carried down with it the vice of the original grant; the property has always been tainted with the violence with which the impropriation was made: it was so much taken from the public and the poor unjustly, by sheer violence, and notoriously against the will of the people, and it is well known that this species of property is always deemed of less value than other property of a similar amount of rent. When a freehold farm which will let for a hundred pounds a year, is worth *three thousand pounds*, and will require purchase money to that amount, impropriate tithes that will bring one hundred pounds a year, will not sell for *two thousand pounds*. In short, the parties in possession know that the tenure is more frail. In the very nature of the transaction of transfer, an acknowledgment of *risk* on the part of the purchaser is evident. He makes his bargain with that risk in contemplation; he bargains for higher interest on account of the risk; and shall he then now turn round, and say that his title is as clear from all taint, and his tenure as firm as those of a freehold estate?

They rest on an act of Parliament, and on nothing else. The Duke of Devonshire, for instance, is the owner of the great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland. These tithes, as well as all others, were granted for the purposes of the three-fold division above-mentioned; but the law now gives them all to his Grace, and leaves the wretched people of those parishes to get relief how they can. If I occupied a farm in one of his parishes, and were to refuse to give him tithes, alleging that he had no

claim to them, he being no priest of the parish, he would first show me the grant from the wife-killing Henry VIII.; and, upon not being satisfied with that, alleging that the grant was of no avail, without being authorised by law, "Ho," would exclaim his Grace, "is that all you want?" and down he would take the statute-book, and show me the act of Parliament in a moment: whereupon I should feel joy inexpressible, knowing well, that, if an act of Parliament could give the tithes of twenty parishes to a layman, it never could be *sacrilege* to make another act of Parliament to take those tithes away from him.

Thus, then, that the law is on our side is as clear as day-light. Still, as I said before, that all which the law can do and does, is not always strictly just, let us now inquire into the *justice* of my proposition. In the first place, this diversion of the tithes and other revenues of the church, has done enormous wrong to the nation at large, by making it necessary to provide for the wants of the indigent by a general and compulsory tax, called the *poor-rates*: and also to provide for the maintenance of the buildings by *church-rates*, assessed and collected in the same forcible manner. I can remember the time when I thought that these taxes had always been in England: I knew that there always must have been indigent persons, and always must have been religion; and, the impression upon my mind was, that these taxes made part of the country: that, at any rate, they must have been nearly as ancient as the rivers and the hills. Little did I imagine that the poor had once a great patrimony; that the third part of the whole island had been theirs, held in trust by the church, and distributed amongst them as their wants might require. Little did I imagine that the aristocracy and the King had taken away this patrimony, and divided it amongst themselves; that they had stripped the poor of all means of relief, and that they had passed laws to put iron collars round their necks, and make them slaves, even if they went a-beg-

ging to save themselves from perishing. All this I found to be strictly true however; and I found that the aristocracy, having taken the patrimony of the poor to themselves, and finding themselves, at last, in danger from the violences to be apprehended from the miseries of the poor, passed, at the end of fifty years of strife with them, a law, not to compel themselves to relieve the poor out of the estates which they had taken from the church; but to compel all the people to submit to a tax for the relief of the poor, and for the maintenance of the churches. Here we have the origin of the poor-rates and the church-rates, which now press so heavily upon us. If, instead of these poor-taxes, and church-taxes, a law had been passed to compel those who had got the church-property into their hands, to relieve the poor and maintain the churches, there would have been some show of justice in the thing; but as those who had divided the church-property amongst them, were also the makers of the laws, they took care to keep the property to themselves, and to throw upon the people at large, all the duties which the possession of the property enjoined. To restore things to their former and just state, is now become impossible. To provide for the relief of the poor, and the repair of the churches in the ancient fashion, cannot now be accomplished: the poor-laws must remain; and the nation must be remunerated by a total abolition of the tithes, and a sale of the other parts of the property of the church. Remunerated for the past, indeed it never can be; but it may thus be protected against the continuance of this grievous and crying wrong.

And now what injustice, what wrong shall we inflict on the clergy themselves? *Damage* we may inflict on them; but we do damage to a traitor when we punish him for his treason. There may be many families that will suffer from the adoption of the measures which I propose, if they be carried into execution; but that mere circumstance is not to prevent the mea-

asures; and we are to consider, at the same time, the millions of families that *are* suffering for the *want* of these measures. Amongst the sufferers would not be the *working* clergy of the Church of England, for their lot would be bettered; and perhaps the sufferings on the part of the swollen rectors and vicars and bishops, might, and doubtless would, receive more than a compensation in the world to come. It would be the parable of Dives and LAZARUS verified in this world, which is a vast deal better for their reverences than the verification of it in the next. This too is the feeling by which I am actuated with regard to the church herself. Who that has a mother in danger of being suffocated from her indulgences of the table, does not do his best to restrain her; to induce her to be abstinent, and use all the means of prolonging her life. He, who in such a case does not do this, is an unnatural son; and I in proposing these measures with regard to the church, am evincing my attachment to her, and not my hostility.

At any rate, we are not to look at the damage done to the clergy, the patrons, or the lay-impropriators; we are to look solely at the justice and the expediency of the measure. If the bishops constantly resided in their dioceses; if, according to the description of St. Paul, they were patterns of diligence and humility; if they showed no greediness of gain, but sought all occasions of ministering comfort to the disciples; if, like Timothy, they watched carefully to see that the deacons provided plentifully the tables at which the poor were fed; if the parsons resided constantly with their flocks, in accordance with the solemn vow which they make at their ordination, when they, on their knees, and with their hands clasped together, call God to witness that they *verily believe themselves called by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the care of souls*, and when they solemnly promise that they will tend their flocks like faithful shepherds, that they will be watchful in season and out of season, to keep the tempter out of the fold, so

that at last they may be able to present their flock spotless at the Throne of Grace; if the rectors and vicars acted in accordance with these vows, and did not get four or five flocks instead of one; if they did not, in numerous cases, go and take possession of the fold, then turn their backs on it, and never inquire after it again, except as to the shearing of the sheep; if they did not, casting far away from them all recollection of their vows, go galloping all over the world in search of pleasure, supporting the indulgences by the means of those tithes which ought in great part to be distributed to the poor of their parishes *with their own hands, in humility and mercy*; if this were *not* the case, and the former were the case, a proposition like that which I have submitted to you would be so manifestly unjust as to drive me from your presence: every one would exclaim, "This must be an enemy of religion, seeing that he wants to root out those by whom it is sustained." The contrary being, however, notorious, every just man must wish for some great change; and as the change which I propose would be both great and effectual, we have but little more to do to show that it would be just.

The very name of parson makes him inseparable from his church. The vow that he makes at his ordination, and the legal conditions of his induction, imply constant residence with his flock. First, then, the eleven thousand, and nearly twelve thousand livings in England and Wales, are divided or distributed amongst about five thousand parsons; so that here are more than two livings to one parson, rendering it completely impossible that, in one half of the instances, they can reside with their flocks. In the next place, it is notorious, that there are not more than about four thousand of these who reside on their livings at all, their place being supplied by miserable curates. It is equally well known that they have violated the law, openly and scandalously violated it, with regard to this matter of residence. In the year 1799, a transaction took place, which, if you will

permit me to relate it to you, will give you a correct idea of the manner in which the clergy have fulfilled the solemn vows made at their ordination and induction.

There was an act of Parliament, and here, by-the-by, you are going to see how easily the clergy can get acts of Parliament repealed, when it suits their interests; there was an act of Parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., for the purpose of compelling parish parsons to reside on their livings, in accordance with their vows. This act had been violated for many years before 1799; it had been set at nought, as much as if it had never been passed. If a parson were absent from his parish, and even from his parsonage-house, for a month, he was liable to a fine; and if he were absent, during the whole year, more than thirty-one days, now a day and then a day, he was still liable to the fine. If he were absent for more than a month in the year, then he was liable to two fines, and so on. The value of money at the time when the act was passed, was about *twenty times* as great as it was in the year 1799; but though the delinquents had to pay only a shilling in the pound, in consequence of the change of the value of money, so general had been the non-residence, and so numerous the delinquents; so daring the violation of the law, and the violation of the ecclesiastical vows, that the sums recoverable against the clergy amounted to something enormous. The act provided that any one might lay an information *qui tam* against a non-resident parson; and a gentleman, whose name was Williams, who was resolved to put the law in force, laid informations against great numbers; brought them into the court of King's Bench; obtained convictions upon some, and was proceeding with the rest. Whoever has seen a shot fired into a rookery in the month of June, when the young rooks are just beginning to flutter from the nest; whoever has heard the *cawing*, the sort of half-squalling, and seen the fluttering and the dashing about of the old ones among the boughs; whoever has witnessed this uproar amongst these

feathered incumbents of the tops of the trees, may form some faint idea of the bustle among the black-coats and bush-wigs, at the appearance of this bundle of *qui-tam* actions; but no other man can have even a faint idea of their confusion. I have frequently been a witness of the former; and having just returned from America in 1800, and not having seen enough of the corruptions in the state of things here, being a stout supporter of things as they were, had a very fair opportunity of hearing the cawings of these clerical incumbents. I well remember breakfasting in the Temple at the time with Dr. Rennell (now Dean of Winchester), he being then master of the Temple; and I remember that he and his wife (daughter of Judge Blackstone) entertained me with most strenuous efforts to excite my indignation against the men who had laid the *qui-tam* informations against the clergy. They called him a "*Jacobin*" of course, and I dare say they added "*Infidel* and *Atheist*." I, who had been bred at the plough-tail, had grafted the soldier upon the chopstick, and had been pushed into politics in America by the violence of the Americans against England, understood no more of this matter than if I had been in China, had it all explained to me very patiently by the Doctor, and of course thought that the Doctor must be right; yet, somehow or other, I perceived that the parsons had been in fault; and my doubts were greatly augmented by the violent railing of the Doctor against the informer. That which took place in the Temple was taking place everywhere. Jacobin, Leveller, Infidel, Atheist, Traitor, were heard, even in the streets, poured out against this Mr. Williams. After a little while, I asked a person one day why they railed so against this man; *why they had not resided*; and how they came to think of anything else than residing upon their livings; upon which he told me that I was as bad as the informer himself. This was a little too much, and I, in my own mind, began to side with the informer, especially when I found that this parson had one living in Suffolk, and

one living in Surrey, and that he seldom showed his face at either of them.

But what did they do with the *actions*? For there they were in the Court of King's Bench, all proceeding regularly on, and convictions obtained upon some to a very considerable amount. The Judge Kenyon did what he could to make the progress of them slow; but still the law with its leaden feet and iron claws was coming towards their reverences. The informer was active, and apparently inflexible; and, in short, without a clear, an open, a barefaced act of judicial tyranny, the law must take its course. What was to be done then? How were these reverend gentlemen to be saved? Now, gentlemen, I beseech you, and particularly the young men who are here present, to mark well that course of even-handed justice of which our rulers so frequently boast. It was manifest that nothing could save the reverend delinquents but a new law; but a new law! a law to quash actions already commenced, grounded on an Act of Parliament still in full force; a law, in the face of the Bill of Rights, and the "*glorious* revolution," to have an *ex-post-facto* effect! a law to take from the creditor (as Mr. Williams now was) the power of proceeding against his debtor, the debt being proved by an act of Parliament! "Come, come, Cobbett," you will exclaim, "bad as they are, they never could do *that*!" Not all at once; to do it *all at once* would have argued a general headlong tumbling down from Bellamy's. No, nor at twice: it took them three times to do it in; but they did it, and that in the manner that you shall now hear. A representation was made to the Parliament of the monstrous proceedings of this enemy of the church and king; and the Parliament did not pass a law to *quash* these cruel proceedings, but passed an act to *suspend* all process in the actions, until a certain length of time, after Parliament should meet again. The informer might *die* in the meanwhile; being a *jacobin* and *infidel* he might commit treason or blasphemy; at any rate, his heart might be softened.

Neither took place: the Parliament met again, and the hour of recommencement of proceedings was approaching. A fresh stir in the rookery: hens as well as cocks seemed to be in motion, and the parsons began to insinuate that Mr. Pitt's coldness towards the *Establishment* was now visible. However, before the day actually arrived, another act was passed, suspending the proceedings and actions for another year, and till after the Parliament should meet again. The informer kept hard, lived, and committed neither treason nor blasphemy; was proof against all emollients, and, like a true son of the church, remained inflexible in his intention to enforce constant residence. ADDINGTON was now become Minister; the two Scotts (Oh! that pair of Scotts!) bred at Oxford, and having bred there themselves; one of them the Lord Chancellor, and the other the perpetual member of the university; these men now having the sway, put the extinguisher upon poor Mr. Williams. A bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Scott (now Lord Stowell); carried through both houses with no opposition at all; passed into a law with great rapidity; at once, without further ceremony, quashing the whole of the actions. Well may you, gentlemen, look at each other with astonishment; well may you doubt that there must be some mistake here: if you look in the Statute Book of 1802, you will see that there is none. The bill provided for the quashing of all the actions which had not proceeded on to conviction; in the cases of conviction, the convicted party was to pay costs, as between attorney and client; and no penalty was levied even in these cases of conviction. There, gentlemen, that act I suppose they will call one of the institutions of the country. Now if I thought that a reformed Parliament would not revise this transaction, I would turn with scorn and contempt from the Reform Bill and all its provisions. There is, however, one thing, one consideration growing out of this memorable transaction, which is not to be deemed as nothing worth. For if the Parliament

had a right to pass a law like this, in favour of the clergy; if it could thrust its strong arm even into the Court of King's Bench, and snatch these delinquents out of the grasp of the law; if it could effect this by an *ex-post-facto* enactment, who shall call in question its power to do that much gentler thing which is recommended in this my proposition? Here was an ancient act of Parliament set aside by an *ex-post-facto* law; here the law was abrogated for the express purpose of screening delinquents; surely then the Parliament can do that which is consonant with all the laws upon the Statute Book, and which is called for, for the restoration of the church religion, as well as for the restoration of the happiness of the people.

But now, something was done, to be sure, to cause an observance of this salutary act of Parliament in future. In the first place, the new law *repealed* this salutary act of Parliament. Well, why cannot we, now-a-days, repeal acts of Parliament then, relative to the Church? "But to be sure," you will say, "the new act provided for the prevention of non-residence." It did it in the manner that you shall see. The old act forbade them from carrying on farming on any land but their glebe: the new act allowed them to become renting farmers, as many of the fat ones already were. The old act forbade them to traffick in anything: the new act enabled them to become traffickers and dealers and jobbers in horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs; and this they have generally been, from that day to this: so that the taking away of their tithes will by no means deprive them of callings whereby to get their bread; and callings too you will please to observe, gentlemen, which they *petitioned the Parliament* to permit them to carry on. "But, after all, they were to reside, to be sure, upon their livings!" Oh, that they were, you may be sworn. This act of Parliament took care of that, I warrant you; and, in order to make their punctual residence in future quite certain, the act took away the *qui-tam* action, banished the nasty common

informers, did not leave it for the people of the parish to see whether their rector or vicar was resident or not; but committed him to the superintendence of my Lord the Bishop of the diocese, omitting, however, to provide for the presence of his Lordship himself, who might be, as has been frequently the case, residing for years together in London, at Bath, at Brighton, in Paris, or at Rome. However, to make short of the matter, this law, which has been in force now for nearly the last thirty years, has so effectually enforced constant residence, that when the last return that I saw was laid before the King in council, the *eleven* or *twelve* thousand livings had only about *four* thousand resident incumbents. Look then at all this, gentlemen, and find a man, if you can, with impudence enough to pretend that this clergy, taken as a body, deserve to receive the immense emoluments of this church. If seven thousand livings out of the twelve thousand can do without resident incumbents, why not the other four thousand? The seven thousand parishes are left to poor stipendiary curates, while the rectors and vicars are pursuing their pleasures all over the world; and why not let all the parishes be served by curates, paying them that which is allotted by the Parliament itself? The curate's act passed in 1813 makes the sum from 80*l.* to 150*l.* the annual stipend for a curate. It is not you or I that fix this sum. In certain cases, the bishop may order the sum to be still lower. It is not you or I, however, that say that it is enough; but the King and Parliament have declared it to be enough. Ask a fat rector or vicar while sitting over his turtle and champaign, how it is that the inculcating of the religion of Christ can require such a table and footmen and coachmen and carriage and horses, when the apostles, who carried on the work so prosperously, required little beyond the fruit of the work of their own hands. He will answer you that the people are much altered since those primitive days; and that the clergy must make a respectable

figure as gentlemen, to prevent them and religion along with them, from being held in contempt by the people. Then ask him, before he has time to hatch an excuse, how the respect for religion is supported by his miserable curate, who is on the spot amongst his parishioners, who is the only parson that these parishioners ever see. From 50*l.* and less, to 150*l.* a year, being the sum fixed by the King and Parliament, as the annual stipend of a curate, and as sufficient to uphold the dignity, and promote the religion of the church; the law having deemed this sufficient for these purposes in seven thousand instances out of twelve, why not take away all the tithes, and allow these stipends, throughout the whole twelve thousand? That, however, is not the best mode of settling the matter; for there are the parsonage-houses and the glebes; and these, you will please to observe, when occupied by the curate, are valued, and make part of the stipend.

Two or three facts, relative to this non-residence, and to the treatment of curates, may be worthy of attention. The late Bishop of Winchester, Bishop North, gave to his son the livings of St. Mary's, Southampton, of South Stoneham, of Old Alresford, of New Alresford, and of Medstead, and made him a prebendary of the Cathedral of Winchester, and master of the hospital of St. Cross, which is a great benefice of itself. To his son-in-law, Mr. De Grey he gave three livings, a prebend in the Cathedral of Winchester, and made him Chancellor of that part of his diocese consisting of the county of Surrey. These two men are become **PEERS** now, in consequence of the death of all those that stood before them in their line of descent. Peers as they are, they still hold all their livings, the church duty of which is performed by stipendiary curates; and, gentlemen, need I tell you that both these peers voted against the Reform Bill? But I will tell you that if that Reform Bill do not immediately produce an abolition of these abuses, I shall never blame them for having voted against it; but shall say that they were

right, and that this people is unworthy of any parliament not chosen by borough-mongers.

The parish of Bentley in Hampshire, yields tithes to the amount of between seven and eight hundred pounds a year. The whole is a lay-impropriation, great tithes and small tithes. They are all taken away by the lay-impropriator, who pays a curate *twenty-eight pounds a year*, less money than the wages of one of the hop-garden men of that parish. There is law for this, nevertheless; and so there was, recollect, for the *qui-tam* actions, to make parsons reside; and why cannot this law be repealed, as well as that? In the parish of Lakenheath in the county of Suffolk, the great tithes belong to the dean and chapter of Ely, and the vicarial tithes to a vicar, who resides upon another living which he has in the county of Norfolk. The dean and chapter take about 800*l.* a year out of the parish; the vicar takes probably 500*l.* a year, and there is a curate doing all the duty, upon 75*l.* a year, wherewith to maintain himself, a wife and nine children, which he does by his own hard toil, by the side of the labouring man, to rear potatoes for his family. How hard would a good able cotton-spinner think it, if he were compelled to maintain such a family on such an allowance, and pay the rent of a house into the bargain! This clergyman of the church is supposed to receive not a third part as much as the Methodist parson picks up in the same village. Is it any wonder that the church is deserted, and that sects rise up in every direction. And, gentlemen, with cases like this staring us in the face all over the kingdom, there are boroughmongers to be found impudent enough to tell us that a reform ought not to take place, lest it should upset this "*institution of the country.*" The church itself and its worship constitute an institution of the country; but these abuses have destroyed the institution: it is necessary that it should be restored; to restore it, these abuses must be put an end to; and they cannot be put an end to without a measure such as I propose.

Besides the tithes, for the taking away of which we have clear law and reason and justice, there are the incomes of the bishops, the deans and chapters, and the colleges. Of the twenty-six English bishops every one has on an average, from 15,000*l.* to 25,000*l.* a year; some of them 40,000*l.*; and one or two have more. Now then mark: during sixteen years, I think it was, ending about the year 1821, a HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds a year was granted *out of the taxes* raised upon us "for the relief of the poor clergy of the Church of England." Was there ever anything so monstrously impudent as this heard of in the world before! Here were bishops with 40,000*l.* a year each, and here were poor clergy, relieved out of the taxes raised on the labouring people! And will you send to the Parliament men who will suffer the revenues of these bishops to remain undiminished, and who will suffer the deans and chapters and the members of the colleges to be wallowing in luxury and wealth, while you yourselves are taxed to give relief to the starving working clergy? If you do, you deserve to be taxed till you break down under the load. At any rate I can answer for myself, and I will never endure the intolerable disgrace of being the representative of persons so lost to all sense of justice.

Gentlemen, you who live in these towns of the North, and who know comparatively but little about tithes and their pressure, may deem them a subject of much less importance than the CORN BILL; therefore, it is my duty to show you, and in very plain language, that tithes is a subject inseparable from that of the Corn-bill. Before I do this, let me notice an argument which may be urged against my proposition, and may be fairly urged too. It is this; that tithes, used in their present form and manner and amount, have existed ever since what is called the Reformation, which is now pretty nearly 300 years. My argument is this, that the tithes (along with the taxes) prevent the farmer from having where- with to pay the labourers a sufficiency

of wages; and that, therefore, the tithes ought to be abolished. The argument in answer to me is this; that the tithes, never having produced this effect before, never having rendered the farmer incapable of paying sufficient wages before, cannot have produced this effect now. This is a fair argument, and it remains wholly unanswered by those who assert that tithes are a hinderance to improvements, and that they prevent the land from being cultivated in the best manner; because, if such be their effects now, such must always have been their effects; and we know that such effects did not always exist. Besides, I have never heard any man, however able, who did not fail in his endeavours to show, that tithes are more a hinderance to agriculture, or injurious to the cultivator, than RENT is, in proportion to their amount. I beg, therefore, to be understood as not founding my proposition upon any such untenable ground. My proposition is founded upon the ground, that we are in a situation which compels us *to make something give way*; that we have contracted a debt which we never can pay, and to pay the interest of which must, if we proceed on, finally plunge us into confusion. To-morrow night I am to state to you the grounds upon which I propose to sweep away the debt; but, in that proposition is included an intention to pay a part to the fundholders. To obtain this part, we want the proceeds of the church-property, other than the tithes; we want also the proceeds of what is, as it were in mockery, called the crown-lands and crown-estates, the revenues of which are now frittered away, like heaps of dust, driven to and fro by the wind, till they are lost. These items, when fully and fairly brought to account, will, I am sure, be sufficient to satisfy every just claim that can be urged on the part of the fundholders. The tithes are quite another matter. By relieving the land of these, the cultivators and owners of the land will not only be able to pay sufficient wages to their labourers, but will be able to meet that only internal tax which will remain upon the country,

if my proposition be adopted. The tithes are not more burdensome than they formerly were, except that they are certainly exacted with greater and greater rigour; but we want a tax upon the land, and no other internal tax; because that is the simplest, the surest, the least expensive in collection, can be augmented or diminished without any trouble or embarrassment, comes from a source as sure as the rising and the setting of the sun; but which tax we cannot have, and cannot abolish the excise, and all the other villanous impositions, which bring swarms of taxing reptiles to torment us; we cannot get rid of this everlasting torment and oppression without a tax upon the land; that we cannot have without an abolition of the tithes; and, lastly, without that abolition, *we can never have a repeal of the Corn-bill.*

The crown-lands, as they are drolly enough called, and the crown-estates, together with the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, would yield several millions of pounds sterling a year. Altogether, they are immense in extent and in annual value. They consist of houses, lands, forests, in some cases covered with timber; of mines, water-courses, and every species of property. There are some of them in all the counties of England and Wales. The kings of England formerly lived out of their estates; paid all their officers of state of every description; paid the judges, and paid all the expenses of the administration of justice; frequently carried on their wars; and, though they levied, occasionally, taxes on the landowners, the poor were relieved out of the tithes, and the people at large knew nothing of an internal tax. It being troublesome to the king to have an estate to manage, those who had the making of the laws took the estate away from him, and gave him money out of the taxes to live upon, undertaking to manage the estate for the benefit of the people; but they have so managed it as to have the greater part of it in their own hands; first by grants, out and out, and next by long leases, according to many of which they pay rents so small as to make me

start with surprise at the amount. I myself rented a house belonging to the crown estate in Pall-Mall, London, for which I gave 300*l.* a year rent. Looking into the account of the Middlesex estate, I found that my house brought the people in a clear 15*l.* a year. The Duke of Buckingham has a house in Pall-Mall belonging to the same estate, which is a perfect palace, and is worth a thousand pounds a year. The Duke of Marlborough has a house in Pall-Mall, which in the time of Queen Caroline was occupied by our great pensioner, who is now King of Belgium. It was proposed that the queen should give him 3,500*l.* a year for it. To the best of my recollection these two palaces put together do not yield the people 100*l.* a year. Whether it be only the ground, or the ground, house, and all, I know not, but the bare ground on which these palaces and their gardens stand is worth at least 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year; and thus it is with all the rest of this immense property. These are the effects wherewith for the nation to pay its debts, and I am satisfied that they would yield quite enough to pay to the fundholders as much as they ought to receive; and what that is I shall endeavour to show to-morrow night.

The *tithes*, as I have said before, are quite another matter, they must rest with the land, in order that the land may be able, by its own contribution, to cause the taxes in consumable commodities to be taken off. I am aware of the cry against the *Corn-Bill*. I have always been an enemy of that bill. Singly, I petitioned against it when it was in the House of Lords; but, gentlemen, I beg you to be assured that no just parliament, and that no sensible man, however anxious he may be to favour manufactures will ever attempt to cause that bill to be repealed, unless the tithes be abolished, and unless those taxes be taken off, which make it necessary to pay the labourer high wages, that he may be enabled to purchase the taxed commodities. If the corn-bill were to be repealed, without a previous abolition of tithes, and of the internal taxes, especially those of malt,

hops and soap, the whole of the landlords, farmers, and agricultural labourers of England and Ireland, would be plunged into ruin; and, after all, they take more than three times as much of the productions of your looms as all the rest of the world put together. Therefore, it is perfectly useless to petition for a repeal of the corn-bill, as long as these burdens remain upon the land. Join the two subjects together in your petitions; pray for the abolition of the corn-bill, and of tithes and internal taxes; then all the millions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, will cordially join you. This petitioning for a repeal of the Corn-Bill, without including the tithes, has done infinite mischief: it has put a powerful argument into the mouths of the boroughmongers: there is no doubt that the election in Dorsetshire was carried in favour of a foe of the Reform Bill, merely by the enemies of the bill having been able to persuade a majority of the voters, that, if members were given to these towns in the North, they would cause a repeal of the Corn-Bill, and the ruin of agriculture. You should bear in mind, that more than 300 petitions have, in the last two sessions of Parliament, prayed for the abolition of tithes, while you, in your petitions, have seldom alluded to the subject, but have never failed in your petitions to mention the Corn-Bill as the greatest of grievances; while that bill, the present tithes and taxes existing, is absolutely necessary to prevent the utter ruin of those millions in England and Ireland who are your most numerous, and by far your best customers. If you permit me to offer you my advice, it is that you will never again petition for the repeal of the Corn-Bill, without at the same time petitioning for the abolition of the tithes, and the great mass of internal taxation. Above all things, and not longer to put your patient attention to the test, let me beseech you, so to use the power of which I trust you will soon be possessed, as to make such a choice of representatives, as shall convince the world that you are not to be induced by any flattery, addressed to your local prejudices and passions, to

pursue particular and narrow interests, in preference to the general and permanent good, greatness, and happiness of our country.

MR. O'CONNELL.

Manchester, 10th Jan. 1832.

I HAVE just read the report of a speech of this gentleman, recently, it would seem, made in Dublin. The subject is that of *Poor-Laws for Ireland*. I hope, and indeed I must believe, that the report is a pure invention of some *reporter*; for, any piece of oratory so full of marks of ignorance, so full of falsehoods, so replete with proofs of perverseness, so manifestly designed to mar everything tending to the good and quiet of Ireland, never before found its way into print since I have been an observer of the conduct of Irish "patriots." Be the source of this harangue what it may, however, I will in the next *Register* show up its folly and its falsehood.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and House of Representatives,

The representation of the people has been renewed for the twenty-second time since the constitution they formed has been in force. For near half a century, the Chief Magistrates, who have been successively chosen, have made their annual communications of the state of the nation to its representatives. Generally, these communications have been of the most gratifying nature, testifying an advance in all the improvements of social, and all the securities of a political life. But frequently and justly as you have been called on to be grateful for the bounties of PROVIDENCE, at few periods have they been more abundantly or extensively bestowed than at the present. Rarely, if ever, have we had greater reason to congratulate each other on the continued and increasing prosperity of our beloved country.

Agriculture, the first and most important occupation of man, has compensated the labours of the husbandman with plentiful crops of all the varied products of our extensive country. Manufactures have been estab-

lished, in which the funds of the capitalist find a profitable investment, and which give employment and subsistence to a numerous increasing body of industrious and dexterous mechanics. The labourer is rewarded by high wages, in the construction of works of internal improvement, which are extending with unprecedented rapidity. Science is steadily penetrating the recesses of nature, and disclosing her secrets, while the ingenuity of free minds is subjecting the elements to the power of man, and making each new conquest auxiliary to his comfort. By our mails, whose speed is regularly increased, and whose routes are every year extended, the communication of public intelligence and private business is rendered frequent and safe; the intercourse between distant cities, which formerly required weeks to accomplish, is now effected in a few days; and in the construction of rail-roads, and the application of steam-power, we have a reasonable prospect that the extreme parts of our country will be so much approximated, and those most isolated by the obstacles of nature rendered so accessible, as to remove an apprehension sometimes entertained, that the great extent of the Union would endanger its permanent existence.

If from the satisfactory view of our agriculture, manufactures, and internal improvements, we turn to the state of our navigation and trade with foreign nations and between the States, we shall scarcely find less cause for gratulation. A beneficent PROVIDENCE has provided, for their exercise and encouragement, an extensive coast, indented by capacious bays, noble rivers, inland seas, with a country productive of every material for ship-building and every commodity for gainful commerce, and filled with a population active, intelligent, well-informed, and fearless of danger. These advantages are not neglected, and an impulse has lately been given to commercial enterprise, which fills our ship-yards with new constructions, encourages all the arts and branches of industry connected with them, crowds the wharfs of our cities with vessels, and covers the most distant seas with our canvas. Let us be grateful for these blessings to the beneficent BEING who has conferred them, and who suffers us to indulge a reasonable hope for their continuance and extension, while we neglect not the means by which they may be preserved. If we may dare to judge of His future designs, by the manner in which His past favours have been bestowed, He has made our national prosperity to depend on the preservation of our liberties, our national force on our federal union, and our individual happiness on the maintenance of our State rights and wise institutions. If we are prosperous at home, and respected abroad, it is because we are free, united, industrious, and obedient to the laws. While we continue so, we shall, by the blessing of Heaven, go on in the happy career we have begun, and which has brought us, in the short period of our political existence, from a population of three

to thirteen millions, from thirteen separate colonies to twenty-four United States, from weakness to strength, from a rank scarcely marked in the scale of nations to a high place in their respect. This last advantage is one that has resulted, in a great degree, from the principles which have guided our intercourse with foreign Powers, since we have assumed an equal station among them; and hence the annual account which the Executive renders to the country, of the manner in which that branch of his duties has been fulfilled, proves instructive and salutary.

The pacific and wise policy of our Government kept us in a state of neutrality during the wars that have, at different periods since our political existence, been carried on by other Powers; but this policy, while it gave activity and extent to our commerce, exposed it in the same proportion to injuries from the belligerent nations. Hence have risen claims of indemnity for those injuries. England, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Naples, and lately Portugal, had all, in a greater or less degree, infringed our neutral rights. Demands for reparation were made upon all. They have had in all, and continue to have in some cases, a leading influence on the nature of our relations with the Powers on whom they were made.

Of the claims upon England it is unnecessary to speak, further than to say, that the state of things to which their persecution and denial gave rise has been succeeded by arrangements productive of mutual good feeling and amicable relations between the two countries, which it is hoped will not be interrupted. One of these arrangements is that relating to the colonial trade, which was communicated to Congress at the last Session; and although the short period during which it has been in force will not enable me to form an accurate judgment of its operation, there is every reason to believe that it will prove highly beneficial. The trade thereby authorised has employed, to the 30th September last, upwards of 30,000 tons of American, and 15,000 tons of foreign shipping in the outward voyages; and, in the inward, nearly an equal amount of American, and 20,000 only of foreign tonnage. Advantages, too, have resulted to our agricultural interests from the state of the trade between Canada and our territories and states bordering on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, which may prove more than equivalent to the loss sustained by the discrimination made to favour the trade of the northern colonies with the West Indies.

After our transition from the state colonies to that of an independent nation, many points were found necessary to be settled between us and Great Britain. Among them was the demarcation of boundaries not described with sufficient precision in the treaty of peace. Some of the lines that divide the states and territories of the United States from the British provinces, have been definitely fixed. That, however, which separates us from the

provinces of Canada and New Brunswick to the north and the east, was still in dispute when I came into office. But I found arrangements made for their settlement over which I had no control. The commissioners who had been appointed under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, having been unable to agree, a convention was made with Great Britain by my immediate predecessor in office, with the advice and consent of the senate, by which it was agreed "that the points of difference which have arisen in the settlement of the boundary line between the American and British dominions, as described in the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, shall be referred, as therein provided, to some friendly sovereign or state, who shall be invited to investigate and make a decision upon such points of difference."

And the King of the Netherlands having, by the late President and his Britannic Majesty, being designated as such friendly sovereign, it became my duty to carry with good faith the agreement so made into full effect. To this end I caused all the measures to be taken which were necessary to a full exposition of our case to the sovereign arbiter, and nominated, as minister plenipotentiary to his court, a distinguished citizen of the state most interested in the question, and who had been one of the agents previously employed for settling the controversy. On the 10th day of January last his Majesty the King of the Netherlands delivered to the plenipotentiaries of the United States and of Great Britain, his written opinion on the case referred to him. The papers in relation to the subject will be communicated by a special message to the proper branch of the Government, with the perfect confidence that its wisdom will adopt such measures as will secure an amicable settlement of the controversy, without infringing any constitutional right of the state immediately interested. It affords me much satisfaction to inform you that suggestions, made by my direction, to the *chargé d'affaires* of his Britannic Majesty to this Government, have had the desired effect in producing the release of certain American citizens, who were imprisoned for setting up the authority of the state of Maine at a place in the disputed territory under the actual jurisdiction of his Britannic Majesty. From this, and the assurances I have received of the desire of the local authorities to avoid any cause of collision, I have the best hopes that a good understanding will be kept up until it is confirmed by the final disposition of the subject.

The amicable relations which now subsist between the United States and Great Britain, the increasing intercourse between their citizens, and the rapid obliteration of unfriendly prejudices to which former events naturally gave rise, concurred to present this as a fit period for renewing our endeavours to provide against the recurrence of causes of irritation, which, in the event of war between Great Britain and any other power, would inevitably endanger our peace. Animated by the sin-

cerest desire to avoid such a state of things, and peaceably to secure, under all possible circumstances, the rights and honour of the country, I have given such instructions to the Minister lately sent to the court of London, as will evince that desire; and if met by a correspondent disposition, which we cannot doubt, will put an end to causes of collision, which, without advantage to either, tend to estrange from each other two nations who have every motive to preserve, not only peace, but an intercourse of the most amicable nature.

In my Message at the opening of the last session of Congress, I expressed a confident hope that the justice of our claims upon France, urged at they were with perseverance and signal ability by our Ministers there, would finally be acknowledged. This hope has been realized. A treaty has been signed which will immediately be laid before the Senate for its approbation; and which, containing stipulations that require legislative acts, must have the concurrence of both Houses before it can go into effect. By it the French Government engage to pay a sum which, if not quite equal to that which may be found due to our citizens, will yet, it is believed, under all circumstances, be deemed satisfactory to those interested. The offer of a gross sum, instead of the satisfaction of each individual claim, was accepted, because the only alternatives were a vigorous exaction of the whole amount stated to be due on each claim, which might in some instances be exaggerated by design, in others overrated through error, and which, therefore, it would have been both ungracious and unjust to have insisted on; or a settlement by a mixed commission, to which the French negotiators were very averse, and which experience in other cases had shown to be dilatory, and often wholly inadequate to the end. A comparatively small sum is stipulated on our part to go to the extinction of all claims by French citizens on our Government; and a reduction of duties on our cotton and their wines has been agreed on, as a consideration for the renunciation of an important claim for commercial privileges, under the construction they gave to the treaty for the cession of Louisiana. Should this treaty receive the proper sanction, a source of irritation will be stopped that has for so many years in some degree alienated from each other two nations, who, from interest, as well as the remembrance of early associations, ought to cherish the most friendly relations, an encouragement will be given for perseverance in the demands of justice, by this new proof that, if steadily pursued, they will be listened to; and admonition will be afforded to those powers, if any, which may be inclined to evade them, that they will never be abandoned. Above all, a just confidence will be inspired in our fellow-citizens, that their Government will exert all the powers with which they have invested it, in support of their just claims upon foreign nations; at the same time that the frank acknowledgment and provision for the payment of those which were addressed

* to our equity, although unsupported by legal proof, affords a practical illustration of our submission to the divine rule of doing to others what we desire they should do unto us.

Sweden and Denmark having made compensation for the irregularities committed by their vessels, or in their ports, to the perfect satisfaction of the parties concerned; and having renewed the treaties of commerce entered into with them, our political and commercial relations with those powers continue to be on the most friendly footing.

With Spain, our differences, up to the 22d of February 1819, were settled by the treaty of Washington of that date; but at a subsequent period, our commerce with the States, formerly colonies of Spain, on the continent of America, was annoyed and frequently interrupted by her public and a private armed ships. They captured many of our vessels prosecuting a lawful commerce, and sold them and their cargoes; and at one time, to our demands for restoration and indemnity, opposed the allegation that they were taken in the violation of a blockade of all the ports of those States. This blockade was declaratory only, and the inadequacy of the force to maintain it was so manifest, that this allegation was varied to a charge of trade in contraband of war. This, in its turn, was also found untenable; and the Minister whom I sent with instructions to press for the reparation that was due to our injured fellow-citizens, has transmitted an answer to his demand, by which the captures are declared to have been legal, and are justified, because the independence of the States of America never having been acknowledged by Spain, she had a right to prohibit trade with them under her old colonial laws. This ground of defence was contradictory, not only to those which had been formerly alleged, but to the uniform practice and established laws of nations, and had been abandoned by Spain herself in the convention which granted indemnity to British subjects for captures made at the same time, under the same circumstances, and for the same allegations with those of which we complain. I, however, indulge the hope that further reflection will lead to other views, and feel confident that when his Catholic Majesty shall be convinced of the justice of the claims, his desire to preserve friendly relations between the two countries, which it is my earnest endeavour to maintain, will induce him to accede to our demand. I have therefore dispatched a special messenger with instructions to our Minister to bring the case once more to his consideration; to the end that if, which I cannot bring myself to believe, the same decision, that cannot but be deemed an unfriendly denial of justice, should be persisted in, the matter may, before your adjournment, be laid before you, the constitutional judges of what is proper to be done when negotiation for redress of injury fails.

The conclusion of a treaty for indemnity with France seemed to present a favourable opportunity to renew our claims of a similar

character on other Powers; and particularly in the case of those upon Naples, more especially as in the course of former negotiations with that Power, our failure to induce France to render us justice was used as an argument against us. The desires of the merchants who were the principal sufferers have therefore been acceded to, and a mission has been instituted for the special purpose of obtaining for them a reparation already too long delayed. This measure having been resolved on, it was put into execution without waiting for the meeting of Congress, because the state of Europe created an apprehension of events that might have rendered our application ineffectual.

Our demands upon the Government of the Two Sicilies are of a peculiar nature. The injuries on which they are founded are not denied, nor are the atrocity and perfidy under which those injuries were perpetrated attempted to be extenuated. The sole ground on which indemnity has been refused is the alleged illegality of the tenure by which the Monarch who made the seizures held his crown. This defence—always unfounded in any principle of the law of nations—now universally abandoned, even by those Powers upon whom the responsibility for acts of past rulers bore the most heavily—will unquestionably be given up by his Sicilian Majesty, whose counsels will receive an impulse from that high sense of honour and regard to justice which are said to characterize him; and I feel the fullest confidence that the talents of the citizen commissioned for that purpose will place before him the just claims of our injured citizens in such a light as will enable me, before your adjournment, to announce that they have been adjusted and secured. Precise instructions, to the effect of bringing the negotiation to a speedy issue, have been given and will be obeyed.

In the blockade of Terceira, some of the Portuguese fleet captured several of our vessels, and committed other excesses for which reparation was demanded; and I was on the point of dispatching an armed force, to prevent any recurrence of a similar violence, and protect our citizens in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, when official assurances on which I relied made the sailing of the ships unnecessary. Since that period frequent promises have been made that full indemnity shall be given for the injuries inflicted and the losses sustained. In the performance there has been some, perhaps unavoidable, delay; but I have the fullest confidence that an earnest desire that this business may at once be closed, which our Minister has been instructed strongly to express, will very soon be gratified. I have the better ground for this hope, from the evidence of a friendly disposition which that Government has shown by an actual reduction in the duty on rice, the produce of our Southern States, authorising the anticipation that this important article of our export will soon be admitted on the same

footing with that produced by the most favoured nation.

With other Powers of Europe we have fortunately had no cause of discussion for the redress of injuries. With the empire of the Russians our political connexion is of the most liberal kind. We enjoy the advantages of navigation and trade given to the most favoured nation; but it has not yet suited their policy, or perhaps has not been found convenient from other considerations, to give stability and reciprocity to those privileges by a commercial treaty. The ill health of the Minister last year charged with making a proposition for that arrangement did not permit him to remain at St. Petersburg; and the attention of that Government, during the whole of the period since his departure, having been occupied by the war in which it was engaged, we have been assured that nothing could have been effected by his presence. A Minister will soon be nominated, as well to effect this important object, as to keep up the relations of amity and good understanding of which we have received so many assurances and proofs from his Imperial Majesty and the Emperor his predecessor.

The treaty with Austria opens to us an important trade with the hereditary dominions of the Emperor, the value of which has been hitherto little known, and, of course, not sufficiently appreciated. While our commerce finds an entrance into the South of Germany by means of this treaty, those we have formed with the Hanseatic towns and Prussia, and others now in negotiation, will open that vast country to the enterprising spirit of our merchants on the north; a country abounding in all the materials of a mutually beneficial commerce, filled with enlightened and industrious inhabitants, holding an important place in the politics of Europe, and to which we owe so many valuable citizens. The ratification of the treaty with the Porte was sent to be exchanged by the gentleman appointed our *Chargé d'Affaires* to that Court. Some difficulties have occurred on his arrival; but at the date of his last official dispatch, he supposed they had been obviated, and that there was every prospect of the exchange being speedily effected.

This finishes the connected view I have thought it proper to give of our political and commercial relations in Europe. Every effort in my power will be continued to strengthen and extend them by treaties founded on principles of the most perfect reciprocity of interest, neither asking nor conceding any exclusive advantage, but liberating as far as it lies in my power, the activity and industry of our fellow-citizens from the shackles which foreign restrictions may impose.

To China and the East Indies our commerce continues in its usual extent and with increased facilities, which the credit and capital of our merchants affords, by substituting bills for payment in specie. A daring outrage having been committed in those seas by the

plunder of one of our merchantmen engaged in the pepper trade at a port in Sumatra, and the piratical perpetrators belonging to tribes in such a state of society that the usual course of proceeding between civilized nations could not be pursued, I forthwith dispatched a frigate, with orders to require immediate satisfaction for the injury and indemnity to the sufferers.

Few changes have taken place in our connexions with the independent States of America since my last communication to Congress. The ratification of a commercial treaty with the United Republics of Mexico has been for some time under deliberation in their Congress, but was still undecided at the date of our last dispatches. The unhappy civil commotions that have prevailed there, were undoubtedly the cause of the delay; but as the Government is now said to be tranquillised, we may hope soon to receive the ratification of the treaty, and an arrangement for the demarcation of the boundaries between us. In the mean time an important trade has been opened, with mutual benefit from St. Louis, in the state of Missouri, by caravans, to the interior provinces of Mexico. This commerce is protected in its progress through the Indian countries by the troops of the United States, which have been permitted to escort the caravans beyond our boundaries to the settled parts of the Mexican territory.

From Central America I have received assurances of the most friendly kind, and a gratifying application for our good offices to remove a supposed indisposition towards that Government in a neighbouring State; this application was immediately and successfully complied with. They gave us also the pleasing intelligence that differences which had prevailed in their internal affairs had been peaceably adjusted. Our treaty with this Republic continues to be faithfully observed and promises a great and beneficial commerce between the two countries—a commerce of the greatest importance, if the magnificent project of a ship canal through the dominions of that State, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, now in a serious contemplation, shall be executed.

I have great satisfaction in communicating the success which has attended the exertions of our Minister in Columbia to procure a very considerable reduction in the duties on our flour in that Republic. Indemnity also has been stipulated for injuries received by our merchants from illegal seizures, and renewed assurances are given that the treaty between the two countries shall be faithfully observed.

Chili and Peru seem to be still threatened with civil commotions; and until they shall be settled, disorders may naturally be apprehended, requiring the constant presence of a naval force in the Pacific Ocean, to protect our fisheries and guard our commerce.

The disturbances that took place in the empire of Brazil previously to, and immediately consequent upon, the abdication of the late

Emperor, necessarily suspended any effectual application for the redress of some past injuries suffered by our citizens from that Government, while they have been the cause of others, in which all foreigners seem to have participated. Instructions have been given to our Minister there to press for indemnity due for losses occasioned by these irregularities; and to take care that our fellow-citizens shall enjoy all the privileges stipulated in their favour by the treaty lately made between the two Powers, all which the good intelligence that prevails between our Minister at Rio Janeiro and the Regency gives us the best reason to expect.

I should have placed Buenos Ayres in the list of South American Powers, in respect to which nothing of importance affecting us was to be communicated, but for occurrences which have lately taken place at the Falkland Islands, in which the name of that Republic has been used to cover, with a show of authority, acts injurious to our commerce, and to the property and liberty of our fellow-citizens. In the course of the present year, one of our vessels, engaged in the pursuit of a trade which we have always enjoyed without molestation, has been captured by a band acting, as they pretend, under the authority of the Government of Buenos Ayres. I have therefore given orders for the dispatch of an armed vessel, to join our squadron in those seas, and aid in affording all lawful protection to our trade which shall be necessary; and shall without delay send a Minister to inquire into the nature of the circumstances and also of the claim, if any, that is set up by that Government to those Islands. In the mean time I submit the case to the consideration of Congress, to the end that they may clothe the executive with such authority and means as they may deem necessary for providing a force adequate to the complete protection of our fellow-citizens fishing and trading to those seas.

This rapid sketch of our foreign relations, it is hoped, fellow-citizens, may be of some use in so much of your legislation as may bear on that important subject; while it affords to the country at large a source of high gratification in the contemplation of our political and commercial connexion with the rest of the world. At peace with all—having subjects of future difference with few, and those susceptible of easy adjustment—extending our commerce gradually on all sides, and on none by any but the most liberal and mutually beneficial means—we may, by the blessing of PROVIDENCE, hope for all national prosperity which can be derived from an intercourse with foreign nations, guided by those eternal principles of justice and reciprocal good-will which are binding as well upon states as the individuals of whom they are composed.

I have great satisfaction in making this statement of our affairs, because the cause of our national policy enables me to do it without any indiscreet exposure of what in other go-

vernments is usually concealed from the people. Having none but a straight forward course to pursue—guided by a single principle that will bear the strongest light—we have happily no political combinations to form, no alliances to entangle us, no complicated interests to consult; and in subjecting all we have done to the consideration of our citizens, and to the inspection of the world, we give no advantage to other nations, and lay ourselves open to no injury. It may not be improper to add, that to preserve this state of things, and give confidence to the world in the integrity of our designs, all our consular and diplomatic agents are strictly enjoined to examine well every cause of complaint preferred by our citizens; and while they urge with proper earnestness those that are well founded, to countenance none that are unreasonable or unjust, and to enjoin on our merchants and navigators the strictest obedience to the laws of the countries to which they resort, and a course of conduct in their dealings that may support the character of our nation, and render us respected abroad. Connected with this subject, I must recommend a revival of our consular laws. Defects and omissions have been discovered in their operation that ought to be remedied and supplied. For your further information on this subject, I have directed a report to be made by the Secretary of State, which I shall hereafter submit to your consideration.

The internal peace and security of our confederated States is the next principal object of the General Government. Time and experience have proved that the abode of the native Indian within their limits is dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself. In accordance with my recommendation at a former Session of Congress, an appropriation of half a million of dollars was made to aid the voluntary removal of the various tribes beyond the limits of the States. At the last Session, I had the happiness to announce that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had accepted the generous offers of Government, and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river—by which the whole of the State of Mississippi and the Western part of Alabama will be freed from Indian occupancy, and opened to a civilized population. The treaties with these tribes are in a course of execution, and their removal, it is hoped, will be completed in the course of 1832.

At the request of the authorities of Georgia, the registration of the Cherokee Indians for emigration has been resumed, and it is confidently expected that one-half, if not two-thirds of that tribe, will follow the wise example of their more westerly brethren. Those who prefer remaining at their present homes will hereafter be governed by the laws of Georgia, as all her citizens are, and cease to be the object of peculiar care on the part of the General Government.

During the present year the attention of the Government has been particularly directed to

those tribes in the powerful and growing State of Ohio, where considerable tracts of the finest lands were still occupied by the aboriginal proprietors. Treaties, either absolute or conditional, have been made, extinguishing the whole Indian title to the reservations of that State; and the time is not distant, it is hoped, when Ohio will be no longer embarrassed with the Indian population. The same measure will be extended to Indiana, as soon as there is reason to anticipate success. But the removal of the Indians beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the States does not place them beyond the reach of philanthropic aid and Christian instruction. On the contrary, those whom philanthropy may induce to live among them in their new abode, will be more free in the exercise of their benevolent functions than if they had remained within the limits of the States, embarrassed by their internal regulations. Now, subject to no control but the superintending agency of the General Government, exercised with the sole view of preserving peace, they may proceed unmolested in the interesting experiment of gradually advancing a community of American Indians from barbarism to the habits and enjoyments of civilized life.

It is confidently believed that perseverance for a few years in the present policy of the Government will extinguish the Indian title to all lands lying within the States composing our Federal Union, and remove beyond their limits every Indian who was not willing to submit to their laws. Thus will all conflicting claims to jurisdiction between the States and the Indian tribes be put to rest. It is pleasing to reflect that results so beneficial not only to the States immediately concerned, but to the harmony of the Union, will have been accomplished by measures equally advantageous to the Indians. What the native savages become when surrounded by a dense population, and by mixing with the Whites, may be seen in the miserable remnants of a few eastern tribes, deprived of political and civil rights, forbidden to make contracts and subjected to guardians, dragged out a wretched existence, without excitement, without hope, and almost without thought.

Among the happiest effects of the improved relations of our Republic, has been an increase of trade, producing a corresponding increase of revenue, beyond the most sanguine anticipations of the Treasury department. The state of the public finances will be fully shown by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the report which he will presently lay before you. I will here, however, congratulate you on their prosperous condition.

The revenue received in the present year will not fall short of 27,700,000 dollars, and the expenditure, for all objects other than the public debt, will not exceed 14,700,000. The payment on account of the principal and interest of the debt, during the year, will exceed 16 millions and a half of dollars, a greater sum than has been applied to that object, out

of the revenue, in any year since the enlargement of the Sinking Fund, except the two years following immediately thereafter. The amount which will have been applied to the public debt from the 4th of March, 1829, to the 1st of January next, which is less than three years since the Administration has been placed in my hands, will exceed 40,000,000 of dollars. From the large importations of the present year, it may be safely estimated that the revenue which will be received into the Treasury from that source during the next year with the aid of that received from the public lands, will considerably exceed the amount of the receipts of the present year; and it is believed that with the means which the Government will have at its disposal from the various sources, which will be fully stated by the proper department, the whole of the public debt may be extinguished, either by redemption or purchase, within four years of my administration. We shall then exhibit the rare example of a great nation, abounding in all the means of happiness and security, altogether free from debt.

The confidence with which the extinguishment of the public debt may be anticipated, presents an opportunity for carrying into effect more fully the policy in relation to import duties, which has been recommended in my former Messages. A modification of the tariff, which shall produce a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government, and an adjustment of the duties on imports with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the counteraction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests, is deemed to be one of the principal objects which demand the consideration of the present Congress. Justice to the interests of the merchant as well as the manufacturer, requires that material reductions in the import duties be prospective; and unless the present Congress shall dispose of the subject, the proposed reductions cannot properly be made to take effect at the period when the necessity for the revenue arising from the present rates shall cease. It is therefore desirable that arrangements be adopted at your present Session to relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, after the extinguishment of the public debt. In the exercise of that spirit of concession and conciliation which has distinguished the friends of our Union in all great emergencies, it is believed that this object may be effected without injury to any national interest.

In my annual Message of December 1829, I had the honour to recommend the adoption of a more liberal policy than that which then prevailed towards the unfortunate debtors to the Government; and I deem it my duty again to invite your attention to this subject. Actuated by similar views, Congress at their last session passed an act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors of the United States; but the provisions of that law have not been deemed such as were adequate to that relief to this unfortunate

class of our fellow-citizens which may be safely extended to them. The points in which the law appears to be defective will be particularly communicated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and I take pleasure in recommending such an extension of its provisions as will unfetter the enterprise of a valuable portion of our citizens, and restore to them the means of usefulness to themselves and to the community. While deliberating upon this subject, I would also recommend to your consideration the propriety of so modifying the laws for enforcing the payment of the debts due either to the public or to individuals suing in the courts of the United States, as to restrict the imprisonment of the person to cases of fraudulent concealment of property. The personal liberty of the citizen seems too sacred to be held, as in many cases it now is, at the will of a creditor to whom he is willing to surrender all the means he has of discharging his debt.

The reports from the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, and from the Postmaster-General, which accompany this Message, present satisfactory views of the operations of the departments respectively under their charge, and suggest improvements which are worthy of, and to which I invite the serious attention of Congress. Certain defects and omissions having been discovered in the operation of the laws respecting Parliaments, they are pointed out in the accompanying report from the Secretary of State. I have heretofore recommended amendments of the Federal Constitution, giving the election of President and Vice-President to the people, and limiting the service of the former to a single term. So important do I consider these changes in our fundamental law, that I cannot, in accordance with my sense of duty, omit to press them upon the consideration of a new Congress. For my views more at large, as well in relation to these points as to the disqualification of Members of Congress to receive an office from a President in whose election they had an official agency, which I proposed as a substitute, I refer you to my former Messages. Our system of public accounts is extremely complicated, and, it is believed, may be much improved. Much of the present machinery, and a considerable portion of the expenditure of public money, may be dispensed with, while greater facilities can be afforded to the liquidation of claims upon the Government, and an examination into their justice and legality quite as efficient as the present secured. With a view to a general reform in the system, I recommend the subject to the attention of Congress.

I deem it my duty again to call your attention to the condition of the district of Columbia. It was doubtless wise in the framers of our constitution to place the people of this district under the jurisdiction of the general Government; but to accomplish the objects they had in view, it is not necessary that this people should be deprived of all the privileges of self-government. Independently of the difficulty

of inducing the representatives of distant States to turn their attention to projects of laws, which are not of the highest interest to their constituents, they are not individually, nor in Congress collectively, well qualified to legislate over the local concerns of this district. Consequently, its interests are much neglected, and the people are almost afraid to present their grievances, lest a body, in which they are not represented, and which feels little sympathy in their local relations, should, in its attempt to make laws for them, do more harm than good. Governed by the laws of the States whence they were severed, the two shores of the Potomac, within 10 miles square, have different penal codes: not the present codes of Virginia and Maryland, but such as existed in those States at the time of the cession to the United States. As Congress will not form a new code, and as the people of the district cannot make one for themselves, they are virtually under two governments. Is it not just to allow them at least a delegate in Congress, if not a local legislature, to make laws for the district, subject to the approval or rejection of Congress? I earnestly recommend the extension to them of every political right which their interests require, and which may be compatible with the constitution.

The extension of the judiciary system of the United States is deemed to be one of the duties of Government. One fourth of the States in the Union do not participate in the benefits of a Circuit Court. To the States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, admitted into the Union since the present judicial system was organized, only a District Court has been allowed. If this be sufficient, then the Circuit Courts, already existing in eighteen States, ought to be abolished; if it be not sufficient, the defect ought to be remedied, and these States placed on the same footing with the other members of the Union. It was on this condition, and on this footing, that they entertained the Union; and they may demand Circuit Courts as a matter, not of concession, but of right. I trust that Congress will not adjourn, leaving the anomaly in our system.

Entertaining the opinions heretofore expressed in relation to the Bank of the United States as at present organized, I felt it my duty, in my former Messages, frankly to disclose them, in order that the attention of the legislature and the people should be seasonably directed to that important subject, and that it might be considered and finally disposed of in a manner best calculated to promote the ends of the constitution and subserve the public interest. Having thus conscientiously discharged a constitutional duty, I deem it proper on this occasion, without a more particular reference to the views of the subject then expressed, to leave it for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives.

In conclusion, permit me to invoke that POWER which superintends all governments,

to infuse into your deliberations, at this important crisis of our history, a spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation. In that spirit was our Union formed, and in that spirit must it be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Washington, Dec. 6.

DEAD-BODY BILL

THE following has been given by the *Morning Chronicle*, as an abstract of Warburton's new *Dead-Body Bill*. I shall have time hereafter to remark on it; but, I beseech the reader to look at *clause 11*, which *forbids anybody but the Attorney-General to prosecute!* Mark THAT! Mind THAT! When you have looked at this, read Dr. PAYNE's letter to WARBURTON, and then read, oh! read, the account of the occurrences at ABERDEEN! This saves the character of *Scotland*. One *Scotchman* proposed to *unchristianize* the country; others have wanted to *unhumanize* it; the people of ABERDEEN have wiped away the damned stain fixed on Scotland by these hardened men.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.

The preamble of this bill states, that whereas a knowledge of the causes and nature of very many diseases which affect the body, and of the best methods of treating and curing such diseases, and of healing and repairing divers wounds and injuries, to which the human frame is liable, *cannot be acquired but by anatomical examination*; and whereas, therefore, it is *highly expedient to give protection*, under certain regulations, to the study and practice of anatomy:—

Clause I. therefore enacts the Secretary of State to appoint Inspectors of Schools of Anatomy.

II. Name of Inspector, and District to which he belongs, to be published in the *London Gazette*.

III. One Inspector to reside in London, and one other in Edinburgh.

IV. Inspectors to receive returns and certificates.

V. To visit any place where anatomy is carried on.

VI. *Salaries to Inspectors.*

VII. Executors may permit bodies to undergo anatomical examination in certain cases.

VIII. The same not to be removed from the place where such person may have died, without a certificate.

IX. Professors, surgeons, and others, may receive bodies for anatomical examination.

X. Such person to receive with the body a certificate, as aforesaid.

XI. Persons described in this Act *not to be liable to punishment for having in their possession human bodies, nor for any offence against this Act, unless the prosecution is instituted by the Attorney-General.*

XII. This Act not to prohibit *post-mortem* examination.

XIII. So much of 9 Geo. IV., c. 31, as directs that the bodies of murderers may be dissected *is repealed.*

XIV. Bodies of murderers to be *buried in the highway, or hung in chains.*

XV. This Act not to extend to Ireland.—
[And why not?]

The following letter has been addressed to Mr. Warburton, M.P.:—

DEAR FRIEND,—I take the liberty of sending you the following lines, which I have translated from the Paris paper, '*The Constitutionnel*,' of the 1st of December:—

"The Minister of Public Works, charged also with the superintendence of the Arts and Sciences, has addressed to the Councils-General of the different departments (throughout France) the report of the Royal Academy of Medicine, upon the artificial corpse of Doctor Anzoux. We have been among the first to make known the importance of this discovery; we have said how the study of anatomy might be facilitated and shortened by means of these preparations, *the necessity of dissection of bodies superseded*, and a great assistance afforded to practitioners. Since that period, Dr. Anzoux has been constantly engaged in his discovery, and now he has brought it to complete perfection. The Hospital of Marine, of War, of the Colonies, and a great number of public establishments, both abroad and in France, are now taking advantage of this happy discovery. Let us hope, for the sake of humanity, that the Departments will not be long without this resource, and that, at a period when it becomes indispensably necessary that every thing loathsome should be put aside and removed, the Councils-General will comprehend the wishes of the Institute and the intentions of the Academy of Medicine, by voting the necessary funds, that at least one model of artificial anatomy may be at the disposal of each principal town in the departments."

"Although a stranger to you, I am not unacquainted with the efforts you have made to put an end to the vile practice of disinterring the dead for sale to dissectors, and I send you the above, not doubting but that you will immediately perceive that anatomy may now be taught without dissection at all, and that the dissecting of bodies is at an end in France, to which, no doubt, the fear of inviting the cholera by the stench emanating from dead bodies has materially contributed; and if we are to be preserved from the cholera, it must be by removing filth of every description.

"There appears to be a path now presenting itself, by which the detestable crimes of burking and violating the remains of the dead may be no longer practised. The remains of murderers should as usual be given for dissection, but the bodies of none others; and transportation for those who steal or receive dead bodies. A law should also be passed to compel the teaching of anatomy by the artificial subject as in France.

"I hope the idea of giving up the bodies of the unclaimed dead will be immediately abandoned, as it increases the exasperation which is constantly souring the minds of the working and middle classes, and rendering it unsafe to dwell in the land. It reminds them of the words of Southey the poet:—

" "Wretched is the infant's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot;
Be he generous, wise, or brave,
He must only be a slave!
Long, long labour, little rest,
Still to toil, to be oppressed;
Drain'd by taxes of his store,—
Punished next for being poor.
This is the poor wretch's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot."

"Yes, the people make their remarks,
'When we have lost our all, and have
'out-lived our friends and relations,
'our bodies are to be given up for dis-
'section!'

"I remain, with much respect,

"Yours respectfully,

"H. PAYNE, M. D.

"Nottingham, Dec. 10, 1831."

RIOT AT ABERDEEN.

DESTRUCTION OF THE THEATRE OF ANATOMY.

(From the Aberdeen Journal.)

This city was the scene of an extraordinary commotion on Monday afternoon, in consequence of a discovery of dead bodies having taken place in the above establishment, and the subsequent vengeance of the mob.

The following are the particulars:—Many of our readers are aware, that, in order to give the students of medicine greater facilities for pursuing their studies, several individuals set on foot a subscription for the purpose of building an anatomical theatre, where surgical lectures might be delivered, and dissections carried on by students individually; several gentlemen also took shares in the concern; in short, a building was erected in St. Andrew's-street, and Mr. Moir, surgeon, opened it a few weeks ago, and was to lecture in it during the winter season. Since it was opened, and ever since the first stone was laid, the public (we mean the lower classes), and those people who resided in the neighbourhood, looked upon it with no merciful eye, as it was considered that it would be a continual receptacle for dead bodies, and this feeling was heightened by the dark frowning front of the building, in which were only three false church-looking windows, all the light being taken from the back and from the cupola on the roof. The people in the neighbourhood had been suspecting that this back ground contained some corrupt substance, as the stench felt on crossing it, which they often did to the bleach-greens, &c. was most intolerable. About two o'clock on Monday a few boys who were playing close by, observed a dog-tearing up some substance from the loose earth: they gave the alarm, and, in a few moments, some twenty or thirty people were on the spot, when two lads finished what the dog had begun, and dug up a portion and fragments of a human body, and the crowd then raised a shout of horror, and made

for the door of the theatre. Two lads, one apparently a baker and the other a countryman, entered, where they found Mr. Moir himself in the place, assaulted him, turned him out, and he escaped; and this was well, as, had he been allowed to remain until the discovery of the bodies had been made, the consequences to him might have been fatal. Part, however, followed him to his own house and into a room, but Mr. Moir leaped from a window, and escaped by George-street. The crowd, which had now increased to perhaps a hundred, rushed into the place, where they found *three dead bodies lying on boards*, Cloaks, instruments, and all the paraphernalia of the place, instantly disappeared, part being destroyed, and part carried off. Information having been sent to the Town-house, the officers soon arrived at the place, which they entered, and directed the bodies to be taken out. This was done, and, when the *mangled corpses were brought out to the open air*, and laid down on the ground, the loud yells of the crowd, and their cries for revenge, bristle description. A few fragments of clothing being thrown on the bodies, they were carried away to Drum's Aisle, and a shocking spectacle it was, as the *limbs and arms hung*, in some cases, over the sides, and one of the bodies showed that the half of the skull had been removed. "Burn the house!—down *with the burking-shop!*" was now the cry, and, there being a fire in the place, the inmates tore down the plaster-lath, and made every attempt to raise a fire, which they had, from the want of materials, very great difficulty in accomplishing. Shavings, fir, and tar-barrel staves, were, however, quickly obtained, and great quantities of wood were brought and thrown in after the fire had fairly taken effect. Cries of "Come out, come out, the house is falling!" were now raised, and on going to the back ground, we found that the crowd had commenced *undermining the back wall* with large planks, one of which they used a lever, and the other as a battering-ram; and so quickly did they do their work, that, within five minutes after they had commenced to undermine, the whole of the back wall fell down with a tremendous crash. The blaze of the fire was now extraordinary, from the quantity of supplementary fuel put on. The crowd, however, did not appear to rest satisfied until the place was razed. Accordingly, they carried their planks to the street, and set to work with the front wall. At this time the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and a great number of special constables, arrived, and his Lordship proceeded with great firmness through the crowd, whom he addressed several times, and stated that if the feelings of the public had been hurt in this case, every inquiry would be made, and *every satisfaction afforded*. He repeated, that every inquiry would be made into the transactions of the day. His Lordship, wherever he made his appearance, was loudly cheered. In the mean time, a party of the 79th regiment had been marched out of the barracks, but it was deemed advisable to bring them no farther than School-hill, from which they entered into the garden of Gordon's Hospital, where they were stationed until the end of the drama. About four o'clock a fire-engine was brought: but it seemed as if the crowd would not allow it to be worked—in fact, no water could be had. We stated, that before his Lordship arrived, the mob were beginning to undermine the front wall. It was very strong, and gave them much trouble. In about an hour, however, it also fell, leaving only the two gables and the roof standing, which formed a grand burning arch. Attacks were now made on the gables, and after a great deal of exertion the two walls and the roof fell together, amid the loud and continued cheers of not less than 20,000 *individuals*. About eight o'clock the work of destruction was completed. We may say, literally, *that not one stone was left upon another*. The crowd then began to retire, although large portions of them still kept together; and one division having observed a student of medicine, as they were moving away, they immediately pursued him, hooting and vociferating obnoxious terms. The gentleman ran, and finding the mob gaining on him, he took refuge in a

house in School-hill, which in a moment was surrounded, and threatened to be demolished, unless the object of their vengeance was turned out. Crowds poured in from all quarters; but it being understood that the student had escaped by a back-window, they began to disperse. Part of them, however, fell in with another student, whom they chased into the Guestrow; but it appeared that he had doubled a corner and eluded their pursuit. They made a stand, however before a house in Guestrow, where bodies had formerly been discovered and threatened its safety; but eventually dispersed, and by ten o'clock the town was perfectly quiet.

Read the following most impudent document.

WM. C.

COPY of a LETTER from the COUNCIL of the ROYAL COLLEGE of SURGEONS to Viscount Melbourne, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c.

Royal College of Surgeons in London, Dec. 10.

My Lord,—The undersigned, Members of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, have the honour of addressing your Lordship on a subject of painful interest to the whole community, but especially to the members of the medical profession.

The Royal College of Surgeons are empowered by their charter to examine certain individuals as to their knowledge of surgery and they are especially required to institute such examination respecting those who are candidates for the situation of surgeon in the army or navy.

It is not possible that any one should be properly qualified to practise in this department of the healing art who has not obtained a due knowledge of human anatomy, and explored with his own hand the structure of the dead body: proofs of their having done so have therefore been always required of candidates who have presented themselves for examination.

The Council believed that they could not properly perform their duty to their Sovereign, from whom the College received its charter, nor to the public, for whose benefit it was granted, without insisting on the study of anatomy by dissection, as the most important part of surgical education.

They have, however, been aware that some serious objections might be urged to the course which they thus ventured to take.

In the present state of the common law, as it is construed by the law authorities, the individual who dissects a human body or even has it in his possession for any other purpose than that of burial, is guilty of a misdemeanour, unless it be the body of a malefactor hanged for murder.

Bodies used for dissection in the anatomical schools have necessarily been procured by illegal means, by the invasion of consecrated ground, and the disturbance of graves, in a way disgusting to society at large, and especially offensive to the friends and relatives of the deceased.

The regulations of the Council have therefore had a tendency to encourage both teachers and students to a direct violation of the law, and to establish, in the procurers of dead bodies, a set of men living by practices which are revolting to the feelings of society, exposed to the hatred and contempt of those around them, and likely, by the joint operation of these causes, to become trained and gradually habituated to the commission of still greater crimes.

The Council felt that they could only do what was, on the whole, for the best, in the dilemma in which they were placed. The circumstances which have just been enumerated did not escape their attention, and have continually excited their most deep regret; but, on the other hand, they were called upon to regard the obligations of their Charter. They were aware that the want of properly-educated surgeons would prove a serious evil to the public. However much they might be inclined to encourage the use of preserved parts and models as subsidiary means of teaching anatomy, they were convinced that these are of themselves quite inadequate to afford that minute, complete, and accurate knowledge which is necessary in surgical practice, and which the student only acquires by dissection.

The Council further submit that they have laboured under much embarrassment from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the law itself, which at the same time that it declares the student to be guilty of a misdemeanour if he attempt to obtain anatomical knowledge, renders him also, when afterwards engaged in practice, liable to a civil action on account of any mistake which his ignorance of anatomy may lead him to commit.

But whatever may have been the extent of the difficulties which have heretofore obstructed the Council in the execution of their duty, they may well be regarded as insignificant when compared with those which they have to encounter at the present moment.

The large prices which have of late been given for anatomical subjects have operated as a premium for murder. If the Council of the College continue to require that those who present themselves for examination shall have studied practical anatomy, who can venture to say that crimes similar to those which have just now filled the public with dismay will not be again committed? More criminals will undoubtedly arise; new victims will be added to the list; and the medical profession will be necessarily degraded from the high situation which it ought to hold as having in its relations to society no object but that of conferring benefit on others.

The Council have no expectation while the law remains as it is at present, and surgical

students continue to cultivate the science of anatomy, that any means can be contrived which will prevent a repetition of the horrible offences to which they have just alluded. Attention and constant suspicion on the part of the teachers may effect much, but not all that is requisite.

It is vain to imagine it always possible to distinguish the body of a person who has been murdered from that of one who has died a natural death.

The very individuals who have lately suffered on the scaffold would probably have escaped detection if they had been more circumspect and wary in their conduct; nor can all the precautions with which it is desirable the study of anatomy should be conducted be adopted under the existing laws.

In the other countries of Europe, anatomy is taught only under a license, and in certain places appointed by the Government; and an exact register is preserved of all the bodies consigned for dissection. But it is a contradiction to suppose that any such license can be granted, or such register preserved in *this country*, where the study of anatomy is *barely tolerated*, and where not only the procurers of dead bodies, but the anatomical teachers and students are alike engaged in *illegal pursuits*.

In offering this representation to his Majesty's Government, the Council are not without hopes that some plan may be devised by the legislature, calculated to remove the serious evil of which they now complain. At the same time, they beg leave to declare on their own part, and on that of all the other members of their profession who are now in practice, with the exception of the very few who devote themselves to the laborious and often unprofitable task of teaching anatomy, that the question is one in which they have *no direct or personal interest*. Whether anatomy be taught legally or illegally, or not at all, does not concern the existing race of practitioners in medicine or surgery, who have completed the period of their education; but *it deeply concerns the public*: and it is under a strong sense of the evils which society may ultimately experience, and from a desire *conscientiously* to perform their duties, that the Council of the College have ventured to make this demand on your Lordship's patience and attention, at a moment which, on an occasion of less importance, they should have deemed unseasonable.

(Signed) ROB. KEATE, President.

J. P. VINCENT, } Vice-Presidents.
G. J. GUTHRIE, }

W. BLIZARD. T. COPELAND.

ASTLEY COOPER. JOHN HOWSHIP.

W. LYNN. JAMES BRIGGS.

J. A. HAWKINS. W. LAWRENCE.

CARLISLE. B. C. BRODIE.

ON. L. THOMAS. BENJ. TRAVERS.

A. WHITE. H. EARLE.

J. G. ANDREWS. CHARLES BELL.

S. COOPER. JOSEPH SWAN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BAINES, D., St Martin's-lane, victualler.

CHANDLER, S., East Baruet, Hertfordshire, victualler.

GILLOTT, E., Blackburn, Macclesfield, grocer.

NUTLEY, L., Great Newport-st., Long-acre, boot and shoe-maker.

WATTS, J., Soho-square, draper.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

RAMSAY, J., Devonshire-street, Commercial-road, master-mariner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HUMPHREY, and H. Brown, Tewkesbury, carriers.

BANKRUPTS.

BRETHERTON, D., Liverpool, spirit-mer.
BRIGGS, W., Drypool, Kingston-upon-Hull, grocer.

BAYLEY, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

HARDSON, W., ship Orelia, master-mariner.

JERMYN, R., Baldock, Hertfordshire, shop-keeper.

JOB, R., Norton-falgate, jeweller.

JONES, S., and W. Nichols, Dorchester and Blandford, linen-drappers.

LEECH, J., Ludgate-hill, licensed-victualler.

LITTLEWOOD, G., and T. Green, Green Arbour-court, Old Bailey, printers.

LLOYD, J., Fore-street and Caunon-street, stationer.

MORRIS, S., and W. Harrison, Tottenham-court-road, linen-drappers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HUNTER, J., Ely, Fifeshire, corn-merchant,

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

JONES, J., Tottenham-court-road, lodging-house-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BAYLIS, H., Johnson's-court, printer.

BIRD, J. S., and J. Taylor, Bath, cabinet-maker.

CASEY, F., Manchester, merchant.

COLLINS, J., and E. Prior, Goswell-street, horse-dealers.

CONINGHAM, T. G., Limehouse-causeway, baker.

DOVE, R., Botwell, Middlesex, brick-maker.

MAYOR, J., Preston, Lancashire, innkeeper.

PYM, J., Blackmore, Morrice-town, Devonshire, attorney-at-law.

REDMAN, E., Worthing, Sussex, shopkeeper.

SHERWOOD, J. W., Newgate-st., cheesemon
TAVARE, C., Manchester, dyer.
TROTTER, J., Liverpool, commission-broker.
WATT, I., Millman-st., Bedford-row, agent.
WROE, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, wool-comber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

WILSON, A., Glasgow, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 9.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight of English wheat, barley, oats, and malt; Scotch flour, English and Scotch peas and beans, as well as English and Foreign seeds, but limited; of Irish, Scotch, and Foreign wheat and barley, Foreign beans and peas, English malt, and English and Irish flour, moderately good. No Foreign flour or oats, or rye from any quarter.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by London, but rather thinly by country buyers, particularly those of the latter residing more than 8 or 10 miles from Town. The sellers were, for some time after the commencement of the market, stiff to advanced prices, especially on fine wheat and fine malting barley, for a few small parcels of the latter of which they were said to have obtained an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter, but as the millers appeared to be dissipated by the dullness of their trade, arising from the heavy stock of imported flour on hand, each kind of corn, with the above exception, as also pulse, malt, and flour, meet with a very sluggish sale, at little if any variation, from last Monday's quotation.

The seed trade, though a little renovated, was still dull.—With clover seed at a somewhat advanced, with most other seeds at a somewhat declining currency.

Wheat	51s. to 63s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	24s. to 30s.
— fine	—s. to —s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	35s. to 40s.
— Tick	36s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 28s.
— Poland	23s. to 26s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 127s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 68s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 94s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 90s. to 96s.	
— Cork 94s. to —s.	
— Limerick .. 91s. to —s.	

— Waterford.. 88s. to 91s.	
— Dublin 88s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 56s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 58s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 52s. to 60s.	
— Edam 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish..... 66s. to 80s.	

SMITHFIELD.—January 9.

This day's supply of beasts and sheep was good; of fat calves and porkers, limited. A few of the prime calves went off, with some degree of briskness, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone: but otherwise the trade was very dull: with beef and pork at barely Friday's currency; with mutton and inferior veal at a depression of full 2d. per stone.

Beasts, 2,385; sheep and lambs, 12,570; calves, 25; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 13.

The arrivals this week are moderate, and the prices quite as high as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fr. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur	
Cons. Ann. }	82½ — — — 81½ 81½

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
 93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (*for cash only*) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. d.	
Colours.....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12 0
Figured Silk ditto.....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Barogan ditto.....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4 0
Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen equally cheap. The whole made from good, of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.	

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 75.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21ST, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO MR. O'CONNELL,

On his Speech against the Proposition for establishing Poor Laws in Ireland.

At Mr. Johnson's, Lime Place, Manchester.
14th January, 1832.

SIR,

WITH very great surprise (to give the mildest term to my feeling on the occasion) I have read, in the *MORNING CHRONICLE* of the 7th instant, a publication purporting to be the report of a speech made by you at a meeting of the NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION, held in Dublin on the 4th of this same month. The speech is stated to have been made in consequence of a motion by Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS, for the appointment of a committee to deliberate on the subject of POOR LAWS FOR IRELAND. Having long been convinced that the withholding from Ireland of these laws, at the time when they were given to England, was the *original sin* in the misrule of Ireland, and that it has been the greatest of all the causes of the immeasurable distance between the manners, the habits, and the condition, of the working classes of the two countries; having seen that that *Catholic Emancipation*, which was, according to your expectations, so frequently, so eloquently, and so confidently expressed, to restore harmony and happiness to Ireland, has been far indeed from producing any such effects; being more fully than ever convinced that there never can be peace in Ireland, and that there never can be any security, or chance of security, against those periodical returns of starvation in Ireland, the bare thought of which ought to make an

English, and more especially an *Irish* legislator ashamed to show his face amongst mortals of common humanity; remembering that Mr. GRATTAN, that Dr. DOYLE, and that YOU YOURSELF, have been the advocates of this remedy for the sufferings of your unhappy country, you, I am sure, will not wonder that, in reading the report of the speech to which I have alluded, my feeling was such as to be very inadequately described by the word *surprise*; but you would wonder, I trust, and I am sure that my readers would wonder, if I were not to give an answer to that speech. This I shall now do with all that respect towards you which is due to you on account of your laudable and able exertions during the two last sessions of Parliament; and, in order that the public may have the arguments and facts of both sides of the question fairly before them, I will first insert the above-mentioned report of your speech:

Mr. O'CONNELL rose amid loud cheers. I rise, he said, to second the motion for a Committee. With many of the principles laid down by Mr. Reynolds I entirely concur. I believe he has exaggerated the wealth of the Established Church—but then it is enormously great, and almost defies exaggeration. The claim which the poor have upon that wealth is obvious. One-third of it originally belonged to the poor, and they have been *filching* from the poor by having kept from them that one-third. (Hear.) I concur also with Mr. Reynolds in what he has said of the generosity of the English people. (Hear.) Their generosity towards this country in money gifts has been most laudable, and I only wish that they had equally distinguished themselves for their *political charity*. (Hear.) We have got from them three or four hundred thousand pounds for our beggars, and they have been three or four centuries making beggars of us. Jack-the-Giant-Killer was distinguished for making giants first and then slaying them; it is thus the English have acted towards the Irish—they have made beggars of them first, and then relieved them. (Hear, hear, hear.) Though I concur in the expression of my gratitude to those who have subscribed to the relief of the Irish poor, I must I also give expression to my abhorrence of those who have made a rich country and have placed a starving population amidst of abundance. (Hear, and cheers.)

Though I am most ready to second the motion for a Committee upon this subject, I cannot but *start back with horror at the proposal of poor-laws being introduced into Ireland.* I know that a great case is made for them in the misery of the people, and I was myself even ready to plunge into the Curtian gulf, where eventually we might be swallowed up, in the hope that we could for the time be able to relieve the distresses of the poor. I have thought upon this subject *by day*—I have *mused upon it by night*—it has been the *last thought that visited my pillow* before I closed my eyes to sleep—and it has been the *benefit of my morning meditations*, and the result to which I have come is this, that it would be impossible to introduce the poor-laws here without *enslaving and degrading the poor.* The poor themselves, I think, would suffer most from a poor-law. When people talk of an amelioration of the English system, I ask of them to point it out, for I never yet met a man who was able to discover it. (Hear, I and cheers.) I abhor *interference with the rate of wages*, especially in an agricultural country, and this is one of those things which frighten me about the introduction of the poor-laws here. What kind of poor-law is it that is wanting? If it be one for the support of *the sick and the maimed*, I go to the full extent with those who support such a poor-law. I say that the state is bound to make provision for those who are afflicted with *sickness or disease*; but there it is our duty to stop. There is no danger of encouraging sickness to enable a man to get into an infirmary, nor will any man break his leg in order that he may have a claim upon the charity of his neighbour. Let me be understood—a claim arising from *disease, sickness, or casualty*, should be provided for by the state, and to that extent I go with those who are advocates for poor-laws. One-third of that which is now in the hands of the clergy, being given to its legal destination, would be fully sufficient to defray all such demands upon charity. (Hear.) Even at present there is *scarcely a village in Ireland* that has not a *dispensary*, nor any county town without *its hospital*, and if these be not sufficient, the legislature is bound to make provision for them. (Hear.) Go beyond that, and what do you do? Are you to take care of *the aged*? Do you not, by doing so, remove from the individual the *necessity of providing for old age*—do you not encourage him to go to the dram-shop, and lay out his sixpence upon his animal gratification, rather than of *hoarding for the day of want*? Do you not take from *industry its incentive*, and from providence its best guard? (Hear.) If I were, as my enemies represent me to be, one who was looking solely to popularity, and not to serve my country, what more fitting theme could I select than that of the poor laws? What more popular topic could I possibly adopt? (Hear.) I feel, however, that it is the duty of a humane and a conscientious man to express candidly his opinion upon a topic so deeply interesting

and important to his fellow-countrymen. (Hear.) I say, that if you make a provision for *old age*, you take away the great stimulant to industry and economy in youth. You do another thing—what is to become of the *aged father and mother*—they lose the solace and the affectionate care of the son, and the tender attentions of the daughter, the moment you say to them that a *legal provision* for their support is procured. You turn the father and the mother out to the parish, or you thrust them into the solitary, the cold, and the wretched poor house—there, in the *naked cell*, sufficient to chill the human breast, you leave the expiring victims of your *mistaken humanity.* (Hear, hear.) But think not that you have a *compulsory provision for the aged alone*; if you go thus far, you are bound also to provide for the *hardy workman*, who cannot procure labour, and who must not be left to starve. The man with a good appetite and willing hands, but who has no work, you must include him also. It was not at first intended, I believe, to include this class:—first those to be provided for by the poor-laws; but it was found that they could not be included, and the moment that principle is adopted, the rich parish would be obliged to provide for all the poor who might claim relief from it, and in a short time *that parish would be swamped* with the number of claimants upon it. You cannot say to the city of Dublin that it should have a mendicancy one-fourth the size of the metropolis—that every man who sought relief there should obtain it, and the citizens be obliged to pay the expense of supporting them. And yet, how are you to discriminate, unless you make a *law of settlement*, our great instrument of oppression against the English poor. One of the means of settlement in England is by birth; there is none less likely to be subject to imposition, and yet none is made a greater instrument of oppression. The moment that it appears a *poor woman* is in a state of pregnancy, she is immediately made an object for persecution, and a notice to quit is served by the landlord on the wretched hovel that the prolific mother inhabits. The landlord, in fact, is compelled by the vestry to be guilty of this persecution. Another means of settlement in a parish is by living there for one year; and the consequence is, that engagements are made with labourers for only *eleven months*, and they are obliged to be one month idle before they can expect a renewal of work in the same parish. Another bad consequence of that law is, that it prevents the circulation of free labour, and obliges every man to stick to his parish. The poor laws, too, take from a man a direct interest in being industrious. The motives to labour are present subsistence and future support. Take these two away, and you deprive a man of two great stimulants to labour. (Hear.) Besides, the poor-laws compel those dependent upon them for support to work—but in what manner? The labourers are let out by the parish at half wages, and then these half-workmen come in competition with the

regular labourers. The farmer will tell the regular labourer, who demands three shillings a day, that he will give him but two shillings; for if he does not choose to take that, he will get those who he is ready to admit are inferior workmen for one shilling, and thus the good labourer is necessarily made poor. (Hear, hear.) Have I not seen, in Shrewsbury, for instance, placards on which were inscribed, "*Vagrants and Irish labourers whipped out of the town?*" Mr. Sturges Bourne made an *improvement in the law in this respect*, for he provided that after the Irish labourer was whipped, he should be sent home. (Hear.) These laws are necessarily called cruel laws, for they make charity itself the subject of taxation. They create in a man's mind something of the sensation that is felt upon paying the wide-street or grand jury cess. (Laughter.) They make, too, one man abundantly charitable, by *putting his hand into the pockets of another*—and to do what? to keep the poor at the lowest rate of maintenance. It is well known that in many parishes in England the poor are *farmed out* to be provided for at the lowest possible expense. The man who takes the care of them underfeeds them, in order that he may make a profit on them. Not only is the providing of food for them hired out, but apothecaries to supply them with medicines are hired also—*men whose interest it is that the sick poor should die as soon as possible*, in order that they may be at the less expense for medicines for them. (Hear.) For an obvious reason I do not enter into the horrors of this *demoralising system respecting females*; it is sufficient for me to say, that the *more vicious a female is, the more objects has she to make her selection from*, either to pay *forty pounds*, or to marry her. (Hear, hear.) It is sufficient to say of the system, that *clergymen of the Established Church of England have sworn*, that, amongst the poorer classes, out of every twenty women they married, *nineteen were in a state of pregnancy*. (Hear, hear.) What do we see as the *consequence of the poor laws in England*? The country is in a *blaze from north to south*; the agricultural labourers there are destroying the property of their employers. (Hear.) I have now sat in three parliaments, and I have heard in each of these members state that the laws created a great deal of misery and distress. But then it may be said that these laws can be ameliorated. How will you ameliorate them? What part of the English poor-laws will you shut out? How will Mr. Reynolds improve these laws? All the *ingenuity of Committee after Committee* that has sat respecting these laws has been exercised in vain, and has been unable to discover any *effective amelioration*. (Hear, hear.) One feature of the poor-laws is, that it *makes the poorer classes*; it makes them the slaves of the overseers, and destroys completely their character for *independence*. I prefer the *wild merriment* of the Irishman to the *half-sulky, half-miserable tones* of the English slave to poor-laws. The Irishman

certainly has his distresses, but then he has his *hopes*; he endures much misery; but then he *entertains expectations of redress*. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Let the question of poor-laws stand over, *till we see if justice will be done to us by England*, upon the *question of reform*. I have often said, that if a *just reform bill* were given to Ireland, I would *try the experiment with it*; but if they do not give a *just reform bill*, then I shall want to introduce a poor-law for Ireland by *repulsing the Union*. (Hear, and loud cheers.) Mr. O'Connell concluded by requesting that their *exertions* should not be *interfered with by the poor-law question*, in looking for a *substantial plan of reform*, and if that were refused, in seeking for a resource and a *remedy for a bad reform bill*. The hon. Gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.

Sir, I do not overlook the great *cheering* which this speech appears to have called forth from your Dublin audience; but when I recollect the still more noisy cheering drawn forth in another place by the DAWSONS and others, when they so unjustly and in a manner so senseless, assailed you, I am by no means disheartened by this vast quantity of cheering; which I am disposed to ascribe, not to any folly, and still less to any perverseness, but rather to that "*wild merriment*," which, towards the close of your speech, you are pleased to describe as characteristic of your countrymen, and on which you appear to set so high a value.

Upon a careful perusal of this speech, I have no hesitation in saying, that the far greater part of your *facts*, as they stand here, are founded in error; and that the whole of your arguments are fallacious; and these assertions I think myself bound to prove; not by any general statement or reasoning; but, in the first place, point by point, as your facts and arguments lie before me. I might, if I chose to pursue that course, insist, that with regard to *your opinions*, they ought to be viewed in conjunction with, and estimated according to, the tried value of many of your former opinions. I might, if I chose that course, meet the imposing assurance, that you "have thought of this" subject by day, have mused upon it by "night, and have given it the benefit of "your morning meditations;" I might, if I chose, and with perfect fairness, meet this formidable preamble by asking you,

whether you had not thought by day, *ever had* the property. Yours being, as to this matter, bare allegation without proof of previous possession, we need not remind you, how you, being in such a case counsel for the accused, would scoff the accuser out of court. We will not scoff you out of court; we will give you further time for "*thought, musing, and meditation*;" and will even aid these cool and candid operations of your mind by suggestions of our own. You say that the "*English people*" have been *three or four centuries* engaged in the work of making the Irish people beggars. You doubtless use the words *English people* instead of *English Government*, not only from a love of *justice*, but from an amiable desire to promote the good-will and harmony between the English and the Irish. But, granted that it is the *English people*, what have they *done* to make the Irish people *poor*? *Three or four centuries!* "*An inch is a trifle in a man's nose;*" and with you orators *a century*, more or less, is not worth stopping about; it is a mere splitting of straws. These "*centuries*" could, however, hardly have fairly begun above *thirty-two years ago*; for then you had a "*domestic legislature,*" and a right good one it was without doubt, *you want it back again!* What, however, even going back to the conquest, have the English people *done* to make the Irish *poor*? *Conquered the country,* and parcelled out its lands amongst Englishmen. There! Take it in its fullest extent: and what have they done to the Irish, to a tenth part of the amount of *what the Normans did to them*? Yet they have survived it; they have overcome conquest by their industry and love of country: they soon made the conquerors proud to be considered part of themselves; and they never sat brooding in sloth and filth over the fabulous dignities and splendour and possessions of their forefathers. It is, therefore, not perverseness, but sheer nonsense, to talk of wrongs which the Irish experienced from *that* cause. The English imposed the *Protestant hierarchy* upon the Irish. Very unjust, but having no tendency to make them *poor*, any more than the same imposition *upon themselves*; and it has been *heavier upon themselves*; for they have

I might, with perfect fairness, do this, and perhaps to the entire satisfaction of the greater part of my readers; but I will evade nothing; will consider nothing coming from you as unworthy of serious notice; and will, therefore, agreeably to my promise, answer your speech point by point.

Deferring, till by-and-by, my notice of your charge against the Protestant hierarchy, of having "*filched*" from the poor of Ireland the amount of their third of the tithes, I begin with your charge against the "*English people*" of having "*made the Irish people poor.*" We will cast aside your "*gratitude*" towards the former, as a fit companion for the *mutual good-will* between the two countries, which this charge of yours is so manifestly intended to inspire and keep alive; we will cast these aside; but, since you so positively assert that we, the many-headed Jack-the-Giant-Killer, have made your countrymen *poor*, we may surely be allowed the liberty to ask you to name the *time* when they *were rich*. When A is accused of having stolen the property of B, it is incumbent on B to prove that he

always had to yield *greater* tithes than the Irish. They *forbade the open profession of their religion*, on pain of exclusion from civil and political power. Unjust as well as foolish; but the same is done to the Quakers everywhere; and that does not make them *poor and ragged*; and now, when the Irish have civil and political power, they are *poorer than ever*! Have the English people *ever taxed* the Irish? We will see about that by-and-by, when we come to talk of the *reform that you are seeking*. How then have the "*English people*" made the Irish people *poor*? They have, indeed, *suffered* them to be *made poor*, by *not compelling the owners of the land in Ireland to pay poor rates*. This is their great sin towards the Irish people; and now, when they seem resolved to do right in this respect, and to make reparation for the wrong, as far as they can, you step in with erroneous facts and fallacious arguments to induce the Irish to believe that that long-withheld good is *an evil*! The fact is, however, that the *English people* have never had any hand in causing the wrongs and misery endured by the Irish people. The wrongs and this misery, as far as they have been caused by mistake, have been inflicted by that "*band of oligarchs*," to whom you have so often, so recently, and so justly ascribed them, and amongst whom your *native oligarchs* have been the very, very worst. The *English people* have always commiserated the sufferings of the Irish; and this feeling has always been most conspicuous, too, amongst the *Church-of-England people*. The people of England have been wronged by the injustice of the oligarchs as much as, or more than, the Irish have; for they have had to *pay* for keeping the Irish people in submission to those who refused to give them poor-laws, and who thereby reduced them to starvation. If this be *not* the true state of the matter, you have the means of proving the contrary; and if this be the true state of the matter, let the reader characterize *your charge against the English people of having made the Irish people poor*.

From this general charge against the people of England, which it was necessary to place in its true light, I come to your

several charges against "*English poor-laws*," which might, perhaps, have experienced from you some little mitigation of censure, if you had, by any accident, happened to know that they were, too, *American poor laws*, as you will (to your indignant surprise, I dare say) learn more circumstantially by-and-by. The first thing that you urge against our poor-laws is, that they "*interfere with wages*," and that this is one of the things that "*frightens*" you. As an Irish lawyer, you might be excused for ignorance of these laws, but not for a *misrepresentation of them*; and here we have a mere *fact* to deal with, and have the written proof at hand. To the original poor-law of the 43rd of Elizabeth, many acts have been added, relating to the relief and management of the poor; and, in no one of these acts, is there any authority given to anybody to *interfere with the wages of labour*, nor is there in any of them, nor in the original law itself, any countenance given to any such interference. So that, it appears that you have been frightened by the workings of your own imagination. That, in many cases, the magistrates in settling the amount of relief, have taken the amount of *the wages of the party into view*; and that they have, in most cases, made the relief too small in proportion to the wages; and that, in many cases, the employers of farm-labourers have, in order to ease themselves at the expense of our gentlemen and tradespeople, given the labourers *less in wages and more in poor-rates*; all this is true enough, and it certainly involves a misapplication of the powers of the poor-laws; but what charge does this imply *against the poor-laws themselves*? And, after all, what is this evil? *what* does this crooking-working of self-interest amount to, compared with the frightful evil of leaving thousands to perish with hunger and cold for want of legal and sure relief?

For "*sick and maimed*," however, you would, it seems, have relief provided by "*the State*." It is impossible to know what you mean by *the State*; but at any rate, you would have *them* provided for by a compulsory assessment of some sort; but *not the aged, nor the hale,*

though these latter be without work, and without the means of obtaining food or raiment; and, you add, that you "*believe*" that "it was not, *at first*, intended "by the poor-laws to provide for the wants "of this class." When a *lawyer* is speaking of an *act of Parliament*, and especially when its tendency is the subject matter of his discourse, he should not "*believe*" anything about its provisions; and, before you pronounced so decided a condemnation of this, the greatest of all our acts of Parliament, which, in fact, furnishes a great part of the machinery for carrying on all our internal affairs, and which raises and disposes of more than seven millions of pounds sterling in a year in England and Wales; before you so boldly condemned this great act, your mind ought to have had left in it not the smallest ground for *belief* respecting the provisions. This *belief* is, however, erroneous; for the act *does* provide, and it clearly *intends* to provide, for this class of persons; and, if it had not provided for them, it would have been nugatory at the time; and if they were not provided for now, an army of five hundred thousand men would not uphold the Government of England for a month! I thank God, that it does provide for their wants; I thank God, that it gives them a *right* to relief, and that they *know* and *feel* it. It is the bond of peace; it is the cement of English society; and accursed be all those who would enfeeble it!

But, "the *sick and maimed*," you would have *the state* provide for these; *but not for the aged*; and if there be, in "almost every village of Ireland, a *dispensary*, and in every county town an "*hospital*," there is provision already made for the "*sick and maimed*;" so that the Irish poor have all that you want them to have! Glad to know it! It certainly is *news* to me. I wish it may be *true*! Yet there must want a "*dispensary*" of *food and clothing*, or else we have been told *most monstrous lies* about the people eating stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, and nettles, and about whole parishes receiving the *extreme unction* preparatory to death from starvation, and about whole families of females being in a state of *complete*

nakedness; and our own eyes must deceive us, and mine, especially, must deceive me, when I think I see, every month of my life, hundreds of squalid creatures tramping into London, by my door, without shoes, stockings, or shirts, with nothing on the head worthy of the name of hat, and with rags hardly sufficient to hide the nakedness of their bodies! However, for *the aged* you will have *no provision*. And *why*? What is your *reason* for this? For, upon the face of the proposition, it does seem to be dictated by anything but *that tenderness* which you are constantly expressing towards the Irish people. Your reasons are these: 1. That, by making provision for the destitute in old age, you take away the great inducement to *industry and frugality in the days of youth*; and, 2. That you deprive the *aged parents of the aid of their children*, who, seeing a provision for them in the poor-house, will leave them to go to perish in its "*naked cells*." As to the first of these reasons, it would be equally good against a provision for the "*sick and maimed*," if they *happened to be old*. But are *all the labouring people able*, in youth, to lay by something for old age? It is the decree of God that the human race shall be sustained by labour; nine-tenths of labour is painful in some degree; very few of the human race will encounter pain, but from *necessity*; and none will, therefore, seldom encounter more of this pain than is demanded by their *present wants*. To call upon men who are engaged in pursuits *not bodily painful*, to lay by, in their youth, for the days of old age, is reasonable and just; but to call upon the hard-working man to do this is neither. If he do it (and, in *England*, he, to a great extent, does it, in five cases out of six, after all); if he do it, where is the tongue or pen to speak the praise that is his due! But if he have not, from *whatever* cause, been able to do it, or have not done it, he has a *clear right* to a provision in old age: he has spent his life and worn out his *strength* in the service of the community; and that reluctance which every man naturally feels to ask another for something, is a sufficient security against his being *lazy*

and prodigal in his youth, upon a cool calculation of the benefit of parochial provision in his old age. With regard to your second objection; namely, that by making a provision for old age, you deprive the indigent parents of the aid of their children, who, seeing the "naked cell" provided for them, will let them go to it; with regard to this matter, you appear to regard the Irish people as being capable of setting at defiance, and as likely to set at defiance, not only the laws of nature, but also the express and a hundred-times-repeated laws of God. No very high compliment to your countrymen! No very strong proof of the sincerity of your belief in that "generosity," that "active and practical compassion for the poor," and that "deep sense of religion" which we shall presently see you ascribing to them! But you, as a lawyer, might have told them one thing, and since you did not do it, I will; and that is, that if neither the laws of nature nor those of God could induce them so far to honour their father and their mother as to keep them from the poor-house, the poor-laws would compel them to do it, they having the ability; and if they have not the ability, how can poor-laws deprive the parents of their aid? As a lawyer, you ought to have known that those poor-laws which you so vehemently decry, compel all persons, being able to do it, to maintain their indigent fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, children, and grand-children. This is what you ought to have told your Dublin audience, though it might have cost you the loss of some of those valuable cheers, which you obtained by this suppression of the truth, and by supplying its place with the "naked cell," existing nowhere but in your imagination. Either you did not know the law as to this matter, or you did know it. If the former, you ought to have known it before you made this speech; and if the latter, I decline to characterize your conduct.

But, Sir, in your anxious haste to narrow the effect of poor-laws, you forgot that, besides the sick, the maimed, and the aged, there were some other parties who are, however, by no means overlooked in that HOLY WRIT, for not be-

lieving in which we shall presently find you condemning the "infidel" to be dealt with in a way "to supersede all legal punishment"; namely, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger. In your comprehensive scheme of "active and practical compassion for the poor," you will make no provision for these! The English poor-laws, which do not cry, "Lord! Lord!" but which do his will, make provision for them all; and well, indeed, is it that they do, or thousands upon thousands of Irishmen would, at this very moment, be dying and lying dead from starvation; and that, too, if your doctrine be sound, without having the smallest ground for accusing the English of injustice or cruelty.

The law of settlement you represent as an instrument of oppression. Your story about yearly servants being obliged to be one month out of employ, in order to prevent them from gaining a settlement, is mere romance, the thing being impossible; because the whole of the business in all the farm-houses in the country must, in that case, be suspended for a month; and, to believe that this can take place, you must know about English farming as little as, for your sake, I hope you know about our poor-laws. In some cases, for the reason here assigned, the master will hire the servant for some days less than a year; but it much oftener happens that this sort of bargain is from the wish of the servant, who does not, in general, wish to "lose his parish;" and, at this moment, I have a country-boy living with me, whose mother would not consent to his coming unless the bargain was such as not to cause him "to lose his parish." This, at once, shows the light in which the working people view the poor-laws. Instead of deeming them a bond of "slavery," as you choose to represent them, they deem them the title of their right to their patrimony. And with regard to the compelling of married people to stick to their parishes, it is a great good, instead of being an evil; it being evident that people in that state of life will be, in all respects, more careful of their characters, and will be more likely to be of better behaviour, if resident

amongst those who know them, than if wandering about from place to place. If they quit their parishes, and become chargeable to another, or manifestly likely to be so, the poor-laws expose them not to oppression, but consider them in the light of "*the stranger*," relieve them if necessary, and take them home to their parish. Well would it have been, Sir, for the thousands of poor *forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland*, whom the "*LIBERATOR*" saw driven off the estates, as the price of that "*Emancipation*" which gave him a seat in Parliament; well would it have been for these poor sacrificed creatures, if there had been an English law of *settlement* to compel the savage landlords to keep them; and in that case, indeed, they would never have been driven off the estates, and, finally, as they were, exposed to all the horrors of famine and pestilence.

We now come to two assertions, which, from their character, and from one and the same term being applicable to both, ought not, for a moment, to be separated; namely, 1. That, in the town of SHREWSBURY, you saw placards, on which were inscribed the words, "*VAGRANTS and Irish LABOURER whipped out of the town*;" and, 2. That "*Mr. STURGES BOURNE made an improvement in the law; for he provided that, after the Irish LABOURER was whipped, he should be sent home.*" As you positively assert that you saw these placards at SHREWSBURY, I must suppose that SHREWSBURY is in Ireland; for I am sure you never saw such a placard in *England*. This town is certainly in Tipperary or Connaught, or something: at any rate, I assert that you never saw it in an *English* town. As to the second of this couple of assertions; FIRST, in no bill ever brought in by STURGES BOURNE is there one single word about "*Irish labourers*," and in no law that is now in existence, or that *ever was in existence*, is there any provision for, or one word about, the *whipping of Irish labourers*. Therefore, had you not said that the matter of this speech was the fruit of your "*daily thoughts, nightly musings, and morning meditations*," I should have concluded

that it was the subject of *a dream*, or an effusion, emanating from an exillering draught at Bellamy's.

But suppose we were to disregard the sufferings of the Irish *here*; were to let them die in the streets, instead of *sending them home*, we should only be acting upon *your own principle*; for you propose to leave *the stranger*, even in his own country, without any relief at all. But how can you, Sir, reconcile with your profession of a desire to see the two countries cordially united; how can you reconcile with this profession this assertion, that there is a law, in England, authorising the *whipping of Irish labourers before they be sent home*? I hope that some one has told you the story, and that want of time prevented you from looking after *this law*. The falsehood being so entire; it not having a shadow of truth to give it countenance, I cannot help hoping that this is the case. I see, in the course of the year, many hundreds of them going off to Bristol in very commodious caravans, drawn by good horses, smoking their pipes, and full of your admired "*wild merriment*." Never are they whipped, and there is no law for whipping them, in any case, in which an Englishman would not be whipped.

Equally *destitute of truth* is the assertion, that "*clergymen of the Church of England have sworn, that, out of every twenty women of the poorer classes, that were married by them, nineteen were pregnant.*" No clergyman in England ever *swore* this, and no one ever said it. The tale is a gross misrepresentation of evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons in 1828, when the overseer of PELHAM, in HERTFORDSHIRE, told the committee, that nearly the whole of the young women were pregnant before they were married; because, being *too poor to pay the expenses of the wedding*, they generally put it off, *till the parish was glad to pay for it*. But was this the fault of the poor-laws? No; but, as was shown by the same evidence, the *fault of the taxes*, which made the farmers unable to pay the labourers a sufficiency of wages, and that this latter made the labourers *so poor*, that they

were unable to get married before the pregnancy became obvious to the parish-officers. Thus the poor-laws, instead of being the *cause of this shame* to the young people, actually came in and prevented the children from being born out of wedlock.

The same may be said of your statements relative to the letting out of the English labourers to hire to the highest bidder, and of all the other degrading measures adopted by overseers. They are *abuses* of the poor-laws, and not evils *created* by the poor-laws: they have arisen out of *recent alterations* in those laws, and not out of those laws themselves, as is clear from the fact, that those laws existed for about two hundred years before any of these evils and oppressions were ever heard of.

As to the *farming of the poor*, supposing it to be done upon just principles, what is it more than *putting children to be boarded by the year*? If care be taken that the contractor do what he ought to do, there is nothing either unjust or degrading in this; and if he do not do his duty, and the poor people complain, the payers of the rates have no interest, and can have no inclination to uphold him in his wrong-doing. So that this is a perfectly futile objection to poor-laws, of which, however, this species of contract forms no essential part.

Your next statement is, that "*in consequence of the poor-laws, the FIRES are now blazing in England, from north to south.*" The cause of these fires is well known; it is openly avowed, it is specific; and it is, that the farmers *do not give the labourers so much wages as they say they ought to have*. This is notoriously the cause. In many cases the *fires* have stopped when the wages have been *raised*; and have begun again when the wages have been *lowered*. This has, indeed, been the case all over the country: and, in the face of these well-known facts, considering also that the poor-laws have existed two hundred and about forty years, and never produced such effects before, it required, certainly, nothing short of a *Dublin audience* to embolden you to describe the FIRES as "*a consequence of the poor-laws*;"

after which, who need to wonder if you were to ascribe the national debt and the cholera morbus to the poor-laws!

You have known "committee after committee sit in vain, to discover some way of making an *effective amelioration* in the poor-laws." Have you, indeed! and so have I too. But that may be an argument *in favour* of the poor-laws. LORD COKE said, that "MAGNA CHARTA was too strong a fellow to be overcome by puny acts of Parliament:" and the same may be said of Old Betsy's poor-law. But, do you know what they mean by "*amelioration*?" I will tell you: *taking away the relief*. This is what they have been trying at for about twenty years. But they find the law "*too strong a fellow*" for them. It is the Magna Charta of the working people; it is written in their hearts; the writing descends from the heart of the father to that of the son; and God forbid that it should ever be effaced; for, if ever that day come, English society and English manners and English happiness will all be effaced along with it, and the world will lose the example of a working-people, such as it never had in any other country upon earth.

Now, Sir, before I come to your general and sweeping denunciations against the English poor-laws, let me, in finishing these particular assertions and arguments, just put under your eyes one remaining assertion: it is this: "Apothecaries to supply the poor with medicines are *hired*, whose interest it is, that the sick poor should die as soon as possible, in order that they may be at the *less expense for medicines*." This, too, was the result of your "*thoughts by day, your musings by night, and your morning meditations,*" was it? If you, Sir, can now again see this your insinuation upon paper, and not change colour, anything addressed to you, though by a pen a million times as eloquent as mine, must be wholly thrown away.

Leaving you to consider of, to think, muse, and meditate on, the figure you make before Englishmen, with this insinuation on your lips, I now come to your sweeping assertions relative to the effects of the poor-laws, and to the picture

which you give us of the people of the two countries so much in favour of the Irish. You told your cheering audience, that the poor-laws made *slaves* of the English working people; that it completely *destroyed their character for independence*; that you preferred the *wild merriment* of the Irishman to the *half-sulky, half-miserable* tones of the English *slave* to the poor-laws; that the Irishman certainly had his *distresses* [indeed!], but then he had his *hopes* [of what?]; he endured much misery, but then he *entertained expectation of redress*! Here, it seems, there was "*great cheering*;" and well there might, if the matter conveyed *surprise as agreeable* to your audience as it does to me. Well, then, here you wipe away the heavy charge of our poor "*half-sulky, half-miserable*," slaves having made the Irish *poor*! And if this really be the state of the Irish people (and who can doubt it since *you* say it is); if they have those cheering hopes and flowery expectations; if they save in youth wherewithal to support them in age; if they have dispensaries in all the villages, and hospitals in all the county towns; and if they be (as under such happy circumstances they naturally must be) *wild in merriment*; this being (as we now *know* it is) their state, then, upon my word, if they still come here to mock with their mirth our poor, "*half-sulky*" souls, I shall be for giving their hides a little flogging, *à la Shrewsbury*; for "*United Kingdom*" here, or "*United Kingdom*" there, they are not to come here with their "*wild merriment*," and taunt us with our "*half-miserable*" tones! However, when I get upon the same floor with you, we will soon make an equitable adjustment as to *this* matter, at any rate. You shall move and I will second a bill, which, when it become a law, shall be called the ACT OF RECIPROCITY, giving you power to whip all the "*half-miserable*" English slaves that go to Ireland, and me power to whip all the youths of "*wild merriment*" that come to England. This would set all to rights in a trice: you would preserve your "*green island*" from the contagion of the *sulks*; and if I did not clear ours of the "*wild merriment*," there should be neither *whalebone* nor *whipcord* left in England.

But now let us (and soberly, if it be possible) take a more minute look at these general assertions made by you. They, taken fairly and without exaggeration, amount to this: that the English poor-laws *degrade* a people, destroy all *independence of spirit*, and, in fact, *make them slaves*. Before I come to ask you how these assertions are sustained by the comparative condition and character and manners of the English and the Irish, you will perhaps permit me to ask you how MOSES came to make such ample provision for the indigent poor; how THE APOSTLES came to do the same, and to establish the order of DEACONS for the express purpose of superintending the tables at which the poor were relieved; how the CATHOLIC CHURCH came to receive all lands and other real property, as well as gifts in money, *in the name of the poor*, and in no other name; how THAT CHURCH came to allot one-third part of the tithes to the poor, which in Ireland, you say, the Protestant parsons "*filched*" from them: you will, perhaps, permit me to ask you how all this came to be, if *poor-laws*; that is to say, *regular relief to the indigent*, have a natural tendency to degrade, break down the spirit, and enslave men; for, mind, the act of Old Betsy only came to supply the place of the *certain and regular parochial relief*, before secured to the people by the *statute* as well as the *common* and the *canon law*. You will, I dare say, answer, by saying, that if Moses, the Apostles, St. Austin, Pope Gregory, and the makers of Magna Charta, had been aware of the manifold blessings of stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, nettles, and *agitation*, they would have made an exception as to the "*green island*." Well, but the mere *colour* cannot signify much in such a case; and then let me ask you, whether you deem the people of the *United States of America* to be *degraded*, destitute of *independent spirit*, and *slaves*?

Now, Sir, to be serious for a little; though a *lawyer*, it was no duty incumbent on you to know the laws of the *United States of America*; but, as a *gentleman* and *man of learning*, it might be expected of you, that you understood something of the laws of a country of so

much importance; and, as a legislator of this kingdom, so very extensively, in various ways, connected with that republic, give me leave to think that it was *your duty* to know something of the principal laws in force in a country, the freedom and prosperity of which, have become subjects of so much admiration throughout the civilized world. Yet, that you know nothing of those laws, more than you do of the laws of the Cherokee nation of savages, is certain; otherwise it is impossible that you could have put forth, even in Dublin, this sweeping reprobation of the English poor-laws; seeing that the famous act of the 43rd year of ELIZABETH is in full force in every state of that republic, and that it is acted upon in the most kind and attentive manner. I cannot speak positively, but I think, that we could not pay less than *fifty thousand dollars a year*, in poor-rates, in the city of Philadelphia, thirty-two years ago. I dare say, that the poor-rates of the city of New York now amount to more than a *hundred thousand dollars a year*. Both cities have *poor-houses* of prodigious dimensions; and, which will, doubtless, fill you with indignation, the youths of "*wild-merriment*" are the most numerous and most permanent inmates of the "*naked cells*" of those poor-houses! Many a score dollars have I myself paid for the *relief* of the merry lads and lasses, in both those humane cities, and never grudged so to do; and many a pound have I paid for the relief of similar merry persons at KENSINGTON; but *not without grudging*, knowing well, that what I pay, in this way, is, in reality, given to the crafty and hard-hearted landlords of Ireland. I never lived in any place in America, without paying poor-rate. And it even happened, when I lived in Long Island, the *overseer* of our township (North HEMPSTEAD) came and took a servant girl away to her township (FLUSHING), she being in a state which the delicacy demanded by Irish ears forbids me to name. We being greatly in want of the services of the girl, I begged hard for a respite for a few days; but the *ex-officio* guardian of the morals and the money of the township, was inexorable: "Mr. Cawbut comes from old England;

"Mr. Cawbut must *know the law*, and "Mr. Cawbut must know that the law *must be obeyed*;" and, with that, he put her into his cart, and away he took her and married her, I hope, to a very good husband. So, you see, Sir, that you have, in this memorable piece of intense eloquence, wasted a great deal of very fine indignation upon a very commonplace subject.

However, to give you something beyond these assertions of mine, let me first inform you, that, some years ago, several parishes, in the east of Sussex, sent out, at their expense, to *New York*, divers families, who, from their numerousness, were greatly burdensome to those parishes; and, some years before that, some farmers went out, from the same neighbourhood, also to *New York*. They sent home letters to their relations, giving an account of the country, and of their situation, and, generally, beseeching their fathers and mothers and brethren and friends to follow them. I, hearing of this, and wishing to dissuade *English people* from going, if they did go abroad, from going to any other country but the United States, went down into Sussex, saw the parties who had received the letters, got them from them (I have them now), and published them in my little work, called "*The EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*," which every member of both Houses of Parliament, and especially my Lord GREY, *ought to read*, and particularly the letters of these excellent people, *the labourers of Sussex*. If I had never cared about English labourers before, these letters would have rivetted them to my heart. Affectionate parents, dutiful children, lovers of their country: there are *all* the virtues here! And these are the people whom the garret-lodged prigs of the London newspapers call "*ignorant peasantry*," and Mr. Sheil called "*Kentish boors*!" But, the interesting thing at present, is, what did *these people* say about *poor-laws in America*?

Now, Sir, do, pray, look at the *little book*. If I were at home, I would send you a copy. Look first, in page 92, at a letter from farmer BENJAMIN FOWLE, addressed to his cousin, DANIEL FOWLE, of SMARDEN, in Kent, and dated from

UTICA, in the State of New York. He is describing to his cousin the happy state of the country; and he thus speaks of the poor-laws: "I have been *poor-master* of this town for many years, and I find it a rare thing for a *resident* to become an *annual town-charge*." But, *strangers* and *temporary poor*, he had frequently. Then he adds, that he knows of no one *who takes the trouble to lock his doors by night*. So, you see, honesty and virtue can co exist with old Betty's law, which, you say, *degrades* people and destroys their character and makes them slaves! But what the *labourers* say on the subject, in their letters, is still more interesting, and more to the point. Look at pages 55 and 58. The writer is STEPHEN WATSON, jun., of SEDDLESCOMB, near Battle, in Sussex; and I got the letter from his father, who now lives at Seddlescomb, and whose name is also STEPHEN WATSON. In his letter, dated at ALBANY, 5th Oct., 1823, he tells his father this: "Do not make yourselves *uneasy* about us; for if we cannot get a *living here*, here is a *POOR-HOUSE, JUST THE SAME AS IN ENGLAND*." Oh! "the *slave* of the poor-laws!" Then, on the 29th of March, he, beginning his letter with "Honoured father and mother," writes thus: "The *laws* of this country are as good as in *England*: the poor are well taken care of: there is a large *house* in this place for the accommodation of the *old and infirm* that are not able to work." The *hale* wanted none, for the work was always plenty.

How different, Sir, the American patriots and legislators are from you! You will, by no means, have a provision for the *aged*, lest it should cause laziness and improvidence in youth, and lest it should deprive parents of the aid and the affectionate attachment of their children! How wide the difference between the American and the Irish philosophy! STEPHEN WATSON, who calls his father and mother "*honoured*," and who, I'll be bound for him, never said "your hanner," to any man in all his life, does not, you see, seem to think that poor-laws make "*slaves*." He says, "the *laws* of this country are as good as in

England." And why? Because the *poor* are well taken care of, and because there is a *poor-house*.

Now, Sir, will you acknowledge that you have done wrong to English poor-laws and English labourers? You will not? Very well, then, I will proceed, and go right forward into your comparative estimate of the *character* and *condition* of the English and the Irish working people. And, in the way of preface, let us have *your own description* of Ireland, and of its people, as published in your address to the Irish nation, dated at Dublin, on the 6th of this month.

I begin with calling your attention to these *truths*:—

FIRST, That there is not on the face of the globe a more *fertile country* than ours, nor any one that produces, for its extent, such a *superabundance of all the prime necessities for the food, clothing, and comfort* of its inhabitants.

SECONDLY, That no country is so well circumstanced for general commerce as ours; we are at the western extreme of Europe with a direct navigation to every maritime state in Europe, whilst our connexion with Asia and Africa is by open ocean space; and with the free American republics our intercourse may be the most direct, rapid, and unconfined.

THIRDLY, Our *green island* is indented by spacious roadsteads, magnificent bays and estuaries, and capacious harbours—harbours open at every hour of every tide, and sheltered from every wind, and secure from every tempest.

FOURTHLY, Our *fertile island*, too, is extensively intersected by navigable rivers; and the hard and durable materials of which our roads are, or may be formed, would easily afford the means of ready communication and speedy intercourse with every part of our productive soil.

FIFTHLY, The streams that rush from our *majestic mountains*, or sweep with abundant and rapid course through our *green and glorious valleys*, give a superabundant multitude of *mill sites*, and afford the cheapest and most *healthful power for the working of manufactories* in the known world.

SIXTHLY, Our climate is genial and conducive to *long life* and *manly vigour*. No parching suns scorch our plains into aridity, or our people into decrepitude. No chilling frosts destroy the power of vegetation, or thin our population by the pinching blight of excessive cold.

SEVENTHLY, This *lovely land* is inhabited by a people *brave* as they are *patient*, *generous* as they are *hardy*, *good-humoured* as they are *laborious*, *intelligent*, numerous almost beyond the number of the oppressions they are made to endure. Suffering woes themselves, they

are full of active and *practical compassion for the poor* and the needy; and, above all, they are a people deeply impressed with all the sincerity of religious belief, and with the incalculable value of religious practices. Differing as many of them do with each other upon various points of faith, they one and all scorn and detest infidelity; and the infidel or the atheist, if he were to rear his *detested head* amongst us, would find that speedy punishment from universal opinion which would render the inflictions of law needless, and would anticipate and *supersede all legal punishment*.

My countrymen, these *truths are undeniable*. Such is a faint sketch of Ireland and her population. Why are the blessings of God perverted? How are the generous and noble impulses of man blighted? Why is Ireland in a state of *decrepitude and decay*? Why are her towns in general *dwindling into villages*? Why are her villages *so frequently disappearing*? Why are her farmers emigrating, or sinking into labourers? Why are her labourers almost unemployed, or *wholly starving*?

Well, then, as far as the seven heads of description go, here is a *heaven upon earth*; and these are all "*truths undeniable*." So that, if we do not find the Irish labourers *better* in character and condition than the English, we shall *here* find no argument against the poor-laws. But before I enter on the comparison, I feel my attention forcibly arrested by a *sentiment* in the 7th paragraph, and by an *assertion* in the last of all; and on these I must remark before I go an inch further. In the 7th paragraph, you, in the excess of your religious zeal, condemn the "*infidel*" to a popular punishment, *superseding the operations of the law* (that is to say, to *knocking on the head*), if he dare to raise that "*detested head*" in the "*green island*;" and yet, only about two years ago, *you were perfectly clamorous* for putting the *worst* of all *infidels*, the Jews, upon *the bench* and in *the King's Council*; infidels who not only raise their "*detested head*," but who raise their horrible voices also, to declare JESUS CHRIST to have been "*an impostor*," and who, amongst the blasphemous rites of their synagogues, are said to *crucify him in effigy* twice in the year! In short, two years ago, you were for *un-Christianizing* the country by law, and now you are for *knocking the infidel on*

the head, without judge or jury! Now, could this subject have had your "*daily thoughts, nightly musings, and morning meditations*," in *both cases*?

The *assertion* to which I have alluded, and which is in the last paragraph, is this: "*that the towns of Ireland are 'dwindling into villages, and that its 'villages are frequently disappearing.'*" Compare this assertion with the *oath* that you made before the committees of the House of Lords in 1825; namely, that the population of Ireland had been, and still was, *prodigiously increasing*, and that a *surplus population was one of the causes of the misery of the people*! That was your oath, or words, I pledge myself, *fully to that effect*. Which statement are we, then, to *believe*? Will you say that this dismal decay of towns and villages has taken place since 1825? Hardly; for, then, we shall ask you what are become of your splendid promises of *prosperity to Ireland* which *Emancipation* was to give? And (more serious still!) where are those "*nine millions*," and that "*growing importance*," which you put forward as the ground of Ireland's claim to an *equality* with England?

And now, Sir, let your Dublin audience remain to clap hands and huzzas, while you and I enter on that comparison (which you have provoked) of the *relative character and condition and manners* of the Irish lads of "*wild merriment*," and the "*English sulky slaves of the poor-laws*."

First of all, it is of importance to observe that, as to the means which are the *gift of God*, the Irish have, from your own account, greatly the advantage over the English. For, while you assert that there is not on the *face of the globe*, a country *more fertile* than Ireland, it is well-known that there are many more fertile than England; for, though, by incessantly scratching and tumbling it about, we do make it produce a good deal; still, when you come to your "*majestic mountains*," pouring down streams into "*glorious valleys*, there to set endless "*mills and manufactories*" into motion, and that, too, in promoting of "*health*" at the same time; when you come to

these, you make us feel our inferiority ; and, above all, on the score of *greenness*, in which respect you appear to surpass us beyond all comparison. There are, indeed, persons not so devotedly and exclusively attached to this particular colour ; and, for instance, I have no objection, nay, I like, to see a part and a great part of a country *brown* ; and, at one time of the year, *white*. You, however, deem *greenness* the mark of perfection ; and you *have it* : the "English people" have not robbed the Irish of *that*, at any rate. Again, we have indeed, "*harbours*" too ; but not, like you, harbours "open at *every hour of every tide*, and sheltered from *every wind*, and secure from *every tempest*." We are obliged to wait for the tides, whether coming in or going out ; and, with all our moorings and double moorings, our ships are frequently driven on the beach, or out to sea. These toils and dangers are, it seems, unknown to Ireland, to the people of which "lovely land" the proverb of "time and tide waiting for no man," must be wholly without a meaning.

But, Sir, now comes your great difficulty ; for, if these, which you have given us here, be "*truly undeniable* ;" if such be the natural resources and advantages of Ireland ; if no spot of the globe exceed her in fertility ; if she be favoured in the manner that you describe : and yet, if, as you say is the case, "the blessings of God are there so perverted, that she is in a state of *decrepitude and decay*, her towns *dwindling into villages*, her *villages disappearing*, and her labourers almost unemployed, or *wholly starving* ;" and if, as we know to be the case, her people are seen wandering over this *our* country (not so blessed by God) in search of food, and in a state nearly approaching to that of actual nakedness ; and if, as you insist, poor-laws, to secure them food and clothing at home *would not better their lot* : if all this be so ; or rather, if all this *were* so, we should, like the English Grenadier of the Guards, when he landed in Virginia, be tempted to exclaim, "The ADAM and EVE of this people *surely came out of Newgate*."

It will not do for you in this case to say

that the "blessings of God have been perverted" by the English, until, at least, you have replied to my answer to your charge against us, on that score ; and besides, the public have not already forgotten that "*emancipation*," which you obtained even beyond the extent of your petitions, as *all* that Ireland wanted to make her contented and happy and everlastingly grateful to England : and that you pledged yourself that the adoption of that measure would enable the Government to draw additional millions of revenue from Ireland. We have not so soon forgotten those your a-thousand-times-repeated declarations ; and, therefore, we deny you the right to *impute to us* this "perversion of the blessings of God."

You must, then, impute it to yourselves ; or you must confess that your country calls for that very *INSTITUTION* ; that great *English institution*, which we are now about to tender you, and which you are endeavouring to prepare your miserable countrymen to reject as a *scourge*. Look at the difference in the working people of the two countries. You have, if you *do* speak the truth, the advantage, over us in climate and soil ; and you have, you say, a people "*brave, patient, generous, hardy, good-humoured, laborious, and intelligent*." Yet look at the *difference in the people*, and particularly the *working people*, of the two countries ! Look at it : consider it well : here, indeed, is matter for an *Irish legislator* to think, muse, and meditate upon. When did you, or anybody else, ever see or hear of *Englishmen* prowling about, in bands of half-naked beggars, in any country upon earth : when did you ever hear of the necessity of taking *them* up by force, and carrying them like malefactors and tossing them back upon their native shores : when did you ever hear of *them* being an incumbrance to any people amongst whom they went : when, since you talk of their *novels*, did you see or hear of English labourers being in hovels, in company with the pig, the flesh of which they were destined never to taste, both feeding on the same root, at the same board, warmed by the same chimneyless fire, and both blackened by the same smoke : when,

since you talk of the "naked cells" of the poor-house, did you ever hear of thousands of *them* living on stinking shell-fish, sea-weed, and nettles, and of thousands at a time receiving the last offices of religion as preparatory to death from starvation: when, since you call them *slaves*, did you ever see or hear of one of *them* applying the cringing and fawning appellation of "*your hanner*" to any human being, much less to any thing, though groom or footman, from whom they expected to coax a farthing or a mouthful of bread: when did you ever hear of *English* labourers who needed, or who would *contentedly* suffer, an employer to stand over them at their work: when did you ever hear of *their* dwellings being destitute of every mark of cleanliness and of decent reserve, having about them no traces of human existence within, except the feculent heap at the door, which nature herself would call upon them to hide: when did you ever see or ever hear talk of one of *their* rural habitations, not having about it (unless rendered impossible by local circumstances) gooseberry and currant bushes, beds of pansley and other herbs, plants of wall-flower and biennial stock, clumps of polyanthus, daisies, and bulbs, and other flowers, and, where possible, plants of roses and honeysuckles, trained round their windows, or over their doors, with the greatest care and the greatest taste, of all which, together with apple-trees grafted by their own hands, and together also with *stalls of bees*, the result of their own care; there are more in a circuit, embracing ten rural parishes of England, than there are to be found in possession of all the millions of labourers that inhabit the "lovely land:" when, lastly (not to suffer the provocation to urge me further), did you ever see or hear of an "*English slave*" *disowning the country of his birth*, and wherever found, and under whatever circumstances, not forward to proclaim himself an *Englishman*, and to boast of the honour of the name?

Now, Sir, avoiding, as something too painful to encounter, a detailed exhibition of the other side, do I ascribe the difference to the nature of the Irish people, to any *inherent vice* in them?

By no means. I ascribe it to the difference in the *treatment* received by the two people from their rulers. Not to anything *done* by England to Ireland; but to the former not having *compelled* the domestic rulers of the latter to treat the Irish working people as the English working people have been treated, during the last two centuries and a half; and particularly to its not having compelled the owners of the land in Ireland to leave enough of its produce in the several parishes, to provide for the wants of the destitute; as is effectually done in England and America by those famous poor-laws, which BLACKSTONE truly says, are "*founded in the very principles of civil society*;" but the unspeakable benefit of which you are now labouring, though, I trust, in vain, to prevent your ill-treated, unhappy, and ever-troubled country from receiving. I allow, that, as to this matter, your efforts have received but too much countenance from those of persons in this country, who have long and particularly since the publication of the book of the foolish and unfeeling MALTHUS, been endeavouring to chip away the meaning, intention, and effect of the poor-laws. SURGES BOURNE'S BILLS were a bold stroke; but, the inventors, when they look at the *awful consequences*, will find little reason to congratulate themselves on their success. Those bills have already cost them ten thousand times more than the bills would have saved them in a hundred years. In 1819, the present Lord Chancellor said, that he was "prepared to defend, to their utmost extent, the *principles of Malthus*" He has *pledged himself* to bring in a poor-law bill *this session*, to supplant, I suppose, the bill of Lord TERNHAM, which would in effect have repealed the hated bills of SURGES BOURNE, and have restored peace to the villages and hamlets. If the Lord Chancellor's Bill do not lessen the *extent of the claim* on the poor-rates, it will be a tacit giving up of MALTHUS; and, if it do, a bill to alter the succession to the crown would not be more *wild*! Oh, no! This law is immortal; it has lived under all changes of dynasty, and changes of forms of government, in England and in America; it is written in the hearts of the

people, it is "founded in the first principles of civil society;" it makes, if duly administered, even the poorest man feel that he has an interest in all the property around him; it is the ground, the good ground, the solid ground, but the *sole* ground, upon which the poor man is called upon to take up arms in defence of the rich; it is, as I said before, the bond of peace, and the cement of society; woe be unto those who shall attempt to destroy or enfeeble it in England, and the just reproach of mankind will in the end, be the inevitable lot of all who shall attempt to prevent its adoption in Ireland.

It was my intention to make some remarks on that part of your speech, where you speak of the *sort of reform* which you demand for Ireland, and where you clearly enough hint at the attempts which you shall make to cause a *separation*, if the intended reform be not such as *you shall deem "just;"* but, not having time to do justice to this subject now, and extremely anxious to act justly towards you, I must defer it till next week; and, in the meanwhile, offering you, if you deem it worth your while to use them for the purpose, the columns of my *Register* as a vehicle for *any reply* that you may choose to give to this letter, I remain, Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. The SIX MANCHESTER LECTURES, with a PREFACE, and with this letter to Mr. O'CONNELL subjoined, are just published, in a volume, price 2s. 6d. in boards. The book is to be had at my shop, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; of Mr. LEWIS, Manchester; Mr. THOMAS SMITH, Liverpool; Mr. WILCOXSON, Preston; and of all Booksellers in town and in the country. *

CHURCH REFORMER'S MAGAZINE.

THIS work (of which I insert the PROSPECTUS below), the first Number of which will appear on the 1st of FEBRUARY, I strongly recommend to

the attention of my readers. It will contain *precisely what we want*; namely, correct information with regard to the *uses* to which the TITHES, and the other immense mass of property, commonly called *Church Property*, are applied; for it will convey to us communications from all parts of the country on the subject; and, through its columns, we shall gather the wishes and intentions of each other, with regard to any measures of *co-operation* amongst us, which it may be necessary to adopt. The parish-officers in every parish in England and Wales ought to *take and preserve* this useful publication, which, while it meddles not at all, and does not wish to see meddled with, any of the *doctrines* of the church, or any of the *spiritualities*, properly so called, challenges all the world to show that the *Parliament* will not have a clear and undoubted right to resume and dispose of its *temporalities* in any way that it may think fit. Mr. EAGLE, in his learned and lucid pamphlet, has proved "the *tithes to belong to the public and the poor.*" This periodical work will enable us mutually to communicate to each other facts showing the *expediency* and the *justice* of the resumption; and also enable us to lay, and put in execution, plans of active, zealous, and effectual *co-operation*, for the purpose of inducing the *Reformed Parliament* to afford us *speedy redress*.

PROSPECTUS.

The plan of this publication has been suggested by the loud and incessant outcry which has been raised throughout England and Ireland for a reformation of the abuses of the Established Church, in respect to the temporal power, and the revenues of the Clergy, particularly tithes.

From the extraordinary and growing interest and anxiety which this very important question has excited in the public mind for some time past, and more especially since the rejection of the Reform Bill, and the eager desire for information respecting ecclesiastical affairs which is now manifested by persons of every rank in society, it is hoped that a favourable reception will be afforded to a periodical work exclusively devoted to the consideration of questions affecting the temporal establishment of the Church, and the laws by which it is regulated, without any reference to its spiritual doctrines, and containing full and

accurate intelligence of the various measures which are about to be brought before Parliament relative to tithes and other ecclesiastical matters, and of every other occurrence connected with the subject of church reform, and which is intended to exhibit such a faithful mirror of public opinion as will enable both the clergy and laity to discern the signs of the times.

The following is an outline of what are intended to form the principal contents of the work:—Original articles, and extracts from books of authority, relative to the nature, origin, and institution, of tithes and other temporalities of the Church; amount of Church Revenues, and their distribution; values of bishopricks, deaneries, prebends, and other spiritual livings and benefices, and salaries of stipendiary curates; temperate, but unparing exposures of the abuses of the Church generally, its enormous expenditure, useless dignities, sinecures, pluralities, &c. &c.; policy and expedience of the tithe system, and evils and abuses of the law of tithes, and digests of remarkable tithe cases recently decided in the courts of equity and law; local and personal grievances arising from non-residence of the clergy, vexatious and oppressive tithe suits and exactions of tithes, clerical magistracy, &c., as to which authentic communications are particularly requested; cases of hardship and oppression in the ecclesiastical courts, and their evils and abuses; abstracts of bills in Parliament for regulating tithes, &c., which will be strictly examined and commented upon, and their objects and tendency explained, and the debates on such bills; petitions to the two Houses of Parliament respecting tithes, &c., which, if copies be sent to the editor, will be printed at length, or abstracted, according to their importance; events of the preceding month, including debates in Parliament, speeches and proceedings at public meetings, political unions and other societies in England and Ireland, relating to ecclesiastical reform, tithes, &c.; reviews of recent publications on the same subjects.

REFORM BILL.

Manchester, 16th Jan. 1832.

EVERYBODY here, high and low, wish that the Reform Bill had made the suffrage not depend upon poor-rates paid by the voter himself; but had given the vote to every man renting a house, or part of a house, worth 10*l.* a year, and rated to the poor. But I everywhere hear of an anxious desire to see the bill go quietly into effect, and to give it a fair and patient trial; and, further, every one seems to feel that much is due to the Ministers, and espe-

cially to Lord GREY, on account of this measure. All expect, however, great changes from a Reformed Parliament; but every one seems to hope that Lord Grey will remain in power to accomplish them. I, indeed, describe my own wishes here; but I verily believe that it is the general wish in this great and very important town.

There are rumours of a paper-money scheme being on foot! And it appears evident enough that Lord Grey has but this choice: PAPER-MONEY, or my proposition of EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT. For his own fame's sake, as well as for the peace and safety of the country, I hope he will choose the latter; for the former must produce confusion, of which no man can foresee the end.

There is a newspaper here called the *Guardian*, which is twin-brother of the *Leeds Mercury*, which is called the "GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH." The former is carried on by one TAYLOR, the latter by one BAINES. Taylor has a lie or two about me every week, which are, I dare say, regularly put into the BLOODY OLD TIMES. The lies have, however, no effect here.

LETTER FROM LORD CLONCURRY TO MR. DWYER.

Lyons, Jan. 4, 1832.

SIR—Yesterday I received your letter of the 31st ult., calling my attention to the proceedings of a meeting that day, with the earnest suggestion of the meeting on the subject of an assembly of Irish Members of Parliament in Dublin, on the 9th inst., or some other day.

I see in the proceedings of the meeting that the proposal for such assembly is attributed by Mr. O'Connell to Mr. Grattan, a gentleman for whom, individually and by inheritance, I feel the highest degree of affection and respect; the proposal also accords very much with my own opinion, and was made by me in 1827, on the formation of "The Society for the Improvement of Ireland."

It is therefore necessary that I should state my reasons for now declining to attend such meeting. They are—

First—That I do not think that, under existing circumstances, such assembly could calmly deliberate or wisely debate the interests of the country, but rather that, under the influence of fear and terror, though with an

appearance of free-agency, it would aid Mr. O'Connell in either forcing him into office, or of drawing from our poor and generous people a farther portion of the wretched pittance remaining to them.

Secondly—It would, I fear, tend to widen the breach, so very painfully made by that gentleman, between man and man in Ireland.

Thirdly—Of those who attend, County Members will be supposed to do so only from fear of future elections, whilst those who do not attend will be subject to inquisition and insult, and no individual will be credited for disinterested free-agency and patriotism; in fact it would probably be an assembly to register the decrees of Mr. O'Connell, most of which have latterly had their origin in selfishness, in disordered excitement, or in bad passion.

It would also look like an attempt at dictation, and a desire to embarrass, at a most critical moment, the only Ministry that, in any time, has deserved the confidence of the country, and the anxious support of the friends of rational Government.

It is very painful to refuse the request of a meeting of Irishmen; it is very painful to me, loving Ireland as I do, to risk the slightest injury to her interests, by declaring my abhorrence of the present conduct of one with whom, and for whom, I have so often acted; but it is a paramount duty, and, under such circumstances, I must not shrink.

The best men of the country are driven into privacy or into banishment; those who attempt to think for themselves or to beg a moment's cessation from violence, are proscribed whether the triumph be reserved for Maudeville or O'Connell, the people, their friends, and the Government must perish!

As to the questions which will, I trust, be fairly debated and honourably supported in Parliament by all Irish Members and by the King's Ministers, I humbly but earnestly recommend a fair Reform Bill for Ireland, to secure a full, fair, and adequate representation of our people in Parliament, with just reference to their numbers, their rights, and their accurately ascertained contributions to the state. A provision for the poor, and for profitable labour levied on the land. These are the two chief and vital measures which do not admit delay. The entire nineteen Bills, recommended in 1830, deserve most serious attention—my opinions as to tithes were published in 1822, they do not, I believe, look selfish for a tithe-proprietor. The Subletting Act I would modify as far as it could be modified with justice to the small holders, and yet I am a landlord. The Grand Jury and the Vestry Laws I would abolish, and yet I am a country gentleman and a Protestant. What is just and right, an honest man should not be driven from by any personal feeling, by fear of danger or of undeserved reproach. The folly and ingratitude of O'Connell only affects me as it may injure our common coun-

try. I do not envy him his feelings, if he reflects on the false accusations he would insinuate against me. He lately asked me where I was, or what I was doing last year, when he was prosecuted? I answer, I was fighting for him with the law officers of the Crown, even to violent and personal altercation, in my endeavours to save him from punishment for an offence to which he had pleaded guilty. He insinuates that I ask favour from the great. I answer, that the only favour I ever asked for was for O'Connell, and through the Duke of Leinster, a man not to be shaken in his love for Ireland, his love of truth, and his love of noble independence.

I hope, and indeed I almost believe, that O'Connell forgets, when he states as facts, what he knows no rational being could believe—for instance, in his speech on Saturday last, to which you draw my attention, he asserts, on the pretended authority of Mr. Murphy, that *not one in one hundred and fifty* cattle are now slaughtered in Dublin that were before the Union. Will Mr. Murphy confirm this? or will O'Connell say why he makes free with the names of persons who have character to lose? He once put my name down for a Wellington tribute; shortly before he would have me lead the forty-shilling freeholders into rebellion, after having himself trafficked their rights for reasons he best knows. No man more earnestly joined me at one time in lamenting the injury done to themselves and to the country by the combining tradesmen; yet he soon after encouraged and excited combination to insult the best Chief Governor Ireland ever saw. He presided at a charity dinner of which I am patron, and omitted "The Health of the Chief Governor," the only one, in his station, who ever contributed to the charity. A few months ago he ordered his followers to clamour for "Repeal;" but when he hoped to be bought at his own price, he endeavoured to *bury* their opinions, and only let them breathe again when that hope was lost.

As to "Repeal" I was ever its warmest advocate, if I have ceased for one year to be so, it is because I relied on a patriot King and good Ministry to render it unnecessary, and because I know that O'Connell has rendered it impracticable; he has excited anger and revived party animosity; he has rendered us totally unfit for self-government, whilst his own opulous vacillate between American republicanism, and the dear-lamented despotism of France.

Let us hope for wiser counsel and for better times; I know no slavery so dreadful as the slavery of falsehood, denunciation and terror which O'Connell, in his disappointment, has endeavoured to excite—whether he wishes that the Government, overawed, should throw themselves into the arms of the Orangemen, that they should resign to the Tories, or that the people, excited to rebellion, should deliver themselves to slaughter, and their country to

despair, I know not; but I feel certain that the danger is only to be averted by the opposition of all good men to both factions; by their union in defence of order, and by a calm and respectful representation of our wants.

I do not yet despair of attention and redress—if either be delayed, the fault is theirs who use threats which a man of spirit cannot brook, and to which, if a Government yielded, it could not exist. The enemies of Ireland look anxiously, and with hope, to divisions, to bloodshed, and to oppression, renewed in all its horrors; let her friends unite for her defence and their own safety.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
James Dwyer, Esq. CLONCURRY.

LETTER FROM DR. DOYLE TO MR. O'CONNELL.

DEAR SIR,—There is now before me a report of your speech against a legal provision being made for the Irish poor, delivered by you at the Corn-exchange on Tuesday last. I have at present no hope of effecting another change in your opinions on this important subject; and if I allude to those which have taken place in your mind it is not by way of taunt or reproach, but to remind you, and the public also, that your judgment on this matter has not only vacillated, (and whatever vacillates is weak,) but that it has at different times, whilst the subject remained unchanged, determined itself not in different but in opposite ways. These changes, moreover, according to your own avowal, have not been the effect of heat, or passion, or of feeling of any sort; neither have they resulted from a want of meditation: they have been the fruit of long watchings and laborious reflection. I infer from this, and I say it with all due respect, that whether upon this subject you be right or wrong, you are not an authority to be followed; for authority, to be such, should be exempt from change. But if I despair of your reconversion to an earnest and eager approval of poor-laws (for all this was imported in a public letter in which you lately honoured me); and if I do not deem you an authority on this subject, why, it may be asked, do I now address you? I do so for the two following reasons: first, to prevent, as far as I can, that portion of the public, with whom your opinions are paramount, from being led into error by you; and, secondly, to set free from defamation that mode of relieving the Irish poor of which I myself, with many honest and able men, have been the consistent and unwearied advocates.

But before I proceed to the execution of this task, a task of no easy accomplishment, on account of the partialities and prepossessions linked to your name, I must settle with you a principle both of logic and morals. It is this: If a truth essentially connected with the duty of man to God and to his neighbour

be established, by the strongest and clearest proof of which any moral truth is susceptible, is it just in reason, or lawful in practice to put that truth in abeyance, to mortify it, to retard or annul its operation in the world, because the ignorance, or passions, or interests of men may be wounded by it, or raise objections to it; or, because, in its operation it may produce not only its own natural good effects, but also become, as Christ himself and his religion have become, an occasion of loss and scandal to many? Your heart, and conscience, and judgment would all recoil from thus keeping "truth captive in injustice." And yet do, I pray you, tell me, or rather tell the public, how you can, consistently with logic or morals, combat the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor, by arraying against it the inconveniences, real or imaginary, which you suppose, in your speeches, would result from it, whilst you leave untouched and unanswered, because they are unassailable and unanswerable, the arguments every day and every where employed by me and others,* to demonstrate the just, the natural, the indefeasible rights of the poor to the necessities of life in the land which gave them birth? Do, I pray you, answer this question?

All theory and declamation is vain before right reason and before God, however it may seduce the senate or the multitude, if it be not based on unchangeable justice. When abstract propositions or moral questions are doubtful, we may try the former by an induction to some absurdity, and the latter by showing that, if admitted, it would subvert natural morals; but when a truth is proved *a priori*, when we can point out a clear and necessary connexion between any given proposition and some indubitable principle from which it flows, its truth should be admitted, and all the real genuine consequences of it freely embraced.

Thus, if it be proved, and I contend it has been proved, that from the attributes of God, the nature of man, and the admitted principles upon which all society is founded,—if it be proved from these that the poor, in every civilized state, should be rescued at the public expense from the pressure of extreme want, it is an error against reason, it is a crime against morality, and an impiety against God, to leave them to perish, or to withhold from them the necessities of life; and to abet such withholding, by arguments deduced from abuses which arise not from poor-laws, but from the ignorance, or frailty, or malice of men, is to abet crime, uphold error, and offend God. This is strong language, but it is the only sword that can be drawn from its sheath in the cause of the poor, against a world which has no God but Mammon, or which, to use the cutting phrase of the Apostle, is all placed

* See Cobbett's "Poor Man's Friend," an admirable work; and Mr. Sadler's speeches on this subject, in the House of Commons.

or buried in malignity. I now come to examine your speech, a speech not of many words and little thought, as speeches generally are, but a speech of great ability, in which are compressed and well connected the common-place objections against the English poor-laws.

When the Virgin Mother of Christ, at Cana, in Gallilee, asked her Son to change water into wine to relieve the embarrassment of an excellent family, our Lord replied in substance, "What are their affairs to us?" In advocating the cause of the poor, whom this Lord has made the heirs of his kingdom, I may well apply his thought, and say of the English poor-laws, "What are their abuses to us?" Yes; and I can justly remonstrate with you and say, for what reason, with what candour, with what regard to an honest investigation of the question, can you parade before us the supposed abuses of the English poor laws, when discussing the principle of a legal provision for our poor? In thus acting, you defame our views, you malign our purpose, you misrepresent to the public our whole plan and system of relief for the Irish poor. This is what I deprecate, and is a mode of opposition from which your nature honestly should recoil. But then you know of no one who has hitherto produced a plan of poor-law for Ireland, which guarded against the abuse you enumerate.

Your avocations, 'tis true, are many, and though endowed with almost super-human powers of application, you may not have read so much as you have thought upon this subject. But leaving out of view the several plans for relieving our poor, devised and published by many eminent individuals within the last few years, all and each of which did provide guards against many abuses prevailing in England, how did it happen that the bill for the relief of the Irish poor, brought into the last Parliament by Wm. Smith O'Brien, Esq., and that introduced by the hon. and patriotic Member for the County Wicklow, to the present Parliament, both printed by order of the House of Commons, escaped your notice? I say nothing of my own views upon this subject as given in evidence before a committee, of which you were a member—views to which you lately professed yourself a convert, and which, if they had any merit, that merit consisted in their keeping altogether clear of the abuses complained of in the English system of poor-laws. Mr. O'Brien's bill kept clear of those abuses; so did that of Mr. Grattan. I speak not of the merits of those bills in any other respect, but they offered you a plan of relief, from which the abuses which terrify you, and I fear affect your judgment, might be or were effectually excluded. Where, then, is the candour, I will not say where is the honesty, of the argument, that no man has hitherto produced to you any plan to which all the common-place objections to the English poor-laws are not applicable?

Your favourite objection, that which you have

most frequently brought forward, or alluded to, is the supposed connexion between poor-laws and the deprivation of female virtue. Here you touch a string that vibrates in the heart of every Irishman; perhaps in few of them more loudly than in mine. But I have once before invited you to point out to me this necessary connexion which you suppose to exist between a system of relief for our poor, such as I contemplate, and the impairing of the public virtue of our females. You have never pointed out this connexion. I believe you could not do it. I have looked at it in all points of view, and could not discover it. Produce your argument, and I undertake to refute it.

Another topic addressed by you to the innate justice of Irishmen, to turn that virtue against the poor, is "that some people are always ready to exercise charity by putting their hands into their neighbours' pockets." What is meant by this? I propose that the solvent inhabitants of every parish elect, annually, a number of rate-payers, to be at once the trustees of the poor and of the parish, with power to compel the absentee, the miser, and the hard-hearted, to share the burdens which now fall exclusively on the benevolent and humane. And you call this "putting them and of a hypocrite into the pocket of his industrious neighbour, and acquitting himself of the theft by pleading 'charity!'" Oh! Justice, what folly—nay, what crimes are committed in thy name!

You object to the English Law of Settlement, and to all the litigation and hardships consequent thereon; and you parade this objection whilst you could recollect, if your memory fail not, that all these hardships and litigation would be avoided by substituting what I proposed as a necessary title to relief, "an industrious residence of three years,"—a title borrowed from the Justinian Code, and for ages past in use in Scotland.

In like manner, you object to what in some parts of England, but only in some parts, is deemed a great abuse, to wit, "the partial payment of wages out of the poor-rate." Mr. Slaney, member for Shrewsbury, will inform you, if he has not done so, that this abuse, if such it be, has arisen in England within the last thirty years, and a clause of fifty words in any act for the relief of our poor, would render the introduction of this abuse into Ireland impossible.

It could find no place in a plan such as that suggested by me, unless it was voluntarily adopted by the rate-payers of a parish. And yet you threaten Ireland with this imaginary scourge!

Again, you depict the horrors of a poor-house, and the abandonment of parents by their children.

I thought you had relinquished this theme, which ought to be left to your retainers, like that other of "drying up the source of benevolence in the Irish heart," if mendicancy, and vagrancy, and all their concomitant frauds,

and vices, and crimes, did not continue to feed the lamp of human charity in the Christian soul.

What man, let me ask, in or out of Ireland, contemplates the erection and support of parish workhouses in this country? You might as well tell the public, that poor-laws would oblige them to erect pagodas for the Indian gods.

But if there be no work-houses or poor-houses in a parish, and that no separation of children from their parents, or of parents from their children can thus be made, will the son or daughter-in-law be less kind or courteous to the aged mother, because the elders of her parish—the witnesses of her well-spent years—may think proper annually to bestow on her a suit of clothing, or afford her some slender comfort in the decline of life?

Ah! to collect the public hatred and precipitate it on an institution, if realized, which would nurse, and aid, and comfort all the virtues of the poor, and stand as a watchman to detect and punish vice, to act thus, whether willingly or unwillingly is an office, which, would to Heaven! you had never discharged.

But then you fear that the poor man, confiding in the legal relief to be secured to him in his old age, would be improvident in his youth, and expend in the ale-house what he now, through fear of future want, is careful to hoard. In England, where poor-laws exist, numberless societies of even the labouring classes, formed for the support of their respective members in times of distress are also found. But in Ireland, where the strong stimulus to hoarding or associating, which you imagine grows out of the present enviable state of our poor, no such society exists. How barren of good then must your provident principle appear, whereas it bears no fruit. But irony apart. Do, I pray you, reflect a little more on the state of our poor, and the causes of their improvidence and recklessness in youth and manhood. Do not impute to them virtues which they have not. Neither are they to be condemned for vices which are not their own, but which have been engrafted on them. You would wish to see them happy and industrious: and yet you defame by unmerited imputations a system of relief which would give them a country and a home—which would place them under the protection of the law—which would compel, by the strong motive of self-interest, their task-masters to employ and feed them—a system which in fact would raise them from a state of slavery and consequent barbarity to a state of civilization, and to the possession of some human right.

You would, forsooth! relieve the sick by drugs, provide a surgeon, and an asylum for the man whose limb was broken; but you would let the widow perish, and the orphan starve, and the aged to look only to Heaven, or live upon the unbroken sympathies of the "Irish heart."

Why, Sir, in such a system I can discover

neither philosophy, nor religion, nor reason of any sort. By what argument do you pretend to recommend it to the common sense of men? Upon what principles of morals is it based? What maxim of right reason does it rest on? What social or political truth is brought into operation by it? It is a day-dream, or an *improvisato* issuing from the tongue, and having in it but a chance thought. The men who, for centuries, have abandoned the poor of Ireland to hunger and despair were consistent; for they wished, if it were possible, to extirpate the race, and setting God and his laws at defiance, they enacted and upheld a system whose root was in hell, and which drew its nourishment from an atmosphere of blood. So Cobbett, and his name is a host, and his reason is unparalleled for strength; he, and those who think with him, are consistent when they would extend the 43d of Elizabeth without any modification to Ireland, and thus give to every man, whether able-bodied or disabled, a right to support. These men also are consistent.

In like manner I am myself, pardon the egotism; I am consistent; I recognise the law of nature which entitles every member of society to be supplied with the necessaries of life. I propose to place in every parish this principle as a sacred deposit in the safe keeping of a committee composed of clergymen, the official guardians of the poor, and of laymen, the owners and guardians of property, with a joint power derived from the whole people, and to be renewed annually, to judge without appeal in all cases of distress, and to minister relief at the common expense, to every soul that thirsts and hungers and can find no support.

Knowing the slender means of the industrious portion of my countrymen, I propose to relieve them of much of their present burden, and place it on the shoulders of the absent or ungrateful owners of the soil; I propose to exclude from relief, except in times of extraordinary distress, those who are able to work, because I know the improvements which can instantly be commenced in the soil and navigation of Ireland would give employment to all her industrious people. And, finally, I propose to enable parishes to assist emigration, because I wish my plan of relief to be permanent, and that, though, for fifty years to come, all our youth could be located usefully on lands to be reclaimed, yet a time will arrive when a well-regulated system of emigration would be the most natural and salutary relief for our coming superabundant population. There is consistency in all this; and, if I be not deceived, there is also in it a peculiar fitness for the state and circumstances of this country. I have stated in my letter to Mr. Spring Rice the arguments brought against me. I stated them candidly and honestly, and I answered them even to your satisfaction. I replied in that little work to every objection advanced by you in your present speech, and yet you adduce those objec-

tions as if you never had heard of the replies to them, of which you yourself approved. Sir, I think even victory is too dearly bought, when to obtain it men have recourse to stratagems not sanctioned by the rules of warfare which nations recognise. 'Tis so in argument. Disprove what we advance, but do not misrepresent our views, or cloud the vulgar vision by irrelevant and oft-refuted objections.

You claim for the poor their legal and equitable portion of church-property, especially of tithes. In this we are agreed, nor is any honest man opposed to us; but even this property of the aged and infirm, of the widow, the stranger, and the orphan, you would take from them to buy drugs and support infirmaries. I would, on the contrary, have it deposited with the committee of each parish, to be expended by them on the poor before any assessment on the property of the parishioners could be levied.

Be yourself the judge between my opinion and your own.

You are unwilling that the question of poor-laws should be introduced, whilst that of reform is undecided. The observation is scarcely just, considering the state of our poor, with a plague impending, and the question of church-property, intimately connected with that of poor-laws, already before Parliament at the instance of the King; but, though other persons should recommend us to "wait awhile," we ought not to hear that hated phrase pronounced by you.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

Carlton, Jan. 6, 1832.

J. DOYLE.

LETTER FROM MR. O'CONNELL TO THE EDITOR OF THE PILOT.

He stood alone—a Renegade!
Against the country he betrayed—

Nor grace, nor pity moved him;
No—
Without a hope from mercy's aid,
And to the last—a RENEGADE.

Merrion-square, 13th January, 1832.

SIR,—I often told you I was the best-abused man in the world; and I believe you will allow that upon no occasion of my life did it ever happen to me to be more accurate in this boast. I am abused by Whigs and Tories—Biblical and Unitarians—real bigots and self-styled liberals—the press and the pulpit—a Catholic Prelate, and various Orange dignitaries—corporators, declarators, and renegades—lords and knaves—and the non-descript mixture of both. In short, I am the best-abused man in the universe.

I have committed one crime not likely to be forgiven; I have annihilated the cheap reputation for patriotism, which was so easily

acquired by a hollow pretence of being favourable to "our Catholic countrymen." All the advantage of that cant is gone by. I do commit another crime, not to be pardoned in this world or the next: I prefer Ireland to the beloved Anglesea—to the promise-breaking Whigs—nay, to England, and the world.

How glad I am that we are emancipated. There is, indeed, one especial cause which I have to rejoice at emancipation. Whilst we were struggling to attain freedom of conscience, it was exceedingly difficult to obtain support or co-operation. We were forced to hail with rapture every approach to Protestant liberality. We were almost compelled to load with praise every Protestant who joined us for one hour. Why, I myself was driven to give something approaching to approbation to Lord Westmeath. Heaven help me! And as to Lord Cloncurry, I am ashamed to say how often I spoke and wrote praisingly of him. I certainly deserve to be punished for it—and if anything such a man may write against me, could be deemed a punishment, I really do merit that he should attack me, whether he be quite sober, or a little beyond that mark.

Emancipation enabled us to see things in their proper point of view; and that exaggeration which, in the warmth of the contest, was so natural, and almost inevitable, disappeared, and we began to see objects in their real colours and of their real dimensions. The patriotism of the class of Westmeaths totally vanished, and the mongrel virtue of the Cloncurrys exhibited more than one feature of its natural deformity. I really more rejoice at our delivery from false friendship than from political degradation and inferiority.

These reflections bring me to Lord Cloncurry's last attack upon me. It has acquired an undue importance, by my friend Mr. Dwyer condescending to give it any species of reply. It is, after all, nothing more than a tissue of egotistical ribaldry, without wit or humour; showing a great inclination to be scurrilous without the talent to be severe; exhibiting much mortification and ill-temper, with a sovereign contempt for veracity. It is, indeed, a composition in every respect beneath my notice.

Nor should I be justified in throwing away a second thought upon it but for two reasons. The first is, that I myself had given a fictitious importance to the man; and, secondly, that there is about him still remaining, perhaps just so much of pretension to patriotism as may give him the power to continue to do some small mischief to the glorious cause of the constitutional independence of Ireland. He has, indeed, the singular and almost incredible boldness still to call himself a repealer of the Union. There is a specimen of lordly veracity for you!!!

It is quite true that I have for some time felt it my duty to deprive him, as far as I could, of the capacity to injure the cause of justice and liberty in Ireland. It was to me a melancholy reflection that I had contributed to give him that power which I discovered he

was abusing for his own selfish purposes. I determined to take it from him the moment I should detect him in an overt act of national mischief. I had not long to wait for it. The last reform meeting at Kilmalsham gave him the first unshackled opportunity to evince the inherent sycophancy of his disposition, to show how hollow were his pretences to Irish patriotism, and how sincere his readiness to join in the cry and yelp in the pack of the long-trained defamers of Ireland.

I immediately took my stand—I canvassed the speech he made at that meeting—I found that it contained a most unfounded charge against myself; but, what was indeed infinitely worse, that it included a deplorable calumny against the people of Ireland—of nothing less than a proneness to assassination. I showed that it praised *all, all* that had been done in Ireland for the last year, and threw all the weight of the speaker into the scale of the proclaimers; yeomanry-armers—prosecutors—Orange Lord Lieutenant-makers—and Irish independence-haters, of the present administration.

It is quite familiar that any delinquent detected in his crime, avenges himself by pouring vituperation upon his captors. Accordingly, Lord Cloncurry assails me with all the ill temper, and in precisely the same language, and the very same style, that one would expect only from a pickpocket, caught in the act, or a detected practitioner of petty larceny.

Amidst the figures of an eloquence of that description, his letter accuses me of having “insinuated false charges against him.”

This is a total mistake—I insinuated nothing—I made direct and pointed charges—and those charges, instead of being false, were perfectly true and accurate in all their particulars.

This, after all, is the important point in controversy between us. Lord Cloncurry was, in my opinion, endeavouring to delude the people, and to practise on public credulity, for the most mischievous purposes. He might succeed, if his genial and real motives were not exposed. It was on this account alone that I made my charges. He says those charges are false—I assert that they are literally true. Let the public judge between us. This is the important, indeed the vital part of the case.

My charges were these: I said to him—“Cloncurry, you can no longer deceive me; you can no longer deceive the public; I thought your patriotism the patriotism of principle; I find it was merely the patriotism of position. Cloncurry, you shall no longer deceive the public.”

Your position in society alone compelled you, most reluctantly as I now believe, to join the popular cause; you were shunned by the persons in power, who believed you guilty of the sin of loving Ireland. I am now convinced they wronged you much. Had they but thought it worth their while to adopt the

course Lord Anglesea has followed towards you, they would have found, and Ireland would have seen, without regret, upon what cheap terms you might have been purchased. But some men in power hated; others, I care not why, despised you, and all avoided and shunned you.

In this position you were driven to join the ranks of the people; you really had no alternative. You were surrounded by a few sycophants; you had but one disinterested friend in your political career; I sustained you with all the energy of my faculties and all the weight of my popularity;—it is meet you should reward me with all the mean malignity of a pitiful and shabby ingratitude.

But that, in point of fact, your patriotism was mere pretence—that it arose from position and not from principle, is demonstrated from this, that the moment the castle gates were open to you—the instant an opponent of Irish freedom and of the first principles of popular liberty gave you an opportunity to desert, with a prospect of gratifying your vanity and indulging your ambition, that very instant you abandoned your old colours; you struck the green flag; you donned the Windsor uniform; you deserted your old allies; and, with all the rancour of a renegade, you persecute, as far as your capacity—bless the mark!—allows, those who alone contributed to give you that importance which induced the Irish government—I may, indeed, say, enabled them—to offer you the bait; (bribe would, perhaps, be more apposite, though not quite so genteel a word)—of an English peerage.

I arraigned that desertion—I charged you with it as a political crime of the first magnitude—I pointed out the contrast between your former career, of more than ordinary popular excitement, and your present complaisant servility—I showed that you, at least, were without excuse in becoming the pliant instrument of any administration.

I showed that you were substantially the most violent of us all; you were an uncompromising radical of the first water. Annual parliaments, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, first principles of popular liberty, no compromise, no mitigation; nay, no forgiveness for those who would presume to compromise, or to look for substantial freedom through any mitigation or postponement of what you called first principles.

When we were violent, you actually approached to the seditious. When we were more intemperate, still you out-capped the climax, by boasting (as you, indeed, did at the last Kilmalsham meeting) of your oath of a United Irishman, and thus approached to the precincts of high treason.

As to the repeal of the Union, why you were the most decided, unremitting, inveterate repealer. Nothing but the repeal would, could, or should save Ireland. Everything was trivial; everything was contemptible. Emancipation was insignificant; reform of little importance. The repeal, and nothing

short of the repeal, was your watchword and your cry.

Cloucurry—alas for poor human nature! You were treacherous and insincere then, as you are both scurrilous and sycophantic now. I will demonstrate the extent of your treachery before I have done.

But thus you put yourself forward; decided radical—out-and-out reformer—exaggerated democrat—inveterate repealer.

And yet—and yet—the moment Lord Anglesea arrived, you abandoned all your professions—you threw overboard all your principles—you flung your affected love of Ireland to the winds, and you deserted bag and baggage. Joy be with you!

Lord Anglesea proclaimed tranquil and constitutional meetings; you applauded the beloved Anglesey. He proclaimed again—you joined his private and public parties. He proclaimed again—you feasted him in honour of his proclamations. Well done, radical!

He named an able man, but of the high Orange and exclusive class of the highest order, Mr. Joy, to the important office of Chief Baron—you clapped your hands with delight. He selected Mr. Dogherty, who prosecuted for Borris-o'-kane and Doneraile, to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, you shouted for joy. He selected Mr. Blackburn from the ranks of the inveterate opposers of religious liberty, to be his Attorney-General—nothing could exceed your pleasure. Well done, reformer!

Lord Anglesea carried the spirit of the Algerine Act beyond its letter; he caused your old friends and companions to be arrested by the common thief-takers, and dragged, as if they were felons, to the receptacles of the most depraved criminals—you still debauched the beloved Anglesea with the slime of your praise. Well done, democrat!

Lord Anglesea prosecuted those who peaceably and tranquilly sought for the repeal; he pressed the prosecution with a seal and alacrity deserving neither of approbation or imitation; his attorney struck off the jury-list the names of Mr. Guinness, a Governor of the Bank, and of Alderman M'Kenny. This was so just and liberal, upon the trial of repealers, that you, as of course, continued your flattery, your praise, your support of the prosecuting Government. Well done, repealer!

But my charges against you were not confined to your conduct during the promotions (these, indeed, still continue), proclamations, and prosecutions. You have continued, and you do continue to this day, the consistent renegade of every principle you before advocated.

Lord Anglesea re-armed the Orange yeomanry—he is still your beloved Anglesea. The carcasses of the slaughtered people strewed the streets of Castlepollard; not one of the police who shed that blood has been dismissed from that day to this—he is still your beloved Anglesea. The plain of Newtownbarry flowed with human blood; a massacre as deplorable

as was ever wept over by human eye was perpetrated in the face of day. There is not one of that—even of that yeomanry disarmed. Captain Graham is still in the commission of the peace, and yet Lord Anglesea is your beloved Anglesey!

Lord Lorton is Lieutenant of Roscommon; Lord Enniskillen is Lieutenant of Fermanagh; Lord Caledon of Tyrone; Lord Forbes of Longford; Lord Wicklow of Wicklow. Why need I continue? Did you ever before hear of an administration that had the combined weakness and wickedness to give power to their enemies, and not only insult but injure their supporters? Yet this is just the administration for you to support.

Are you ignorant—you cannot be—of the current of appointments in the church? Of that, indeed, you cannot be ignorant. There is one liberal appointment of which you cannot be ignorant. The living of Navan is worth, they say, from 800*l.* to 900*l.* a-year. I hope it is worth more. A worthy gentleman, your brother-in-law has lately got it; but you, assuredly you are the most disinterested of the human race—and yet do you know, I shrewdly conjecture that if you had continued a repealer, like myself, the merits of your brother-in-law—and they are considerable—would not have been discovered.

But why should I mince the matter? Is it for nothing you cringe and fawn on power, and traduce the friends of Ireland? No; you have had your own BRIBE; an English peerage is no small matter to those amongst whom you live and move. You should really keep yourself quiet. Remember the homely adage—“Eat your pudding, slave, and hold your tongue.”

You have no right to assail unbribed men. We may be mistaken, but we certainly are not earning the wages of our political prostitution. Look to yourself, Lord Cloucurry. You, at least, (I speak moderately,) are *not* disinterested.

You talk of my forcing myself on the government. Of that more presently. I say it was I forced you on the government. It was I got you your English peerage. This may be called a vain boast. There is no vanity at all in it; on the contrary, it is a thing I am heartily ashamed of. Neither is it at all a boast; it is literally true. Why, I appeal to any man of common sense—I even appeal to yourself, in a calm and dispassionate moment, and, making every allowance for your own self-love, I venture to ask even you, what there was or is about you, to render it *safe*—I go that length—or, at least, to render it prudent—in other words, what is it that could possibly induce the British minister to give you a British peerage? How could he select you from amongst the Irish peers, to give you an English peerage? How could he pass over so many high and historic names? How could he pass over so many ancient families, and persons of stainless lives, to dive down to the bottom of the catalogue, and fish you up

from the miry depth? How? Lord Cloncurry, how? Why, is it not as plain as the sun at noon day, that the popular party gave you a fictitious importance; an erroneous and fallacious elevation? We made others imagine that which we were ourselves beginning to doubt, that you were of consequence to the popular cause; and, upon the old principle of BRINGING OFF everything that might serve the cause of Irish independence; upon the equally familiar practice of creating a division in the camp of those deemed the friends of Ireland, it became safe and prudent, and worldly wise, to give you your present elevation amidst proud England's proud peers.

At the fatal period of the Union, one of the lucky family of the Alexanders was determined, by cogent reasons, quite intelligible to you, Lord Cloncurry, to vote for the Union. He was surrounded by many friends, who anxiously implored him not to be a party to that suicidal act. It was all in vain. They argued with him; they showed him the misery, the degradation, the ruin, that measure must bring on Ireland; he continued obdurate. At length one of them, almost in tears, exclaimed, "And after all, my dear Harry, will you, oh! will you SELL YOUR COUNTRY?"

"Sell my country!" replied Harry, "sell my country! aye, that I will, and RIGHT GLAD I AM TO HAVE A COUNTRY TO SELL!!!"

You, my Lord, are not so candid as poor Harry; but we gave you a country to sell, and right rapidly and unequivocally have you sold it. Shall I now congratulate you on receiving the wages of your sin and shame?

Before I proceed to brush off, with light and fastidious hand, the contents of that vial of filth which your letter contained, I have deemed it right thus to trace our quarrel to its origin, and to show that if I gave you popular support whilst you were the apparent friend of Ireland, and even lingered by your side, whilst your desertion of all public principle was not quite notorious, so have I abandoned you to the contempt and disgust of our countrymen—the moment you took the last decisive step, that left no possibility of return. This, as I said before, you did at the late reform meeting at Kilmahnam, where you placed yourself in a situation beyond the pale of political redemption. You there basely—I can use no softer word—traduced the people of Ireland, as being assassins; and you, with equal injustice, covered with the slaver of your promiscuous praise all that this administration has done, committed, and omitted in Ireland.

From these charges you have not defended yourself. In that you showed your wisdom—it would have been impossible for you to have attempted a defence, without exposing your conduct to still greater reprobation. Instead of doing so, you endeavour, according to the French phrase—; you call me a traitor, and you will, therefore, pardon a Gallic hom—; you endeavour to "give the change," and, to escape under the cover of the term

you have striven to raise against me—but it is a storm in a mere puddle, and, although it may scatter some dirt, it is quite incapable of doing me any permanent injury.

I think it will be admitted that there never was a more violent, vulgar, and almost rabid attack than that made upon me in your letter to Mr. Dwyer. The language was of the most coarse kind—it was perfect scolding—and yet, you are just the man to exclaim that I am making use of abusive language against you. You and others will exclaim against the necessity, and, indeed, inevitable (I would avoid it if I possibly could) harshness of the language of this, which, under the circumstances, I distinctly assert is too temperate a reply.

I will, however, analyse your ribaldry in another letter—and I confidently claim from my countrymen to anticipate my triumphant refutation of every charge that ribaldry involves; and, indeed, I will show that much of that which to the eye of a courtly sycophant appears a crime, is an object of merit and approbation to the independent and the good.

But before I go into my contemptuous, but competent defence, I must establish another charge I brought against you. It is that of your deliberate treachery to the Catholic Association. I shall demonstrate that you joined that body for the purpose of betraying it, and of paralysing and rendering abortive our exertions in favour of religious freedom. I pledge myself to render, as plain as the sun at noon day, this your treachery and duplicity.

I thought, at the time, that your conduct was the result of mere folly, or of the indulgence of a puerile but honest vanity. Your recent conduct has, however, put that matter out of all doubt. It has not only changed the appearance and colour of your conduct then, but it has, at the same time, proved substantially, and indeed to demonstration, that you deliberately aimed the most deep and dangerous stab at the vitals of the cause of civil and religious liberty in Ireland.

The second letter shall contain the full development of your scheme to prevent the possibility of our attaining emancipation. My third will, with as much of gaiety and gladness of indignant scorn, repel and refute the charges you have so indecently brought against me.

It is true that it is an object to those who are for refusing justice to Ireland, to lessen my influence by assailing my character. I never started for Parliament, that I was not just at that actual moment pelted by all manner of threats, insinuations, and calumnies. You, my noble Lord, I do heartily defy. Whilst I was ignorant of your real impulses, you might have been dangerous. Believe me, you are now quite innocuous.

If you had diminished my utility, you would have earned another step in the peerage, and earned it amply. As it is, you only expose yourself and your employers. They have shot their bolt. The proverb says, "The un-

wise man's bolt is soon shot." Their quiver is exhausted; invention of a higher order of malignity than yours must be resorted to in their next effort. For my part, my consolation and my pride is, that every attack of this kind is a new proof to me that I am deemed at least honest and sincere in the cause of Ireland.

For you, my Lord, I commend you to your "renegade's" pillow. You have violently, and in vulgar language, traduced an honest man. It was part and parcel of your compact. Enjoy all its advantages until you have the honour of hearing again from me.

I have but one real cause of anger with you; it is that you did not assail me when I had something more of leisure to reply. Really, my good Lord, it was unkind to trespass on the scanty moments that are left me. However, hurried as I am, I will endeavour to complete your business before my departure.

I am, Mr. Editor,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PUNISHMENTS OF RICH AND POOR COMPARED.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 26, 1831.)

"In the corrupted currents of this world,
Offence's gilded hand may shove by Justice."
SHAKESPEARE.

EARL MAR has been convicted of the assault of discharging a gun in the direction of a person named Oldham, with whom his Lordship had had a very abusive altercation. The Judges on the occasion made a prodigious parade of the evenness of justice. Lord Gillies observed—

"This is a distressing and painful case: a case peculiar in its circumstances, and in the high rank of the parties. Here is a young nobleman distinguished for high honour and gallantry—the representative of one of our most ancient noble families—convicted of a crime!"

We thus see that distinction for high honour and gallantry is in no degree disturbed by conviction of ruffianly conduct.

The sentence, after all this clucking, was two months' imprisonment, and security for 5,000*l.* to keep the peace for five years. We will not say that the punishment is too lenient, for we advocate moderate punishments, and think the tendency to be corrected is to excess; but compare this punishment of an Earl in Scotland with the punishments common in England. Children, for stealing a few apples, have been sentenced to a longer term of imprisonment! On the other hand, the son of a distinguished conservative peer, one of the personages so vehemently anxious about property, and another slip of quality, who amused themselves by driving about the neighbourhood of London, and breaking glasses or wounding persons with discharges from an air-gun—recklessly risking the destruction of

sight, and inflicting painful wounds, as well as causing much terror—these patrician offenders were fined ten pounds each by the magistrates, and discharged! The hire for post-horses for each day's pleasure in cruelty must have cost them half that sum. How different would have been the sentence on a poor ruffian for the same offence—how different *will* be the punishment of offences of the like wanton sort at Bristol! And of this class are the conservators of property, and the declaimers against outrage—the Harrowbys and the Bathursts, whose names are borne by the gentlemen to whom we have alluded.—*Examiner.*

COTTON ALMANACKS.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, Dec. 21, 1831.)

GUH DHAL. — Yesterday, Mr. RICHARD CARLILE, jun. was brought before Mr. Alderman KELLY, &c, charged with having printed and published almanacks on cotton, at his house in Fleet-street.

Mr. ALLEY appeared on behalf of the Commissioners of Stamps.

Henry Goddard, a police officer of Marlborough-street, deposed to his having bought two dozen of these almanacks on the 18th of December, at 5*d.* each.

James Wintle and others deposed to their having bought similar almanacks from Mr. Carlile at his shop.

Mr. ALLEY, on behalf of the prosecution, referred principally to the 9th of Anne, ch. 23, sect. 27, which imposes a duty on parchment, vellum, and paper, and a penalty of 10*l.* on every one evading or infringing the act—he referred to the 10th of Anne, cap. 19, sect. 172, which principally mitigates the penalty, and modifies some particulars of the former act—and to the 36th of George 3, cap. 85, sect. 4, which imposes a similar duty and penalty not only on the parchment, and vellum, and paper, but on all other materials used for a similar purpose. There were 24 informations against Mr. Carlile, so that the penalty would be 240*l.*

On behalf of the defendant, Mr. HIBBERT contended, that the information, or description in the summons was false, and that the defendant did not reside in the parish specified. This objection was overruled; for though a misstatement might be invalidated in an indictment, it was nugatory in an information. Mr. Hibbert then contended, that the act specified printers, and that Mr. Carlile was not a printer; besides, he was a minor, and was only employed by another. These objections being also overruled, Mr. Hibbert pleaded the general issue, and contended, that the 1st of William IV., cap. 17, entitled "An Act to repeal the Duties and Drawbacks on Printed Calicoes, Linens, and Stuffs," did, to all intents and purposes, exempt Mr. Carlile; for it was in that act particularly specified, that from the 1st of March last, all the duties

and drawbacks on all calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, whether printed, or stained, or painted, or dyed, in Great Britain, shall cease, and be no longer chargeable; and that this act was applicable in the present case; for the almanacks were each a piece, and only a piece, of printed calico, that is, a figured stuff made of cotton and other materials mixed, and therefore, according to the strict meaning and letter of the act, the almanacks were not amenable to any duties or drawbacks, and the act is a general act, without any exception.

Mr. ALLEY contended that the act was inapplicable in the present instance; for that act related solely to the *duties of excise*, but the present action was on the subject and duties of stamps, and there was no law that exempted printed almanacks (or any matter subjected to the liability of stamp duty) from the operation of that act. The duties of excise and of stamps are different, and subjected to very different regulations.

Mr. ALLEY was continuing the examination of other witnesses who had purchased the almanacks, some of which were produced before the magistrate, but he suddenly ceased when he had proved his case, that the almanacks had been sold by Mr. Carlile, and that they were amenable to the stamp, though not to the excise duties. He said, his object was not so much for the penalties (which, in the present case, he would make amount to 240l. from the twenty-four almanacks), but to stop the practice of vending or publishing contrary to the laws. And, as he believed Mr. Carlile was in error, from supposing that the almanacks, as cotton or printed calicoes, were exempted from the stamp, as they had been exempted from the excise duties, he was willing, on his own responsibility, to stop the proceedings and informations at present, provided young Carlile would promise to stop publishing and vending them. But, in the interim, he considered it necessary that Mr. Carlile should petition the Commissioners of Stamps to that effect, and he himself would not interfere in any manner to prevent any leniency or exemption being final.

On the promise of Mr. Carlile not to vend personally, Mr. ALLEY said, it was necessary that the publications should not be vended at all, either by himself personally, or by any employed by him.

Mr. HIBBERT contended Mr. Carlile was a minor, and could not employ, particularly as he was only employed himself; and he could not personally be responsible for the publication by any other in the shop.

Mr. ALLEY said that he suspended the prosecution solely on the condition that the publication would be suppressed. If it was ever renewed, the present informations would be renewed, and the consequent penalties exacted; but he hoped Mr. Carlile, *sen.*, would have the discretion and good sense to forbear publishing when he finds the forbearance now extended to him, and that in future he must

be aware that he is breaking the law by publishing such almanacks. With the permission, therefore, of the magistrates, he would not issue a distrant warrant for a fortnight, and would suspend the proceedings *ad interim*.

Mr. Carlile was then discharged *without bail on these conditions*.

No. VII.

HISTORY

OF THE

REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM CORBETT.

(Continued from No. 8, col. 508. Fol. 73.)

134. Thus were the Whigs once more turned out, or rather kept out, on the barren common, while their rivals were fattening in the dank pastures of war and taxation. But, PERCEVAL had left several very troublesome legacies behind him. He had, indeed, left a very valuable legacy to his successors; namely, THE BOOK, and all the secrets connected with the has been before shown, that it was this grand secret that first made him minister; that it was it which preserved his place when the PRINCE became regent, with limited powers; that it still made him prime minister when the Prince became possessed of all the kingly powers, and that (general convulsion out of the question) it must have made him minister for the joint lives of himself and the Prince Regent, whether he were regent or king. But this secret was not less valuable to his successors than to himself. They, in stepping into the possession of his power, stepped also into the possession of the source of that power. The PRINCESS was still alive; she might, at any day, be brought forward; there was, as we shall see by-and-by, a very general claim putting forward for her by the people, who were beginning to insist that she ought to be styled the PRINCESS REGENT, and to hold her courts accordingly. If, therefore, LIVERPOOL, ELDON, SIDMOUTH, and the rest of the PERCEVAL administration, had been turned out at this time, they might have joined the people, brought out all the history of the transactions of 1806 and 1807, and insisted upon her being acknowledged as PRINCESS REGENT, and upon her holding her courts and drawing-rooms; things which the other party could not do, because it was that party who had instituted the investigation against her, who had refused her justice; who had advised the late king, first not to receive her at court, and afterwards not to place her upon an equal footing with the rest of his family, and who, in short, had been the instruments in the work of her degradation. This, therefore, was the true cause of the retaining of the PERCEVAL administration in power, and of the exaltation of LIVERPOOL; benefits which

they exclusively owed to the valuable legacy left them by this little hard-twisted lawyer.

135. But he left them other legacies, which, had they been men of sense and of love for their country, they would have shuddered at receiving. Amongst these legacies was the war, which immediately afterwards commenced between England and the United States of America; a war the most unjust on our part that ever nation was engaged in, and bringing upon this country, in its result, disgrace such as England never had before to endure, and followed by consequences such as will require all the wisdom, all the talent, all the courage, all the public virtue, of every description, that England can command, to prevent those consequences from finally being fatal to her power.

136. This is one of the great events of the reign and reign of George the Fourth. The war which terminated in the independence of these States, laid the foundation of all the calamities with which the nation was afflicted during the reign of George the Third. That war was unjust in its principle, and in the conduct of it most disgraceful. This war was equally unjust; its progress and consequences were of the greatest importance to the country; and, therefore, the *real grounds* of this war ought here to be placed clearly upon record. From the commencement of the unjust and unnecessary war against the Republicans of France, disputes between England and the United States had arisen relative to the rights of the parties on the seas. The success of England against France depended, in a great measure, on the power of the former to intercept and destroy the commerce of the French. By her navy, she soon accomplished nearly the destruction of the French naval force, and also of their mercantile marine; but the French do not, as we do, depend so much on operations on the water. Their trade forms a much smaller part, in proportion, than ours does, of the resources of the country; having a cold climate, and a hot climate, a medium climate, all within the same *ring fence*, they have not that need of external commerce that we have; they do not so much depend upon imports and exports; but still they want some outlet for their produce in exchange for various commodities, without which, in the present state of the world, great confusion must be produced in the affairs of the nation. Besides this, France is now-and-then visited with that great calamity, a scarcity of bread, which can receive alleviation by no other means than those afforded by other countries, which other countries cannot come to their relief except by the means of ships. One of these calamities was experienced in France in the year 1793, just at the breaking out of the war between this country and that. The Americans, having prodigious quantities of corn and of flour to spare, sent hundreds of ship loads to France, a great part of which were intercepted by English ships of war, and privateers, brought

into England, where the cargoes were detained, paying to the owners pretty much what our government thought proper. This was an extension of the rights of belligerents against neutrals, such as had never been heard of before; the President of America had issued a proclamation, declaring those States neutral; but our government, whenever it suited its purpose, set that neutrality at defiance. The same thing was done with regard to the maritime commerce of the United States in their intercourse with the French West India islands as long as they remained in possession of the French. When Holland, owing to the invasion of the French, was compelled to join in the war against England, with neutrals trading with it and with its islands, were treated in the same manner. The French were carrying on a sweeping and successful war upon the continent, and England the same sort of war upon the seas.

137. The United States remonstrated; negotiations endless were going on; their policy was to remain at peace if possible; but though they did not go to war, they incessantly remonstrated against this disregard of the laws of neutrality, keeping on all the while, making preparations for their defence in case of the late necessity arriving.

138. They acknowledged, and I trust they and all the world will always be compelled to acknowledge, our right, when at war, to stop merchant ships on the high seas to search them, to ascertain whether they bore to our enemy's port, and, if so, whether they have on board articles contraband of war, that is to say, arms, ammunition, horse-furniture, and other things used in war; and, if bound to a port which we are blockading, if they have provisions on board; and in such cases, to take out the provisions, to take out the munitions of war, to bring the ship into port for that purpose. In some cases to condemn both ship and cargo; and, in all cases, where the property on board be found to be the property of an enemy, to seize and confiscate that property. Further, the rights of a belligerent with regard to neutrals extend to a prohibition, after due notice to enter any port of any enemy of that belligerent which is placed in a state of efficient blockade.

139. These are the rights of England upon the seas when she is at war; and these rights she can never give up, and can never relax in the enforcement of, without a surrender of her character and her power.

140. But far were our ministers from being content with the enjoyment of these rights. Buonaparte had issued two decrees, one dated at Berlin, and the other at Milan, prohibiting all British goods from entering any port under the control of France, which then embraced almost the whole of the continent; and, not only British goods, but any goods of any country coming last from any British port at home or abroad. In what was called retaliation for this, our ministers declared all the ports of all the countries under the con-

trol of France, to be in a state of blockade, which was, to be sure, the most monstrous stretch of the rights of a belligerent ever before dreamed of in the world. For many years the Americans endured this. By false papers, by sham certificates of origin, by clandestine invoices, by licenses obtained here in England; by one means or another, they contrived to carry on still a lucrative commerce, always, however, protesting, always remonstrating, and frequently menacing, from the lips or the pens of the negotiators. At last, however, our ministers began to do that for which the BERLIN and MILAN decrees could afford no excuse, and for which nothing could offer a palliation; that is to say, they began to press seamen on board the American ships on the high-seas, under the pretence that they were the subjects of the king and deserters from his service. If they had confined these impressments to British subjects, the thing would have been a cruel novelty; but this was impossible in a case where all spoke the same language, all had the same manners, all were of the same nation, except by the mere accident of locality and birth. English naval officers, seldom remarkable for moderation in the exercise of their power, being once authorised to stop American ships on the high-seas, and to take British subjects out of them; and having the physical power to take out of them whom and as many as they pleased; these officers, being thus authorised, would, as a matter of course, consider every man whom they wished to take, to be a British subject; and under this pretence they impressed hundreds upon hundreds of native Americans, compelled them to serve on board English ships of war, had them flogged for disobedience or neglect, placed them in battle like the rest of the sailors, where many of them were wounded and many of them killed.

111. This was too much, not perhaps for the cool politicians of the American government to endure, but too much for the *people of America* to endure. The people took the matter in hand; letters and certificates from impressed American seamen were authenticated and published, containing all the horrid details of the cruelties that had been endured by the suffering parties; the American newspapers were filled with these blood-stirring details, and the whole country, from one end to the other, cried "*War, loss of commerce, invasion, extermination, rather than endure this!*" The American government did every thing in its power to assuage this anger: it called upon the people to wait the result of the negotiations then going on upon the subject. During these negotiations, they offered terms so fair that it fills one with indignation to think that this country had to suffer from a war in consequence of a rejection of those terms. They offered to pass an act, imposing a penalty on any American captain that should take on board a British subject as a seaman; they offered to agree that any British officer,

civil or military, duly authorised by the government, should be permitted to go on board of any mercantile American ship in any port, whether within the British dominions, or any other dominions, and cause to be taken any American seaman before a magistrate, being any usual magistrate of the place or port; and if that magistrate determined that the man claimed was a British subject, they agreed to give him up at once on the bare decision of that magistrate; but they expressed their determination to encounter all hazards rather than suffer foreigners to stop their ships on the high seas, and to take out of them persons of any description whatsoever under pretence of those persons being foreign subjects. Nothing could be more reasonable or more just than this;

the proposition was laughably rejected by those insolent and feeble-minded creatures, who were afterwards beaten single-handed in a war of aggression, of invasion, and extermination, waged against this free and happy people under this wise and moderate government.

112. These terms having been rejected, the congress passed an act, a little while before the death of PERCIVAL, as a sort of prelude to the war, still hoping, however, to avoid war. This act explains clearly, and in a few words, the grounds of this memorable war; and it is of vast importance that the English people should always have it to refer to as a ground of accusation against the ministry and the parliament that involved them in this war, and thereby not only added seventy millions to the enormous debt, but actually created that American navy, with which we shall one day have to cope, and which we must finally overcome, or surrender that sovereignty of the seas, without which our country is England only in mere name. The reading of this law explains the whole matter: here are the grounds of complaint, here is the remedy, short of war: the remedy did not succeed, and war was the consequence.

A Bill for the Protection, Recovery, and Indemnification of American Seamen.

The preamble states that His Britannic Majesty has caused to be impressed out of the ships of the United States, sailing on the high-seas, under the American flag, divers liege citizens of said States, and hath compelled them to serve on board the ships of war of Great Britain, and to fight against the United States, and that numbers of them are yet detained.—It is therefore enacted, that from and after the 4th day of June next, any person or persons who shall impress any native seaman of the United States sailing on the high-seas or in any port, river, haven, basin, or bay, under pretence or colour of a commission from any foreign power, shall for every such offence, be adjudged a pirate and felon, and on conviction, suffer death; and the trial in such case shall be had where the offender is apprehended or may be first brought.—That it shall be law-

ful for any seaman, sailing under the flag of the United States, on any person or persons attempting to impress him, to repel by force; and if any person so attempting to impress said seaman shall be killed, maimed, or wounded, such seaman, on the general issue, may give the special matter in evidence, which is hereby declared a perfect justification. That on information being given to the President of the United States proving satisfactorily to him, that any citizen of the United States shall have been impressed, and shall be yet detained, or shall hereafter be impressed, to cause the most rigorous retaliation on any of the subjects of said Government taken on the high-seas, or within the British territories, whom he is hereby authorised to cause to be taken and seized for that purpose, any treaty to the contrary notwithstanding.—That any seaman, heretofore or hereafter impressed, may attach, in the hands of any British subject, or in the hands of any debtor of any British subject, a sum equal to thirty dollars per month for the whole time he shall have been detained on board any British vessel or vessels.—That the President of the United States may capture, by way of reprisal, as many British subjects, on the high-seas or within the British territories, as may be equal to the impressed American seamen in the possession of Great Britain, and by a cartel to exchange the same.—That the President, whenever sufficient testimony shall be produced that the commander of any public armed vessel of any foreign nation shall have taken or impressed from on board any ship or other vessel of the United States, while at any port or place not within the jurisdiction of such foreign nation, or while on her passage to or from any port or place any seaman, mariner, or other person not being in the military service of an enemy of such foreign nation, may prohibit by proclamation, every person residing within the United States or its territory, from affording aid, succour, or provisions, of whatever kind, to such ship or vessel; and any pilot or other person residing within the United States, who shall, after such prohibition shall have been made known, and before the same shall be revoked, afford aid, succour, or provisions, as aforesaid, to such ship or vessel, and be thereof convicted, shall be sentenced to be imprisoned not exceeding one year, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars.—That from and after the 4th of June next, whenever full and sufficient testimony shall be produced, that the commanders of public armed vessels of any foreign nation have impressed or taken from on board any ship or vessel within the jurisdiction of the United States, or while on her passage to or from any port or place, any seaman, mariner, or other person, the President may prohibit, by proclamation, the landing from on board any ship or other vessel of the foreign nation (whose commander or commanders have offended as aforesaid) any goods, ware, or merchandise within any of the ports of the

United States or the territories of the United States.

143. This act of the congress was absolutely forced upon them by the people. All the mercantile part of the congress appeared to be dead to every sentiment of public spirit; and the members of the Eastern States, as the Americans call them, but which lie in the Northern part of the country, were almost all hostile to the act, and hostile to every measure of resistance against the acts of our ministry. They had been plotting for years for the purpose of counteracting the federal, or general, government in every step which it had taken for the defence of the citizens of America against the arbitrary acts sanctioned by the English ministry. The great cities in America are all great places of external commerce; the merchants are all connected with merchants and manufacturers in England by ties of interest. The commerce of America was, and is, more than half of the whole carried on to and from the English dominions; the English merchants are the creditors of those in America, generally their lenders, and very frequently an apparently great merchant there is little more than an agent carrying on trade, and apparently owning ships in virtue of the money, and, in great part, for the benefit of the English merchant who is the real owner of the money and of the ships. Therefore the merchants in America, particularly in the north, whence come the ships to carry on the greater part of the external commerce, were all decidedly against a war with England, and against all resistance of the acts of her ministry committed against American citizens; for, in fact they looked upon England as their country much more than they did America, but not so with the people at large; and it was a curious thing to behold that it was the farmers and labourers and country people generally, that demanded vengeance on those who had impressed and tyrannised over the maritime citizens. It was on them, too, that even the commercial cities had to rely for defence after the war broke out; thus verifying the prediction of Mr. JEFFERSON, namely, that if ever the country should be placed in a state of peril, it must rely for its safety on the arms of the tillers of the ground.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

GEEVES, T., Hendon, Middlesex, hay-seller.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALCOCK, W., Atherstone, Warwickshire, victualler.

ALCOCK, S., Birmingham, hat-manufac.

BARCLAY, A., York, bookseller.

BATSON, W., Burringham, Lincolnshire, corn merchant.

BAILEY, G., Minaa-road, Old Kent-road, carpenter.

BATTIN, J. and J., Aston, Warwickshire corn-dealers.

BROOKS, J., Dallington, Northamptonshire carpenter.

BURNELL, B., Leeds, linen-draper.

COCKRILL, W., East Butterwick, Lincolnshire, corn-factor.

CRESSWELL, T., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at Hill, fish-factor.

DEAN, H., Nelson-street, Greenwich, tobaccoist.

HOUGHTON, J. and J. Watts, Soho-square drapers.

INGLE, J., Beverley, Yorkshire, tanner.

JONES, E., Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire innkeeper.

JEFFERIES, Leeds, worsted-stuff-manufac.

KIRBY, T., King's Lynn, Norfolk, grocer.

LOFTUS, J., Bristol, wholesale druggist.

MUSGROVE, S., High-street, Shadwell and Rotherhithe, boot and shoe-manufacturer.

NUTTLEY, L., Great Newport-street, Long-acre, boot and shoemaker.

RIDGWAY, G. and J., Manchester, lacemen

RIDLEY, R., Brighton, hatter.

SANDERSON, C., Rotherham, Yorkshire, iron-plate-manufacturer.

STEPHENS, T., London-road, linen-draper.

STAKE, R., Borough-market, builder.

WATKINSON, M., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, innkeeper.

WILCOX, W., Walcot, Somersetshire, chair-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DODD, T., Perth, candle-maker.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BURKE, J., Greenwich, licensed-victualler.

GRAVES, Upper East Smithfield, master-mariuer.

HEAWARD, J., Hillhouse, Lancashire, farm.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer, from Jan. 17 to Jan. 31.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GALPIN, F., Fleet-street, stationer.

BANKRUPTS.

BRAITHWAITE, J., Liverpool, fruiterer.

BUSH, J., Blackman-street, victualler.

CHILDS, J., Leicester-square, jeweller.

CLARK, B. T., Lakenham, Norwich, corn-merchant.

DEADMAN, J., Stapleton-road, Gloucestershire, victualler.

DEAN, J. F., Drakelow-mill-farm, Derbyshire, miller.

HELSEBY, A. and J. Cleworth, Salford, Lancashire, plumbers.

LLOYD, J., Leeds, merchant.

MINSHULL, W., Cholsey, Berkshire, cattle-dealer.

PARKE, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, plumber.

THORP, I., Reddish-mills, Lancashire, calico-printer.

TREACY, M., King-street, Cheapside, straw-hat manufacturer.

WIGAN, J., Marclesfield, silk-manufacturer.

WILKS, J., Birmingham, linen-draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

EWING, J., Newhouse, Ayrshire, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 16.

—Our supplies since this day se'might of English wheat and barley, English and Scotch peas, and English seeds, limited; of English malt and foreign linseed, great; of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, as also English, Irish, and foreign flour, Irish and Scotch oats, and, with above exception, foreign seed, good.

This day's market was, very soon after its commencement, numerously attended by both London and country buyers; and there seemed to be more spirit in its trade than has been on any market day that has preceded it for some months past. As, however, the sellers aimed at advanced, the buyers at reduced, prices, the trade was, a short time after its commencement, rather dull; but an increased number of buyers soon induced those who had first assembled, to commence business, and the sellers to be stiff to their asking prices, ultimately became somewhat brisk, with wheat and barley at an advance of from 1s. to 2s.; beans, 2s. to 3s.; and malt 2s. per quarter; with oats, peas, rye, malt, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 70s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	36s. to 40s.
— fine	—s. to —s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 37s.
— Tick	35s. to 39s.
Oats, Potatoes	24s. to 26s.
— Poland	23s. to 22s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 54s.	
Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 127s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 68s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 94s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 90s. to 96s.	
— Cork 94s. to —s.	
— Limerick .. 94s. to —s.	
— Waterford.. 88s. to 91s.	
— Dublin 88s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 56s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 58s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 52s. to 60s.	
— Edam 46s. to 50s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish..... 66s. to 80s.	

SMITHFIELD.—January 16.

This day's supply of beasts and sheep was good, both as to quality and numbers; of fat calves and porkers, but limited, and not very prime. The trade was throughout very dull; with beef at a depression of about 2d. per stone, with mutton, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 3,018; sheep and lambs, 21,000; calves, 98; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 20.

The arrivals this week are good; the market dull; but the prices are much the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
Cons. Ann.		82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

THE MARK-LANE EXPRESS; a New Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the Largest Size. Price only Sevenpence. (Published every Monday Evening, in time for the Post.) In its contents will be found—The Full particulars of Monday's Market at Mark-lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets, of leading interest to the Grazier and Dealer; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs and Markets to take place

every ensuing Week; all improvements proferring to be beneficial to the community generally, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; Quantity on hand, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of all men of business throughout the Empire.

N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns, and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Cornfactors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

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The Ettrick Shepherd	The late W. Roscoe
James Everett	Thos. Roscoe
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TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE,
ON THE NEW DEAD-BODY BILL.

Stockport, in Cheshire, 24th Jan. 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THE above subject is very interesting to you, and I beg you to give it your particular attention. You have been informed of the horrible murders in London, committed by the bloody BISHOP and others; and I will now explain to you *the cause* of those murders. When you clearly see this cause, you will know how *you* ought to think and *feel* upon the subject.

There are in London and some other great towns, places where men are engaged in *cutting up dead human bodies*. What they do this *for*; that is to say, under what *pretence* they do this, I will speak by-and-by; at present I have only to speak of the fact, and to show you that it is *the cause* of the horrible murders, that you have lately read of. The cutters-up of human bodies, or *body-cutters* purchase dead bodies to cut up, and with just as little scruple and ceremony as *cutting-butchers* purchase the dead bodies of pigs or sheep from the *carcass-butchers*. The law, as it now stands, makes it only a *misdeemeanor*, that is to say, a crime punishable by *fine* and *imprisonment*, as a *common assault* is, or as a *libel* is, to *steal*, to *sell*, or to *purchase*, a dead human body; and I pray you mark, that to steal the dead body of a *sheep*, or *pig*, or *calf*, or *ox*, or *fowl* of any sort, is a *capital felony*, punished with DEATH; and that to

receive any such body, or to have it in *your possession*, *knowing it to be stolen*, is also a felony, punished with TRANSPORTATION. This law extends to all sorts of moveable property; and a bookseller named CAHUACK (or some such name) *was transported*, some few years ago, for *purchasing* and having in his possession some *copies of a book* which had been stolen out of the warehouse of Mr. BENSLEY, in Bolt-court. This bookseller had a family, carried on a respectable business, and bore a fair character; and he alleged that *he did not know* the books to have been stolen. From the circumstances, however, the jury were satisfied that he *did know* them to have been stolen; and he was transported; and very justly transported; for he was as criminal as the thief himself.

But, my friends, if it be *just* (and it is so) to punish with transportation a man who receives the dead body of a *pig*, knowing it to be stolen, *what are we to say* to the law which punishes *so slightly*, and, in practice, *punishes not at all*, he who receives and cuts up the dead body of one of the people, though he MUST KNOW that it has been *stolen*, if not murdered? What are we to say of *such a law*? And while the law stands thus, what is the *protection* that the labouring people receive from the law?

On the 12th of December last, the following letter was published in all the London newspapers. I beg you to read it with attention.

"SIR,—Having dined yesterday with some of my brother magistrates, I learned, upon information which I have no reason to distrust, that beside the confessions published, another was made on Sunday last, which comprehended a *catalogue of about sixty murders*, and would have probably gone on to a much greater extent, but for the interference of the ordinary. When to this is added the large supply which by the published confessions,

"Bishop appears to have furnished for
 "dissection, the great number of persons
 "employed in the same way, the pro-
 "bable profligacy of such persons, and,
 "as asserted, a great falling off in the
 "number of burials, notwithstanding
 "the increased population of this me-
 "tropolis, there is certainly but too
 "much reason to believe that this
 "system of murder amongst the poor,
 "which Bishop said he resorted to as
 "both less expensive and less hazardous
 "than collecting from cemeteries, is
 "become extremely common, that it is
 "in a state of progression, and that
 "new and extraordinary modes, how-
 "ever inconvenient to the professors and
 "students of anatomy, MUST BE HAD
 "RECOURSE TO, FOR THE PRE-
 "VENTION OF SUCH ATROCIOUS
 "CRIMES. "J. SEWELL.

"21, Cumberland-street,
 "Portman-square, Dec. 8."

This Mr. SEWELL is a *police magis-
 trate*, and, besides this, his statement is
notoriously true. Thus, then, sixty poor
 persons, at the very least, have been
 murdered in London alone. Probably
 hundreds; but sixty at the least. And, ob-
 serve, they have all been RECEIVED
 by the cutters-up; and no detection of
 the murderers ever took place, until that
 of the bloody Bishop and his associates,
 whose conduct was so open and unwary,
 that the receivers saw that they were
 liable to be implicated themselves in the
 crime of murder. The apology, the
 impudent, the audacious excuse of the
 cutters-up, is, that "they cannot always
 distinguish the body of a person who
 has been murdered from that of one
 who has died a natural death." This
 is stated by the council of the *Royal
 College of Surgeons*, in their letter to
 Lord Melbourne of the 10th of Decem-
 ber last; a document the most impu-
 dent and unfeeling (see it, *Register*,
 Jan. 14,) that ever was put upon paper.
 Well, then, since they declare, that
 even they are unable to distinguish a
 murdered body from one that has died
 a natural death; and, since it is noto-
 rious that there are hundreds (ay,
 hundreds!) of cutters-up of human bo-
 dies; and that there are many places

for the receiving and purchasing of hu-
 man bodies, and that, too, in open de-
 fiance of the present law; what ought
 the Parliament to have done the moment
 it met, after the detection of the recent
 horrible murders? Why, pass a law,
 to be sure, making the stealing and
 the receiving of the dead body of a
 human being a crime as great, at the
 least, as the stealing and the receiving of
 the dead body of a pig or a sheep. This
 is what the Parliament ought to have
 done at the least. And, indeed, it ought
 to have done much more. The College
 of Surgeons allow, that even they are
 not, in all cases, able to distinguish be-
 tween murdered bodies and bodies stolen
 from the coffin. The cutter-up and the
 receiver never know that they are
 not accessories to the commission of
 murder: they proceed in their bloody
 work, knowing that they may be such
 accessories. No man, nothing short of
 a monster, will deny that it is as great a
 crime to steal the dead body of a human
 being as it is to steal the dead body of a
 sheep or a pig. Therefore, that crime
 ought to be punished with death as is
 the crime of stealing the dead body of a
 pig or sheep; and death ought also to
 be the punishment of the receiver and
 the cutter-up; because they can, ac-
 cording to their own confession, never
 know that they are not wilfully and
 premeditatedly engaged in an act which
 makes them accessories to the commis-
 sion of murder, both before and after
 the fact. In short, an act ought to have
 been passed, the moment the Parliament
 met, to punish as murderers, all those
 who should, in future, be found to have
 in their possession any human body, or
 part of any human body, not delivered
 up to them in consequence of a sentence
 in a court of justice.

This is what the Parliament ought to
 have done. And what have they done?
 Why, one WARBURTON has brought in
 a bill, which is now before the House
 of Commons. I have not seen this
 bill; but the following has been pub-
 lished as an abstract of it; and this
 abstract is quite enough for me. I
 will first insert it, and then remark
 upon it.

SCHOOLS OF ANATOMY.

The preamble of this bill states, that whereas a knowledge of the causes and nature of very many diseases which affect the body, and of the best methods of treating and curing such diseases, and of healing and repairing divers wounds and injuries, to which the human frame is liable, *cannot be acquired but by anatomical examination*; and whereas, therefore, it is *highly expedient to give protection*, under certain regulations, to the study and practice of anatomy:—

Clause I. therefore enacts the Secretary of State to appoint Inspectors of Schools of Anatomy.

II. Name of Inspector, and District to which he belongs, to be published in the *London Gazette*.

III. One Inspector to reside in London, and one other in Edinburgh.

IV. Inspectors to receive returns and certificates.

V. To visit any place where anatomy is carried on.

VI. *Salaries to Inspectors.*

VII. Executors may permit bodies to undergo anatomical examination in certain cases.

VIII. The same not to be removed from the place where such person may have died, without a certificate.

IX. Professors, surgeons, and *others*, may receive bodies for anatomical examination.

X. Such person to receive with the body a certificate, as aforesaid.

XI. Persons described in this Act *not to be liable to punishment for having in their possession human bodies, nor for any offence against this Act, unless the prosecution is instituted by the Attorney-General.*

XII. This Act not to prohibit *post-mortem examination.*

XIII. So much of 9 Geo. IV., c 31, as directs that the bodies of murderers may be dissected is *repealed.*

XIV. Bodies of murderers to be *buried in the highway, or hung in chains.*

XV. This Act not to extend to Ireland.—*[And why not?]*

Pray look well at clauses 9 and 11; especially at clause 11; and observe, that nobody is to prosecute but the *Attorney-General!* Pray mark that. **THIS SAME WARBURTON** brought in a bill, in 1829, to authorise *masters of workhouses, overseers of the poor, keepers of hospitals, and keepers of prisons, to dispose of* (and, of course, to *sell*) the bodies of all persons dying under their keeping, or power, unless such bodies were *claimed by relations*; and, even then, such relations were *not to have* the bodies, unless they could

give security for the burial of them according to the rites of the church. Thus were the very *poorest of the poor* to have their bodies sold to be cut up! Thus were the Parliament to fulfil the command of God, and to show their belief in his word. “Despise not the poor because he is poor,” says the Bible. What would this law have said? Why, “*cut him up* because he is poor?”

This bill *passed the House of Commons*; and was carried to **THE LORDS**, who, to their great honour, *rejected it.* When it went to the Lords, I petitioned against it. I gave my petition to the *Bishop of London*, who presented it on the 26th May, 1829. Now, my friends, read this petition *attentively.* It states your case. It puts forward *your claim to protection* against the cutters-up and the grave-robbers and the murderers.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The petition of William Cobbett, of Kensington,

Most humbly sheweth,

That a bill has just passed the Commons' House of Parliament, which bill gives authority to overseers, or other persons who have the charge of poor-houses and hospitals, to dispose of (and, of course, to *sell*) the dead bodies of those paupers and patients who may die in workhouses and hospitals, and whose bodies are not claimed by their relations, those relations giving security that they will, at their own charge, cause the said bodies to be buried.

That your humble petitioner is quite sure that your Right Honourable House will clearly perceive that such a law is just the same thing as a law to authorise overseers and hospital-keepers to dispose of the dead bodies of *all poor persons whatsoever*, dying under their charge; for that the bare fact of the death taking place under such circumstances, is quite enough to convince every one, that the bodies of such poor persons will, on account of the poverty of their relations, never be claimed, especially if the claim be to compel the claimant to give security for defraying the expense of an interment; and that, therefore, this is, in short, a bill to enable the agents of the rich to dispose of the dead bodies of the most unfortunate of the poor, and that, too, for the benefit of those rich.

That your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to state to your Right Honourable House, that those poor and *necessitous* persons, whom the law calls paupers, have a clear

and undoubted *right to be relieved* out of the property of the owners and occupiers of the houses and the lands; that this law is, as stated by Blackstone, founded in the principles of civil society; that it has been confirmed by the canon law, by the writings of the Christian fathers, by the law of nations as laid down by civilians, by the common law of England, and, lastly, by the statute law of England; and that this right extends to interment after death, according to the rights and ceremonies of the established church.

That the unfortunate persons who die in poor-houses and hospitals have, in numerous cases, seen better days, and have, during many years, contributed by direct payments towards the maintenance of the poor and the sick; that those of them who have not thus contributed, have all been, as long as able to work, compelled to pay heavy taxes out of the fruits of their hard labour; that every working man, of whatever description, pays full the one-half of his wages in taxes; and that, therefore, when he becomes so poor, helpless, and destitute, as to die in a poor-house or in a hospital, it is unjust, cruel, barbarous to the last degree, to dispose of his dead body to be cut up like that of a murderer, and to let him know beforehand, too, that his body is thus to be treated, thereby adding to the pangs of death itself.

That your humble petitioner beseeches your Right Honourable House to bear in mind, that, in 1802, a Return, laid before Parliament, stated that upwards of two thousand persons, men, women, and children, belonging to noble or rich families, were receiving annually large sums of money out of the taxes in the shape of pensions and sinecures, and that none of these persons had ever rendered any service to the public for the sums thus by them received; that your petitioner does not think it probable that a less sum is on this account now paid out of the taxes than was paid in 1802; that, in like manner, large sums of money, amounting in the whole to more than a million and a half of pounds sterling, have, within these few years, been given by the Parliament for "*the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England*;" that those who are now paupers have, during their whole lives, been paying taxes to support these poor nobles and clergy; that they have, in fact, for the far greater part, been reduced to a state of pauperism by the taxes, and by the taxes alone; and that those bodies which have been worn out or debilitated by labours performed and privations endured for the benefit of the rich, are now, when breathless, to be sold and cut up for the benefit of those same rich.

That all nations, even the most barbarous, have shown respect for the remains of the dead; that the Holy Scriptures invariably speak of the rites of burial as being honourable, and of the refusal of those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 15th chap. of Genesis, 15th verse,

it is recorded, that amongst the gracious promises that God made to ABRAHAM, on account of his faith, one was that he should be *buried* in a good old age; that DAVID (2 Samuel chap. 2.), when the men of Jabesh-gilead had *buried* Saul, blessed them for his kindness, and said the Lord would reward them; that the Psalmist, in describing the desolation of Jerusalem by the hands of the heathen, says that these latter had given the dead bodies of the Israelites to be meat unto the fowls of the heavens, that they shed their blood like water, and that there was *none to bury them*, which, *he* adds, has made the Israelites a reproach to the other nations; that in ECCLESIASTES, chap. 6, verse 3, it is said, that if a man have ever so prosperous and long a life, if he have *no burial* he had better never have been born; that we find by Ezekiel, chap. 39, that even enemies were to be *buried*, and that if a human bone was found above ground, it was to be deemed a duty to inter it; that the prophet ISAIAH, chap. 14, says that the King of Babylon shall be kept out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and shall *not be buried*, because he has been a tyrant; that the prophet Jeremiah, chap. 7 and 8, at the conclusion of a long and terrible denunciation against the Jews, tells them that they *shall not be gathered nor be buried*, and that they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet chap. 14, says, that the people who listen to false prophets shall die of famine and the sword, and *shall have none to bury them*; that the same prophet, chap. 16, foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grievous deaths, that they shall not be lamented, *neither shall they be buried*, but shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. 22, pronounces judgment on JEHOIAKIM, King of Juda, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he *shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, drawn and cast forth before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that *devout* men carried STEPHEN to his *burial*; and, finally, that by our own burial service and canons we are taught, that to be buried in consecrated ground is a *right* belonging to every person who has been baptized, who is not, at the hour of death, excommunicated, and who has not killed him or herself.

That seeing that such is the language of Holy Writ, your humble petitioner has waited until now, hoping that the bill in question would be zealously and effectually opposed by the clergy of the Established Church; that, if the bodies of poor persons can be disposed of and cut up into pieces, without any detriment to our faith, our hope, our religious feeling; if no burial service is at all necessary in these cases, if this be told to the people by this bill, it is manifest, that that same people will not long think that the burial service can in any case be necessary, and that they will, in a short time, look upon all other parts of the

church service as equally useless; because, as your petitioner presumes, there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another, and that, of course, if the Burial of the Dead can be dispensed with, so may Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That your humble petitioner is firmly persuaded, that a belief in the resurrection, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, cannot exist for any length of time in a country where human bodies are by law permitted to be disposed of, and that, too, for the avowed purpose of being cut to pieces for the use of the parties acquiring them; and that, therefore, atheism, generally prevalent throughout the country, must be one of the natural consequences of this bill, if, unhappily, it become a law.

That your humble petitioner hopes that your Right Honourable House will perceive, that if this bill were to become a law, the hatred of the rich by the poor must become implacable and universal, while the latter would be taught by this bill atheism, and obduracy of heart, and familiarity with ferocious ideas and bloody deeds; and that it would require greater powers of persuasion than even eloquent men generally possess to convince the poor that they ought to be restrained by anything but want of power, while the same Government which takes from them a large part of their earnings for the support of the rich, condemns their bodies to be disposed of after death, for the benefit of those same rich.

That, for these reasons, your humble petitioner prays, that your Right Honourable House will not pass the bill aforementioned, but will protect the poor against a species of oppression more odious as well as more cruel and more hostile to feelings of humanity than any ever before heard of in the world.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 22d May, 1829.

Now, my friends, the present bill differs from the former one, in some respects; but its main tendency is the same. What it will be at last, we cannot as yet precisely say; but, in the meanwhile, look at the following report of a debate, which took place in the House of Commons on the 17th instant.

Mr. WARBURTON moved the second reading of the bill for providing subjects for the anatomical schools. The honourable member, who spoke in a low tone, was understood to say, that as the bill had been twice before the House, which has assented to its principles on former occasions, he thought any explanation unnecessary.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS did not think it sufficient that this bill had been twice before the

House formerly, to induce the House to pass it. He required further explanation. He was glad to observe that in the present bill there was a distinct enactment separating the dissection from the crime of murder; he was satisfied that the study of anatomy was necessary for the successful practice of medicine, and that, therefore, some means must be taken to remedy the present state of the law. He had ascertained that during last year there were *only eleven bodies* which could be legally disposed of as subjects, and these were to *supply eight hundred students of medicine*. While the principles of the bill were deserving the attention of the House, so were its details. There was one of these to which he objected. *He thought the relations of persons dying in jails, workhouses, &c., should have their bodies if they chose to demand them.* He would not oppose the second reading of the bill.

Mr. CRESSET PELHAM opposed the bill, and contended that it *merely gave a legal encouragement to the traffic in human blood.*

Mr. HUME supported the bill, and expressed his surprise that the honourable Baronet, the member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis), should not perceive that the bill would *make subjects cheap*, and that its provisions were therefore the more likely to put an end to the traffic of those who *calculated on a high price as a reward for the perpetration of crime.*

Mr. PERCEVAL recommended that *the mere possession of dead bodies should be held to be a felony*. The knowledge of surgery could not be lost in the short space of two years, and if they were to try an experiment for that time, he was sure that medical men would then resort to the dissection of animals, and obtain from it when conducted under proper regulations, all the knowledge necessary for their profession.

Mr. F. POTLOCK defended the principle of the bill, and expressed his surprise to see it maintained as just that medical men were to be civilly, aye, and criminally punished for ignorance of their profession, and yet punished at the same time for *any attempt to acquire knowledge*. He was convinced that the bill would effect a most beneficial change, without in the slightest degree *wounding that sensitive feeling among the lower classes*, which he should be one of the last to wish wholly obliterated.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was in favour of the bill. It made no alteration in the punishment of those who were guilty of crime. *Burking was still murder, and punishable with all the severity it deserved; but the bill took away one of the incitements to the crime, by diminishing the expense and the risk of procuring subjects.*

Mr. WARBURTON briefly replied. The bill was intended to do *equal justice to the poor and the rich*, and it excepted only two cases from its operation. The first was when a person specially requested that *his body might not be dissected*, and the second was, when the *next of kin* was decidedly averse to the performance

of the operation. Nothing could be more idle than to exclaim that *the rich were solely benefited* by the diffusion of the knowledge of anatomy. *The very contrary was the fact.* The rich employ those who had obtained, at a great cost, their knowledge of their profession abroad, while the poor were compelled to accept that kind of assistance which was within their reach, and which, if it did not include practical information on the structure of the human frame, would soon be lamentably inefficient.

From this we are to conclude, that the *bodies of the poor*, who die in *prisons, hospitals, and poor-houses*, are to be disposed of to the cutters-up. No matter on *what condition*; I care not a straw about that: here will be a law to give up the dead bodies of the poor to the hackers and cutters; and that is quite enough for me. I agree with Mr. PELLHAM and Mr. PERCEVAL; and I abhor the expressions of HUME and of DENMAN about making dead bodies CHEAP! POLLOCK will find, I fancy, that it will "wound the sensitive feelings of the poor." He has not read that part of my first LECTURE at Manchester, which related to this matter. It is curious that the WHIG REFORMERS *are for this bill*, and that the TORIES *are against it*! What sort of a reform the Whigs have in view we may guess from this circumstance. For my part, I am very hard to believe that those who are for this bill *mean the people any good* by the Reform Bill. I repeat here my words at Manchester; namely, that if a reformed Parliament cannot find the means of protecting the *dead bodies of the working people*, while such ample means are found for protecting the dead body of a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge; then, indeed the bishops did right in opposing the Reform Bill; for a greater delusion, a greater fraud, never was attempted to be practised on any part of mankind. Let me stop here to request your particular attention to this matter relating to the want of law to protect the dead bodies of the working people. You all know, or at least every Englishman ought to know, that for an unqualified person to have in *his possession* the body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, was, a few months back, a *crime*, punishable by fine or imprisonment;

that to have in his possession *wires*, or other implements, for taking any of these wild animals, is still a *crime*, punishable in the same manner; that, to be out in the night in *pursuit of*, and seeking after, the bodies of either of these wild animals, and carrying with him the implements wherewith to take or kill them, is still a *crime*, punishable with *transportation for seven years*, and this punishment may be inflicted, too, and has been, and is, frequently inflicted without the sanction of a *judge*, and at the sole discretion and pleasure of the justices in quarter sessions, who, as you well know, are the game-preservers themselves. Yet those who could, and so recently too, pass over this last-mentioned law, and those new and "*liberal*" members who have been able to sit quietly, and say not a word about this law for transporting men for making free with the bodies of wild animals, which, according to Blackstone, are the property of no man, and which belong in common to all men; those who could make and so vigilantly enforce this law, cannot, for the lives and souls of them, find out the means of passing a law to protect the bodies, *alive or dead*, of the working people; other than that of making it lawful to *sell their bodies when dead*, to cut up and cast away like the bodies of murderers or traitors. From everything that I have ever heard here in the North, and particularly in this town, I believe, that if the horrible bill to which I have just alluded had become a law, that law would have never been acted upon by the parochial authorities of Manchester. I hope that the same would generally have been the case; but I have no scruple to say, that an attempt to enforce the law in any of the agricultural counties would have produced open and desperate rebellion. Judge you of the feelings of the country people on this subject, when I tell you that there are *clubs* in the country parishes in Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, and, I suppose, in all the southern counties, which clubs are for the purpose of forming a *fund* for defraying the expenses of *watching the graves of the relations of the members of the club*, if

any of them should die, or the graves of the *members themselves* if they should die! How honourable to the feelings of the working people, and how disgraceful to the Parliament, is this fact! Judge you what would have been the consequences of an attempt to enforce amongst such a people the atrocious bill for selling their bodies to be cut up like those of the most heinous malefactors! A labouring man, JAMES IVES, who worked constantly for me some time ago, came to me, with tears in his eyes, to get 12s. in advance of his wages, to pay (that being the price) for *watching the grave of his daughter*, who was just then about to be buried! Why what *government-protection* could this man discover? What had this man to make him willing to be obedient to the laws? Great care is taken of the *property of the rich*; the law hunts it with inflexible eagerness go whither it may; here the law has grown harder and harder, till it has made the receiving of stolen goods a *felonious* offence, punishable with *transportation*. But those who passed and have enforced so rigidly this law, have not been able to find out by any means whatever to punish the RECEIVERS OF STOLEN BODIES; though they MUST of necessity KNOW them to have been stolen, if not murdered as well as stolen! Common justice, even natural justice, would make it *felony*, punishable with death, in any one to have in his *possession* a dead body, or a part of a dead body, unless able to produce proof that he obtained it in consequence of a *sentence of a court of justice*.

If *reform* be to bring us laws like this; if it be to give us rulers, who think it a good thing to make the *trade in human bodies free*; if this be the "*free trade*" they mean to give us; if this be a specimen of their *political economy*; if "*cheap*" human bodies be their sign of national prosperity; in short, if measures like this be to be the result of *Parliamentary reform*, better, far better, remain as we were, poor and oppressed; but not put *upon a level with the beasts that perish*, and see the flesh and bones of our relations, parents, wives, and children, tossed about to be

devoured by the fowls of the air; or, like the body of JEZEBEL, to be torn about by dogs. WARBURTON'S is a miserable attempt to make us believe that the cutting-up is for the *benefit of the poor*, and that the law is to be impartial. The very *preamble* of the bill is false: and this I will now show to you in the words of a very eminent physician, who wrote to WARBURTON on the subject, when he brought in his first bill, and whose letter was published all over the country at the time. This physician *proved*, that the proposed law was not only *unnecessary* to a thorough knowledge of surgery; but that it was the contrary; that the *cutting up of human bodies* was *injurious* to the science of surgery. Here is his letter: I beg you to read it *with attention*. This physician recommends that which I recommend; namely, to make grave-robbing a *capital felony*. I pray you to read this letter: it will show you that that bloody practice is not at all necessary to the making of a man a skilful surgeon. If it were, I am prepared to prove, that this bill ought not to become a law: but first of all, read this letter; and you will be satisfied that the law is wholly unnecessary for the purpose for which it professes to be intended.

" 'Cullibet in arte sua credendum est.' "

" Sir,—As an ardently devoted and experienced member of the profession, pardon my questioning your philanthropy regarding the general expediency of 'Human Dissections.' He who has dissected and anatomised so much, from pure inclination, cannot reasonably be thought to be prejudiced against them. My firm conviction is, that they are by no means essential to the successful practice of the physician, nor, indeed, ordinary general practitioner.

" The study of anatomy and physiology (i. e. structure and function of the human body) I admit to be essential to the perfection of medical and surgical science. I repeat study, for the knowledge of both is perfectly attainable, without the aid of dissections, from our present fruits of them, in the way of preservations, engravings, explicit lectures, and scientific records.

" I canvass, primarily, the physician's vocation—and what have dissections performed for him? First, as to the knowledge of disease. Disease, at its onset, indeed throughout, consists mainly of functional derangement; and what discovery of function has been made through dissection? For by function the sym-

toms and distinctions of disease are elicited. The perfection of this vitally-important branch of the profession (pathology) is acquirable only by experience, which enables the physician to distinguish functional from organic affection. What information derived of vital function (*i.e.* brain, heart, lungs, stomach, and alimentary passages) by our minutest dissections? Has the discovery of injury of brain, after death, thrown any important light on the valued functions of its particular parts? Anatomy (*i.e.* dissections) throws no light whatever upon those prevailing and appalling maladies, St. Vitus's-dance, epilepsy, palsy, and apoplexy; and why? because, generally speaking, they are functional rather than organic affections. Much the same might be said of inflammations of mucous and serous surfaces, where life had been sacrificed to them; the blood, at the moment of dissolution, receding from arterial to venous cavities, leaving such surfaces more blanched than florid by it. Now this I affirm, not from mere prejudice or hypothesis, but experience. Again, consumption illustrates another ground of position, *viz.*, as to the ulceration of the lungs. We know full well, without the forlorn aid of dissections, or stethoscope itself, that ulceration is consequent upon the inflammation of mucous and serous surfaces; nay more, that such ulceration of internal and vital organs, almost without exception, is death. We prevent, therefore, but cannot cure consumption, as lamentable experience has taught us. In a word, we need not dissections to tell us that the organic affections of vital parts usually prove fatal. Be it no longer said that they are essential to successful practice; for it is most disreputable to science and the profession to have it supposed even that one consigned to our skill, should have expired without our knowledge (care being out of the question) of his malady.

"Seeing clearly our weapons must be such as to combat with morbid (*i.e.* deranged) function, it remains to be inquired what aids towards relief or cure have been derived through dissections? Our remedies, of any real efficacy at least, for the relief (cure, if you would rather) of functional derangement, are few; and these with a view to subdue inflammation, correct secret secretion, promote or restrain excretion, and give tone or vigour to the system. We are not assuredly indebted to dissections for our treatment of inflammation, morbid secretion, or debility; but rather to the lights of function and regimen, aided not a little by pathological and therapeutical experiences.

"I pass over the absurdity of medical testimony (grounded on dissections) in cases of abortion, rape, infanticide, idiotism, and insanity; and, from motives of delicacy, forbear the discussion of them. Under dread of poison, dissections at best are fallacious, and our knowledge derived more from chemical than anatomical acumen.

"Your 'report,' Sir, if I comprehend it

aright, is to the effect—first, that all must dissect to qualify them for successful practice; secondly, that the bodies of executed criminals are insufficient for the purpose; and, thirdly, that the repeal of such Act, and the substitution of another (confessedly more productive) are essential to the perfection of medical science, and the well-being of mankind.

"Now, first, as to the expediency! 'Tis obvious; pardon me, Sir, that by far too much importance has been attached to the testimony of Sir Astley Cooper and Mr. Abernethy, who are teachers of anatomy, and not physic, in London. I mean no disrespect nor disparagement towards these gentlemen; but why this stress upon their testimony? Sir A. C., after many years' painful and toilsome experiences, is doomed to confess that the operations are a reproach to surgery. Mr. A., to his honour be it said, has ever been opposed to them. It would be superfluous at this moment to speak of their physical attainments (apart, at any rate, from dissections and operations), notwithstanding I affirm that these, and not dissections, are the very bulwarks of surgery. It were as manifest as the 'sun at noon-day,' that bodies became useful in support of the college law and rage for dissections; but your honourable Committee required, *bona fide*, to know whether such dissections were demanded for the benefits of science and prosperity of the human race; for requisite assuredly they had made them for students passing college, or becoming licentiates of the Society of Apothecaries. I may humbly be permitted to suggest—teach students upon more rational and physical principles; require them to possess a sufficient classical education; sound physiological, pathological therapeutical, and chemical knowledge; and afford them ample physical and surgical experiences; then hopes may be entertained of their becoming expert and skilful practitioners.

Be it not said, for mercy's sake, that we require many operative surgeons (when, in fact, were matters managed better, few, very few, indeed, would be needed); and let these be select, so that matured by much experience, they may be fully competent to the important duties thereof.

"Clinical experiences, beyond all your dissections, prove a treasure to the student; these eminently and truly teach him to distinguish between functional derangement and organic affection; to perceive the operation and the effects of remedies themselves, and, I had almost said, the divine influence of regimen. Emboldened by such, and the like, experiences, with confidence ere long he predicts the convalescence, or perchance the dissolution, of his patient. To sum up—the true doctrines of physic are founded upon unerring and fundamental principles; and such, believe me, as are eminently calculated to avert pending calamity; *i.e.* to supersede the necessity for operations, which, at best, are painful and calamitous to the afflicted.

"By the judicious treatment of gravel and stone; hernia and aneurisms; glandular affections and white swellings; fractures and dislocations; to the honour of science and the profession be it said, we save much and calamitous suffering in the world.

"Not to encroach upon your valuable time Sir, or be thought prolix, I proceed, secondly, to remark, briefly, on the insufficiency of the bodies of executed criminals for scientific purposes. Immortality to our predecessors, we require not dissections at this day for the acquirement, much less the perfection, of physiological and physical science. The mechanism of the human body is amply displayed through the medium of engravings and preservations; and its functions, derangements, and diseases, are to be known and amended only upon the living body.

"Most unwillingly I advert to morbid dissections, the last refuge of the inexperienced, and the blot of our art. Few things have tended more to cast a stigma upon the profession, and afford a disrelish for dissections, than the heartless performance of them in private life. Forlorn, indeed our hope, if we expect to attain skill or eminence in the profession through such dissections. I speak not from prejudice, personality, or mere hypothesis, but from long and extensive observation and experience. Why most of our sudden deaths originating in derangement of vital functions, leave no traces of the source of dissolution behind them; and such as expire under more lingering indisposition, manifest to the experienced at least, organic affection peculiar to the structures of the affected organ or organs. We require not, therefore, to ascertain such appearances, nor would our doing so aid us at all in the knowledge or cure of them. To be brief—civilized beings naturally are averse to dissections; and God forbid they should ever become reconciled to them, or adieu to the ties of consanguinity, and those devoutly-to-be-admired sympathies of our nature, for which Britons, I am proud to confess, have been renowned from time immemorial. Thirdly, Sir, you resolve to legalize pauper dissections, after the provisions of foreigners, and speak of the advantages to be derived from them. The thing itself may be politic enough in the way of trade; but, for the honour of science, the credit of the profession, and the peace of society, I conjure you to pause ere your Committee sanction with their honoured names so degrading, and at the same time so uncalled-for an expedient. Since, however, we must model our practice and schools of physic after the fashion of the French, I claim privilege briefly to advert to the benefits which science and the profession hitherto have derived from them.

"In anatomy and physiology, it must be confessed, the French have excelled; but have they comparatively benefited physic or surgery by it? Have Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, by their minute dissections of the brain, added anything to our knowledge of it? We re-

quired not to know the seat and directions (nor indeed the functions) of its vast nerves and blood-vessels. Why, therefore, perplex ourselves about its mental developments, placed, doubtless, for the wisest of purposes, by an inscrutable Providence, beyond the reach or the scrutiny of man? Nor have we yet to learn,—thank; not to dissections, but experiences—that the brain's derangement of circulation is productive of correspondent derangement of function, and its organic affection, death. Bichat, Broussais, and Majendie, it is due to them to say, have called attention to mucous and serous surfaces, hitherto but insufficiently regarded (and imperfectly understood by many) in practice. Notwithstanding such acknowledged advantages, the French, I affirm, are inefficient practitioners. Do they not to this day, under the most acute inflammations (and inflammations, moreover, of vital organs), content themselves with ptisans, syrups, anodynes, leechings, and enemias, calculated for the relief only of particular symptoms, leaving the malady itself to commit its ravages upon the affected organ, or constitution generally? How calamitous the consequences of tampering with the inflammations of vital organs!—take, for example the lungs. Has not consumption afforded us a lesson; bid defiance to our every exertion, in spite of our discoveries and dissections; and are we still at a loss as to its origin, or the prevention (cure I maintain to be out of the question) of it? If not, why trifle (worse than trifle) with palliatives, which, under fevers and inflammations, (without more efficient measures) seal the loom of the patients? A breath as to their surgical eminence, and I am done. Baron Larrey and Du-puytren have distinguished themselves in surgery; but have they not been indebted mainly to their experiences? The former had most extensive field and hospital practice during the campaigns of the immortal Buonaparte; and the latter for many years has been engaged in the performance of vast hospital duties, being at this moment chief surgeon to the Hotel Dieu, in France.

"Impressed with the firmest conviction (inspired by an almost unparalleled devotedness to the profession) that experience, and by no means dissections, qualify alone for successful practice, I have been induced to impart these solemn convictions to you, Sir, in justice to a much-injured profession, and compassion towards a suffering public, whose condition (in lieu of the Act contemplated) you would best ameliorate by rendering exhumation felony, and quackery fraud.

"Finally, Sir, would mankind benefit their health or condition in society, I conjure them, without delay, to petition Parliament against a measure confessedly uncalled for, and fraught with suffering and degradation to them. 'Virtus in actione consistit.'

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"WM. HORSLEY, M.D.

"North Shields, Dec. 1828."

Now, my friends, observe, that *no answer* was ever given to this letter. DOCTOR PAYNE, an eminent physician of Nottingham, has just published a letter, sent by him to WARBURTON, expressing similar opinions, and concluding with the following words :

"There appears to be a path now presenting itself, by which the detestable crimes of burking and violating the remains of the dead may be no longer practised. The remains of murderers should as usual be given for dissection, but the bodies of none others; and transportation for those who steal or receive dead bodies. A law should also be passed to compel the teaching of anatomy by the artificial subject as in France.

"I hope the idea of giving up the bodies of the unclaimed dead will be immediately abandoned, as it increases the exasperation which is constantly souring the minds of the working and middle classes, and rendering it unsafe to dwell in the land. It reminds them of the words of Southey the poet :—

" ' Wretched is the infant's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot;
Be he generous, wise, or brave,
He must only be a slave!
Long, long labour, little rest,
Still to toil to be oppressed;
Drain'd by taxes of his store,—
Punished next for being poor.
This is the poor wretch's lot,
Born within the straw-roof'd cot.' "

"Yes, the people make their remarks,
' When we have lost our all, and have out-
lived our friends and relations, our bodies
' are to be given up for dissection! "

"I remain, with much respect,

"Yours respectfully,

"H. PAYNE, M.D.

' Nottingham, Dec. 10, 1831."

Thus, then, the *preamble* of the bill is false: this cutting up of human bodies is *unnecessary to the learning of surgery*. But now, if it *were necessary* to the perfection of that science, still a law like this ought not to be passed; and nothing ought to be done tending to put the bodies of the people on *a level with the bodies of beasts*. The assertion of the advocates of this carcass-cutting system is this: that unless the carcass and cutting fellows be allowed to carry on their practices, the knowledge of surgery *will be imperfect*; and that, therefore, the hacking and bloody practice must continue, and dead human bodies (to use the vulgar and unfeeling phrase of HUME) must become "*cheap*" in the market; or that some complaints

to which we are liable must remain *without a cure*, and that many persons would, of course, *die sooner than they would die*, if the cutting and hacking system continued, and if HUME's *cheap human flesh* continued amply to supply the market.

This is the *ASSERTION* on which WARBURTON, HUME, DENMAN, and the rest of them, ground their project for making human bodies "*CHEAP*," as HUME calls it; and the bill, taken along with this argument of these men, will, if it become a law, say this to the nation: "Your dead bodies must be made *to come cheap* to those who deal in them and cut them up; or *some of you will die sooner than you otherwise would die*." This is the sum total of all that they have to say. HUME has *totted* the matter up; and this is the "*tottal*" of it. And now, my friends, hear *my answer* to these advocates of *free trade* in your flesh, blood, and bones.

FIRST of all; we have not only the *opinions* of Dr. HORSLEY against the *utility* of the butchery, but his *opinion* that it is *mischievous*; and he produces other high authorities in support of his opinions. But we have his *reasons* in support of the opinions; and we have, as far as I have observed, had *no answer* to these reasons.

NEXT; if this cutting-up work be so necessary, so indispensable, to the learning of surgery; how comes it that this *did not use to be the case*? How comes it that this traffic in human bodies, that the making of human flesh and bones "*cheap*," as HUME calls it, was never found to be necessary BEFORE? Men's bodies have always been constructed as they are now; they have always been subject to the same ailments that they are subject to now; life has always been valued as highly as it is now; and yet never until now was this cutting up and hacking to pieces of the dead people deemed necessary to the health of the living people; and never until now did a band of surgeons take it into their heads to apply to the government to *set aside the ancient law of the land*, in order that they

might have *free trade in human bodies*, to cut up and hack about at their pleasure! This is like the case of the *poor law*: it did very well for *two hundred and fifty years*; but now it is found out that it *does harm*, and that STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS, and HARNESSING the poor, and that DISPOSING OF THEIR DEAD BODIES to be cut up, are necessary. Strange thing, that this WARBURTON should tell us, that he means his law *for the benefit of the poor*, while he talks of no law to *repeal Sturges Bourne's Bills*; no law to put a stop to the *harnessing* of them, and *making them draw like BEASTS OF BURDEN*; no law to prevent *hired overseers* from cutting off the hair of young girls; no law to prevent them from being treated like *beasts*; and only a law to make it no crime to receive their dead bodies and to hack them to pieces; and this too *out of kindness to them!*

So much for *authority and experience* to show that the horrible traffic in human flesh is not necessary. Indeed, as Dr. HORSLEY says, it is of no use to anybody but illiterate quacks: it is, as he says, the *scandal and disgrace* of a most learned, honourable, and useful profession. ROUSSEAU said long ago, that a great increase of the number of medical and surgical practitioners was a sure sign of the *decay of a nation*: and this is one of the signs of our decay at this moment. But, all this aside; setting all these arguments against the horrible practice down for nothing; and admitting the above assertion of the advocates of *free trade* in human bodies to be *true*: admitting that your dead bodies must, in the words of HUME and DENMAN, be made "*cheap*" to those who cut them up: admitting that "*your dead bodies must be made to come cheap*" to those who deal in them and cut them up, or *that some of you would die sooner than you otherwise would die.*" I deny it; but, let us, for argument's sake, *admit it in its fullest extent*; and then let us see, whether it be not far better that we should be exposed to the endurance of some, and even to great *bodily ills*; and

that some, and even many of us, *should die sooner* than we should if the horrible butchery were to go on: the question is, whether this would not be *preferable* to the suffering of this traffic to continue: whether it would not be *better* for us to endure these ills, and be subject to these dangers, than to insure, even to INSURE, ourselves against them, by sanctioning this horrible traffic in dead bodies? This is the question: and this question every man that has anything of real humanity left about him, every man who cannot coolly *tot-up* the value of human feelings, will, without any hesitation, not only answer in the affirmative, but will feel somewhat offended at the question being put to him.

Those who make the above-stated assertion, and who, on its being admitted, seem to think it *conclusive* for their purpose, proceed upon the truly base idea, that there is NOTHING SO VALUABLE AS LIFE; an idea just upon a level with the instinctive feeling of the most insensible of brutes. But, is this the idea of those who are worthy to be called *men and women*? Where is the man (worthy of that name) who would not prefer the death of a wife or daughter to her prostitution; where is the man (worthy of that name) who would not prefer his own death to his assent to such prostitution? In thousands of instances, men (and working men too) have gone to certain death, rather than live with the reproach of having betrayed other men. There is, then, *something more valuable than life*; and is the value of life, then, to be put in competition with the value of *all those feelings which distinguish men from brutes*? And all, yea all, these feelings must be banished from the breast, before the mind will cease to contemplate with reverence and awe the remains of the dead.

As to the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, it is pure, not hypocrisy, but sheer impudence, to pretend to believe that it can long exist in a country where the law makes human bodies the subject of open traffic, where it authorizes the cutting of them up, the ripping and hacking

of them to pieces, with no more ceremony than the cutting-up of the bodies of sheep and pigs. We all know, for we have all first or last felt, that the bare sight of a dead human body fills us with serious thoughts, and that even a funeral, passing by, has, in some degree, the same effect. Can this continue to be the case, if it shall become a fact familiar to every mind, that a human body has belonging to it nothing more sacred than the body of a hog or a dog? People of all the sects of Christians have been careful to set apart places for the burial of the dead. However they disagree in other matters, they are all of accord in this, to reverence the remains of the dead. But how is this feeling to exist, when they shall know that the *trade in dead bodies is free*; and that, as Sir ROBERT INGLIS states it, there are always "EIGHT HUNDRED MEN in London" engaged in *learning how to cut human bodies to pieces!*"

If this law pass, what becomes of the "*consecration of ground?*" What becomes of the *Church Service*? What becomes of the *Kubrick*; what of "*the burial of the dead?*" Dispense with *that*; declare, by *law*, that that is *useless*; and, then, where will there be to be found even a parson, though with half-a-dozen benefices, brazen enough to tell any of the people of any of his parishes, that *any part* of the Book of Common Prayer is worthy of their attention? What, if a law like this be passed, will any parson, after that, demand *fees* for saying *prayers over dead bodies*? It is as well, for *morals and religion*, that those bodies be sold and cut up, as that they be buried in a church-yard with the usual solemnities; or, it is not. If the latter, the intended law is *injurious to morals and religion*: if the former, we have long *been paying burial fees merely to fatten the parsons*. In short, it must be evident to every man who reflects but for a moment, that *a belief in a future state of existence* is impossible to be kept alive, for *any length of time*, in a country where the law makes (as law would make) *no distinction in the treatment of*

the dead body of a man and that of the dead body of a horse; both being alike articles of traffic; both being openly cut up for the use of the purchaser; both being hacked about with an equal absence of all ceremony.

We all know the *power of habit*; we all know that the blackest crimes proceed from *small beginnings*; theft, robbery, burglary, murder, is generally the march. The habit of our thoughts has made the most of men hesitate at the commission of the last horrid crime: they have hitherto seen something in a human body that held back their hands: but when, as in the case of the monster BISHOP, they have been *accustomed* to consider human bodies as nothing more sacred than those of pigs and sheep, what is to restrain them from resorting to the killing of those bodies? This bill may, perhaps, not *directly*, authorise the selling of the bodies of poor people dying in poor-houses and hospitals and prisons; but that such are the *tendency and intention* of it nobody can doubt. It is well known, that the *rich* have the means of *protecting* the dead bodies of their relations, and that the poor have not. And where is the man so brutal as to say that his heart is not chilled with the thought of proclaiming openly to the unfortunate poor, that their carcases when dead are to be sold for dissection? What! is there a man in England to propose this? And is this proposition to be made even to the Parliament, and that too in a country where the depositories of the dead, and the decent interment of dead bodies, have always been objects of such attention? Are there men hardy enough for this? What! the poor labourer, who, after having toiled all his life; after having brought himself to death, at a premature old age, very likely, by the excess of his toil; is he, because in his old age he is compelled to resort to the parish for relief, to be harassed in his last moments with the thought that in a few minutes the butchers will have their knives in his belly, and be hacking and chopping him to pieces like the carcase of a dead dog? Oh! no. England will never see this. Is the husband

to see his dead wife taken away in the butcher's cart, and carried to the slaughter-house, instead of having the mournful duty to perform of following her to the grave? Are fathers and mothers to see their children, and are children to see their parents, tossed into the bloody cart and carried away for dissection? The very thought fills me, and I trust it will fill every Englishman who is worthy of the name, with indignation not to be expressed.

The working people in the country have given the best possible proof of their abhorrence of any law, having such a tendency, by forming themselves into CLUBS for the purpose of providing the means of WATCHING THEIR OWN GRAVES, AND THOSE OF THEIR NEAR AND DEAR RELATIONS; a fact to their everlasting honour, and to the everlasting disgrace of those who have rendered this measure necessary. Talk of *Reform*, indeed! The people will be able easily to estimate the character and views of those "*Reformers*" who want to make dead human bodies "*cheap*" in the dissecting market! This is now, apparently, become a measure of the "*Reforming Ministry*." The people will at last have to rely, I dare say, upon the Lords again; and if they drive this bill from them with indignation, they will not only act justly, but *wisely*; and will, by this one act, do more for the honour and stability of *their order*, than by all the other means that human wit would be able to devise.

Now, my friends, keep your eye on *all those* whom you perceive to be in *favour of this bill*. I will do my best to *place them safely upon record*. For my part, my determination is, that if this bill pass, to do my utmost to cause its repeal, and never to hold any confidential intercourse with any one of those who may have supported it. And in the meanwhile I remain your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

WONDERFUL CHANGES.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Manchester, Jan. 21, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

You have, in numerous instances, seen me abused or ridiculed for years together by those who have, at last, become the advocates of the very opinions, for the promulgating of which they have abused and ridiculed and despitely treated me; and you have never seen any one of these my revilers accompany his conversion by confessing his former errors and injustice. Such is conspicuously the case at this moment. The "*order of the day*" seems to be *poor-laws for Ireland!* The *Quarterly Review*, my old and constant calumniator; the far greater part of the BROADSHEET, and especially the *Morning Chronicle*, all are for *poor-laws for Ireland!* Mr. SADLER, the Duke of Newcastle's member, and now a *candidate for Leeds*, brings forward a petition for *poor-laws for Ireland*; and says, that for years he has *stood alone* in advocating the measure! I'll be sworn for you, that not one in a hundred of you ever heard of Mr. SADLER, except as an advocate for the *penal laws against the Catholics*, and for the *continuance of rotten boroughs*. But you have long witnessed my efforts on the side of *poor-laws for Ireland*, and have long heard me abused and ridiculed for those efforts.

In 1812, when the Catholics were pressing their claims to what was called *emancipation*, I urged the adoption of poor-laws for Ireland, insisting, that without those, emancipation could be of no use; and I never called for emancipation without expressly calling for poor-laws at the same time. In 1822, I refused to subscribe for the relief of the Irish, telling the parish-collectors, that it would only be *giving my money to the savage Irish landowners*, who ought to be made to give relief to the poor of Ireland as we relieved the poor of England. At the Kent meeting, in 1828, I offered a petition, in which the same sentiment was expressed. In 1829, when the Emancipation Bill was before Parliament, I said it would be of

no use without poor-laws. When the bill had been passed, I petitioned the Parliament to repeal the *Protestant hierarchy and pass poor-laws*; for that, without these, Ireland must become more troubled than ever. And that, with regard to the general principles of the poor-laws, how invariably have I supported them; and when have I failed to express my hatred of MALTHEUS, of STURGES BOURNE, and of every other man who has done or said anything tending to cause the poor-law of England (the great original poor-law) to be chipped away? The *Register* of 1818 contains (I forget the precise date) a letter to the hardened PARSON MALTHEUS in defence of this sacred law, this *Magna Charta* of the working millions; in 1826, I published the POOR MAN'S FRIEND (to which Dr. Doyle refers Mr. O'CONNELL), establishing the RIGHT to parochial relief in all cases of want of the necessaries of life. In short, during the last twenty years, it has formed no small part of the labours of my laborious life to maintain and enforce this great and undoubted right: so that, unless Mr. SADLER wrote on the subject more than twenty years ago, he certainly now puts forward a claim wholly unfounded; and upon what ground does he say that he has "stood alone" in advocating poor-laws for Ireland?

But now, suffer me to take an article from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 17th instant. You have read Mr. O'CONNELL's very strange speech on this subject, and Dr. DOYLE's letter to him on that speech. The *Morning Chronicle* remarks on these; and then it goes on to remark on an article in the *Quarterly Review*, containing a commentary on the pamphlet of a *Prig* of the name of SENIOR, who is a professor of "*Political Economy*"; that is to say, a Scotch fellow who wants to chip away our poor-laws, that our labourers may be compelled to live on potatoes, in order that fellows like this may have plenty of meat without being forced to work for it: just like MALTHEUS, who, while he urged the Parliament to take all relief from the working people, got

a pension for himself, to be paid by those working people. The QUARTERLY REVIEWERS expose the folly and the falseness of this impudent Scotch fellow, SENIOR; and the *Chronicle* publishes extracts from the commentary, merely interspersed with very just remarks of its own. I shall now insert the whole of this article. The parts in the larger letter are the remarks of the *Chronicle*; those in the smaller are from the *Review*. Pray, read the whole with attention, and you will almost think that you are reading *old Registers*.

1. In an account of the proceedings of the Irish National Union, on Thursday last, which we have extracted from the *Dublin Morning Register*, will be found a speech of Mr. O'CONNELL, in answer to Dr. DOYLE's letter to him on the subject of the poor-laws. Much of the argument of Mr. O'CONNELL has not so much reference to the general question as the particular grounds on which he was attacked by Dr. DOYLE. With respect to the general question, it does not appear to us that Mr. O'CONNELL has offered any other argument against the establishment of poor-laws, than that tribunals must be established to determine whether the persons claiming relief are entitled to it, and that the poor must in consequence be the slaves of such tribunals. This is rather a fine-spun argument against the solid grounds in favour of a plan, by which alone the miserable peasantry can be secured against the caprice and mismanagement of the landowner, and the peace of the country can be preserved. Mr. O'CONNELL has no other panacea than the repeal of the Union. What the effect of such a measure might be we will not now consider, as we wish to confine our speculations to means compatible with the existing constitution. Mr. O'CONNELL himself has said that he wishes the repeal merely as a means to an end, and that end is the prosperity of Ireland. If the prosperity of Ireland can be secured under the Union, the repeal in that case becomes unnecessary.

2. But nothing is more certain than that, without compulsory poor-rates, the mass of the people of Ireland must con-

tinue in a state of destitution, from which they cannot by any possibility extricate themselves, and the law must always remain a dead letter in a country in which the people have not an interest in enforcing it.

3. Mr. O'CONNELL wishes to secure the liberty of the Irish. No word has been more abused than *liberty*. In a perfect social system there can be no liberty; for liberty supposes the absence of all restraint, and under a good social system our liberty is necessarily limited by our mutual rights and mutual obligations. Ireland furnishes a flagrant instance of violation of several of the principles essential to a good social system—namely, the existence of rights without corresponding obligations. The soil of a country belongs to the inhabitants of that country; and if the ownership be given to individuals, it ought always to be understood, on the condition that the ownership is exercised in such a way as shall be for the benefit of the nation. But in Ireland the owner can avail himself of the competition of the wretched inhabitants for the possession of land as a means of existence, while he is relieved from all responsibility with regard to them. In the *Quarterly Review*, just published, there is an able article on SENIOR's letter on the Irish poor, in which a poor-law is shown to be essentially necessary to the well-being both of Ireland and England. Alluding to the point which we have been now examining, the reviewer observes:—

4. A country, the bulk of whose population is insufficiently supplied with the coarsest kind of food, annually sends away from her shores that enormous quantity of the very produce of her land, for want of which her own population are dying by inches, their lives shortened—as is proved by the mean duration of life in that country, as compared to England—to one-fourth of their natural term! How are we to explain the fearful paradox? For whose advantage is it that this mass of food leaves the country before the pressing wants of its inhabitants are half satisfied? For that of those whom the law invests with the ownership of the land. But the right of the inhabitants of a country to be permitted to earn a maintenance from it, if they can, by their own exertions, is a sacred right. Equally in vain is it that the economists quote the favourite dogma which they so often put forward, certainly

without comprehending its multitudinous limitations, that it is mischievous to give by law any artificial direction to employment or capital—that people must be left to apply their resources in their own way, and they will be certain to do so in that which is best for the community at large. We should be glad to know what it is that at present disables a stout Irishman from providing subsistence for himself and his family, by the labour of his own good right arm, on the nearest plot of earth, but the artificial impediment *already* placed by law in the way of the natural direction of his industry? Whilst the law thus interferes by wholesale to appropriate all the soil of the country, and all the wealth that is found on or under its surface, shall the legislature scruple to interfere in the appropriation of a fractional part of that soil or wealth, in order to save thousands from perishing by want? and this upon the score that *all* interference, forsooth, is contrary to sound principle? Shall we thus swallow the camel and strain at the gnat? How are we to characterise a law which ties up men's hands from helping themselves, and renders them no help in compensation? If I tether a horse in a corner, and prevent it from grazing, and yet bring it no food, am I not guilty of its death as much as if I slaughtered it?

5. Ireland never will be in a sound state so long as the law regards not the welfare of the people, but considers merely a comparatively small number of individuals the owners of the soil. But the connexion with England has even deprived the Irish peasantry of a material corrective of the abuse of the power of landowners; for it has freed the landowners from the apprehensions at all times to be entertained from the rising of a population in a state of destitution. The people of England guarantee to the Irish landlord the collection of his rents, however exorbitant, so that he may proceed undauntedly in his career of picking the peasantry to the backbone, in full reliance on English bayonets.

6. But the people of England do not merely suffer in being obliged to repress the disorders caused by the exemption from responsibility of the Irish landowners. The burdens of the English are increased by the destitution in which the Irish are suffered to exist. And here the people of England have right to insist on a remedy for the evil entailed on them by the difference between the laws of the two countries regarding the poor.

7. The slowness with which many Irish landlords (observes the Reviewer) are induced to see the advantage to their country and to themselves, of a compulsory assessment on their property for the relief and employment of its poor, may be intelligible. They look to its immediate effect—to the rate of one, two, or perhaps three shillings in the pound on their rental—and they shut their eyes to the ultimate policy of the measure, and their ears to the cries of the afflicted, and their hearts to the influence of pity, and their understandings to that of justice. But how is it that the English do not bestir themselves more actively? It does not surely require much penetration in an English farmer, to perceive that he is competing with his Irish rival in his own markets at a grievous disadvantage, after paying a heavy poor-rate, from which the other is exempt, and high wages to his labourers, whilst the labourer of the Irish farmer, having no other resource from starvation, must be content with a miserable pittance. Surely no English landlord can be blind to the fact that, under these circumstances, prices of produce in the markets of Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, and London, which may afford a rent to the Irish landlord, and a profit to the Irish cultivator, will scarcely pay the English poor-rate on the same quality of soil, and put rent and profit out of all question. He can hardly avoid seeing, that so long as there is perfect freedom of intercourse between the two countries, for men and goods, the Irish poor must either directly or indirectly be maintained out of the English poor-rates, and the high rents of Ireland come in great part out of the English poor-rates, and the high rents of Ireland come in great part out of the English landowner's pocket. It was an oversight, no doubt, in the landed interest of Great Britain, not to have insisted, in 1807, on the land of the three kingdoms being put in this respect on an equal footing, before the duties on the importation of Irish produce were taken off. But is it possible that they have not yet opened their eyes to the error, and made up their minds to insist on its rectification? Can any claim be more just or reasonable? Goods and persons pass with unlimited freedom between the two countries. But in one, the land is heavily burdened to provide for the necessities of the labouring class—in the other, there is no such provision. The natural consequence is, that the poor of the latter resort in crowds to the former island to avoid starvation, undersell the natives in the over-thronged markets for labour, and drive them upon the poor-rates of their parishes. Had Ireland the same poor-laws as England, why should there be any difference in the rate of wages of the two countries? or why should the Irish migrate to England, rather than the English to Ireland?

8. Were there no other reasons in favour of poor-laws, the interest which they necessarily give to the rich to im-

prove the condition of the poor, both physically and morally, ought to recommend them to all philanthropists. The rich are soon reminded, when they neglect their duties to the poor, that *they cannot themselves exist in comfort while the poor are not in a state of comfort. What a lesson is taught by the fires of the incendiary!* An Irish landlord might strike terror into a district for the sake of a few offenders, turning hundreds adrift to perish by the waysides. *But in England the people cannot be got rid of,* and the truth in time forces itself on the better classes, that they will suffer more by neglecting the poor than by ameliorating their condition. When contagious distempers exist either in the moral or physical world, the rich must, for their own sakes, seek to remove the cause of the distempers. Ever since the appearance of the cholera, increased attention has been paid to the condition of the poor, and pains have been taken to impress on them the advantages of cleanliness and sobriety. *The torch of the incendiary* has, in like manner, roused the occupiers of the soil, and impressed them with the necessity of *guarding against the abuses in the administration of the poor-laws, which led to the discontent, in which the fires originated.* OUT OF EVIL COMETH GOOD. We are assured that, in many places, *a great improvement in the circumstances of the poor has been the consequence.* The abuses themselves are not to be defended, and *they lead to their own remedy.*

9. Can any two things (says the Reviewer) be more distinct than the giving an allowance to a farmer's labourer already fully employed, under pretence of aiding him to support his wife and children, and the setting a man to work when wholly destitute of employment? Is it not clear that the first practice tends to throw the maintenance of every labourer's family upon the parish; breaks down all distinction between paupers and ordinary labourers, between relief and wages; permits employers to lower the wages they choose to offer down to a bare maintenance for the man alone, without losing his services; alters the whole complexion and condition of the labouring class, by apportioning the income of each individual, not to his character, skill, and industry, but to the size of his family; thus naturally giving rise to the terrific and daily-

increasing evils which are found wherever the system of supplementing wages prevails? But, on the contrary, none of these consequences can be urged against the mode of relief by "setting to work" the unemployed and able-bodied. This is not only a different practice, but it is, in every way, the very reverse of the other. It leaves untouched and uninterfered with all the remainder of the class—all but the few who are actually without any employment; these are set to work on some public improvement—as a road, canal, &c. They are taken out of the market for labour, and no longer compete with the other labourers, or influence, in any manner, the current rate of wages, which settles itself on its true principles, according to the work wanted and done. Whatever number of labourers are found to remain permanently in this way on the parish, they mark the extent of its *surplus* labour, and offer an obvious motive to the parish to devise some means of removing them, by emigration or otherwise. In the meantime, they receive for their *parish work* bare *parish pay*, and are thus placed, both as to character and circumstances, in a lower grade than the labourers who work for private employers. There is, therefore, an obvious inducement for them to endeavour to obtain private employment, if possible—to struggle to keep themselves off the parish. A broad and wholesome line of demarcation is drawn between the pauper and the common labourer, and the mischiefs of the allowance system are wholly prevented. If Mr. SENIOR cannot perceive the difference between these two systems (and he will see them practically exemplified in Sussex and Northumberland), he surely ought not to venture to write on subjects he must be incompetent to elucidate. If he can discriminate between them, often as the distinction has been drawn, what are we to say of his candour and fairness?"

10. On every principle of justice, the English and Scotch are entitled to be relieved from the burden entailed on Britain by the absence of poor-laws in Ireland. The immigration of Irish poor into this country tends greatly to deteriorate the condition of the English labourers, and to add to the burden of parishes. But putting England and Scotland out of consideration, Ireland itself can never know tranquillity till the great body of the people have a hold on the owners of the soil. We have always maintained that the plans for giving relief merely to the sick and aged would fail to be beneficial, and that it is of the essence of a good system of poor-laws to compel the rich to find work for the poor, or to enable them to find work. The Reviewer

forcibly observes, in answer to an objection of Mr. SENIOR's; that the whole rental of Ireland, if distributed among the labourers, would give to each only five shillings a week:—

11. Was there ever so unjust and inappropriate an argument? Here the whole net produce of the land is supposed to be given up to the poor unconditionally, and no new produce created in its place. If we advocated an Agrarian law like this, well indeed might Mr. SENIOR and the Irish landlords dissent from us. But they must well know that what we propose is, that the sums raised as poor-rate (and so far a deduction from rent) be strictly, and economically, and judiciously applied in the employment of the now idle able-bodied poor, on works of public and private utility, such as it has been over and over again proved, if undertaken in Ireland, will *create new wealth* infinitely exceeding the outlay, and ultimately, indeed very shortly, add to the rents of the landlords a great deal more than it takes from them. Is there any similitude between the two propositions? Between the *giving away* the whole, or a portion, of an Irish landlord's rental, and the requiring him to expend a portion of it in setting to work the now idle beggars and plunderers infesting his estate, in permanent improvements of that estate, or of the neighbourhood, which will infallibly, under good management, bring him in before long a high *profit* on the outlay? It is quite clear, that those persons who oppose the introduction of a law into Ireland, compelling the setting to work of the unemployed able-bodied poor, on the same grounds as Mr. SENIOR, either wilfully or blindly mistake the proposition. So far from thinking that this is a part of the English poor-law which can or ought to be omitted in its application to Ireland, we consider it to be the very essence of the system required by that country. Relief for the sick and aged is quite a secondary consideration. If the able-bodied are sure of employment at sufficient wages, they will generally be able to maintain their infirm and old relations. Dispensaries and hospitals are necessary enough, but they reach not the real evil which afflicts that unhappy land. The curse of Ireland is the general want of employment for its inhabitants, and the consequent idle and unproductive vagrancy, habits of plunder, occasional starvation, disease, despair, and turbulence. Any poor-law applied to Ireland, that merely provided relief for the sick, without containing, as its foremost provision, that essential feature in a law of relief, the setting to work every man capable of work who has no means whereby to maintain himself, the rendering labour a condition to be fulfilled before subsistence be administered, will be not only useless, but deeply, ruinously injurious. Such a poor-law would indeed prove in practice to be "confiscation and an Agrarian law." Every stout peasant would lie idle in bed till he became qualified for parish

relief as sick and impotent, and would thenceforward never be found out of his bed by the overseer. Ireland would be turned into one great infirmary, and the rental of the landowners be consumed by the poor without the possibility of any return.

Now, my friends, readers of the *Register*, what do you say to *that*? Say! why that the *Chronicle* and the *Review* are a couple of *thieving* publications; that they have stolen my thoughts, and that they have been unable to put them on paper in so good a way as I should have done. That is what you will say. But, besides this, what will you, or, rather, what will DENMAN say to DOCTOR BLACK, when that surprisingly clever *Attorney-GENERAL* shall have read paragraph EIGHT. Pray read it again, and look well at the words, that I have put in *italics*! What! does not the Doctor remember that I was prosecuted for saying that the "*FIRES had done GOOD!*" And what does the Doctor say here? Why, the very same thing; only he says it without any qualification at all, and without any other part of his paper containing anything *condemning* the setting of fire, which my paper did. He says, that *the torch of the incendiary* was put in motion by *discontent*; that this discontent arose from *abuses* (committed by magistrates and others) in *administering the poor-laws*; that the *consequence* of the fires has been an *improvement in the condition of the poor*; that thus, "*OUT OF EVIL COMETH GOOD*;" that the abuses are not to be defended, and that they *lead to the fires*, which are *the remedy for them!* And this, observe, while the fires are blazing away with more fury than ever. Ah! but the Doctor is not "*a labourer*" of St. Clement Danes, as poor miserable toiling I was, of "*Saint Dunstan's-in-the-West.*" The Doctor is one of the petty noblesse: he is a *dignitary*: it was I that made him so, to be sure; but, really, if he go on at this rate, I must cancel his diploma; and he will not be able to get one from an English university, unless he can produce a certificate that he is more than half an idiot; nor from a Scotch university, unless he be willing to give a cast coat or an old pair of shoes, or can afford the price of

a bullock's liver; neither of which, would he, who knows them well, give for the knowledge in all the skulls of all the gangs of professors. So let him take care if he mean to keep the much-envied station in which I had the generosity to place him.

TO MR. O'CONNELL.

Manchester, 21st Jan. 1832.

SIR,

NEVER liking to go in a *crowd*, especially to the *attack*, I shall not trouble you with the remarks which I intended to make on the closing part of your speech against the poor-laws for Ireland. Except upon this one subject, you will find no additional opponent in me. In the instance of Lord CLONCURRY, I hope that you both go far beyond the mark; and it is now for the first time that I learn that there has been any disagreement between you. I heartily approve of all your endeavours to humble, to pull down, to drag in the dirt, the stupid, haughty, and insolent men who affect to consider you to be their *inferior*; and though I doubt (considering the state of their *concern*) whether it be *worth your while* to trouble yourself with them, still they deserve so much pulling down at your hands, and I so like to see them pulled down, that I cannot call upon you to stay your hand, save only in a case where to pull them down, *the country must be injured*; and such a case is the *poor-law question*. Besides, do you think that *they want poor-laws in Ireland*? Not a man of them. They are under the influence of the *Malthusian crew of Scotch economists*. Instead of giving poor-laws to Ireland, *they want to take them from England*, at which they have been working for the last twenty years; and the most effectual way of working them, is, to demand for Ireland, none of the Sturges Bourne stuff; but old Betsy's Bill, which Ireland ought to have had *two hundred years ago*; as I have so clearly proved in "*Protestant Reformation*" and "*Poor Man's Friend.*"

But, I beseech you, leave the business,

for awhile, to BROUGHAM AND VAUX, SPRING RICE, and PROUD STANLEY, and do, pray, take a look at the proceedings of a meeting, held AT LEEDS, in *Old England*, on the 12th of this present month of January, 1832. Here you will find matter to delight every good Irishman and every good Englishman too. The meeting was called by the Mayor, for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of a petition to Parliament praying for the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland. Mr. SADLER, who is well known as a member of the Duke of Newcastle, who is also well known to be a native of Leeds, and who is a reform-candidate for that town in opposition to BABBINGTON MACAULAY, who is a son of old SIERRA LEONE ZACHARY, and who is, you know, one of Lord Lansdowne's members for the dead-ripe borough of CALNE, in Wiltshire. This Babbington has the support of one BAINES, proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury*, who, in fact, put BROUGHAM AND VAUX into Parliament for Yorkshire, and who is, you know, called the GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH; a name, which on account of his publications, he most richly deserves. You now know the parties. The proceedings began by a friend of Mr. SADLER moving the following resolution.

"That in the opinion of this meeting, some system of *parochial relief*, which shall be *compulsory on the owners of property in Ireland*, is *absolutely necessary*, and that petitions be sent from the borough of Leeds to the two Houses of Parliament, praying for the establishment of some *legal provision for the poor of Ireland*, and that the same be presented by Lord Harewood to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Sadler to the House of Commons."

BAINES, in order to thwart SADLER, and, thereby to support MACAULAY, was obliged to do something to keep SADLER from carrying off this large bunch of laurel. A *negative* would not do by any means; *mitigated* poor-laws would not do; it demanded something of a very *decided character*. SADLER presented the meeting with a bold and grand attack on the *estates of the Irish landlords*; and BAINES saw that there

was no surpassing this but by an attack, equally grand, on the *estates of the Church*! Accordingly, a friend of BAINES moved, as an amendment, the following resolution:

"That a petition be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying that they will not saddle Ireland with a poor-law until all the church property that formerly belonged to the poor of that country be, by legislative enactment, appropriated to the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but that in their wisdom they would appropriate such property to the relief of the poor."

Well you may rub your eyes! Don't rub them out, however; for you have a pretty deal stronger stuff than this to come. This motion was *finally carried* by a vast majority; and SADLER, who evidently saw that it would, took his revenge before-hand, in a long and able speech in support of the original motion. BAINES, in the absence of BABBINGTON MACAULAY, answered SADLER. I will now insert a large part of both their speeches, which you will find to contain really "*high matter*," as Burke would have called it. I copy them, word for word, from a paper called the *Leeds Intelligencer*; and I put them in larger print than I generally do matter thus republished, because I wish them to be read with ease.

MR. SADLER.

"Instead of making the poor wretched people who may be going about knowing not where to earn a morsel of food the victims, not of crimes, but of misfortune, and of all those vicissitudes by which men are reduced to penury and wretchedness, dependent on the eleemosynary gifts of individuals, and the accidental charities of benevolent bodies, the superfluous wealth of the country, whether in the hands of ecclesiastics or laymen, should assist the diseased, the distressed, and the aged—(applause);—and not as a matter of favour, not as a matter of consideration, but as a matter of right: for I am one of those who hold that the poorest man in this

"country in a state of distress has as
 "just and equitable a claim for relief
 "as has the proudest peer in this em-
 "pire to his ample domains. (Ap-
 "plause.) Then, gentlemen, what does
 "that proposition amount to? I have
 "already told you that *I am for the*
 "*abolition of tithes*; but I tell you that
 "if you give the whole amount of the
 "tithes to the poor it is insufficient to
 "relieve the whole of the distress in
 "Ireland. ("No, no," "Yes, yes.") I
 "say it is not; and I know I shall
 "have a fair hearing. If I might have
 my measure as I wish to carry it, I
 would have property of every descrip-
 tion amenable to the sustentation of
 'the people of Ireland. And here I
 'will mention a circumstance which
 'just recurs to my recollection. The
 last time I came before my townsmen,
 here, on this subject, an honourable
 gentleman whom I see opposite, Mr.
 Baines, said that a poor-law in Ireland
 would have the effect of absorbing
 the whole property of the country. If
 that were true, how very inadequate
 must the tithes, even the whole of
 them, be for the required purpose!
 Who can say that that resource is
 adequate to the great emergency
 which opens before you? According
 to my plan, I would not take from
 the little cultivator any part of his
 produce; but see how the system
 proposed would play into the hands of
 overseers in that respect. And sup-
 posing that the tithes are sufficient,
 what, then, becomes of the four mil-
 lions which are annually abstracted by
 those who are neglecting their duties,
 and who are many of them the most
 oppressive landlords on earth? (Ap-
 plause.) I repeat it; I have said it
 to the faces of some of them; I have
 said it before the British public, and
 I repeat, that some of the most op-
 pressive landlords on earth are to be
 found in Ireland. Of fourteen or fif-
 teen millions of rental, about four
 millions go to support those abse-
 tees: some of it in the metropolis of
 England, perchance, some of it in
 "Paris, and some of it in those seats of
 "corruption and vice too commonly to
 "be found in another favourite country
 "—I mean in Italy. They take from
 "the hard-worked peasant, the pittance
 "he ought to share with them; and
 "yet the political economists of the
 "*Maculloch school* have, in their re-
 "views, magazines, newspapers, and
 "other publications, made it clearly
 "out, that it is no manner of mis-
 "chief at all if a great wealthy pro-
 "prietor, owning his forty or sixty
 "thousand acres, should desert his poor
 "tenantry and neighbours, and leave
 "them without labour. ('No,' and
 "cheers.) No man living can deny with
 "truth what I say. ('No.') No man
 "living can deny that this is the
 "state of the case; or say that there
 "is any mystification in the argument.
 "Shall I give you the pedigree of some
 "of these estates? I wish not to speak
 "disrespectfully of any political oppo-
 "nents. ("Speak of the Duke of New-
 "castle first." Mr. JOSHUA BOWER—
 "'No, let's have the Bishops first.' 'The
 'Bishops first.' An interruption occurred
 'for some time, in the midst of which
 'Mr. Samuel Clapham attempted to
 'speak, but the Mayor pronounced Mr.
 'Sadler in possession of the meeting.
 'The hon. Gent. thus proceeded.)
 'Gentlemen, I have nothing whatever
 'to complain of you. You did not
 "interrupt me, nor would you have
 "done so if the gentleman who has
 'taken great pains since to call you to
 "order had not led the way. (Mr.
 "Bower here denied that he was the
 "cause of the uproar, which occasioned
 "another interruption for some time.)
 'Gentlemen, need I again tell you that
 "whether the tithes are in the hands of
 "ecclesiastics or laymen, I am an
 "enemy to the collection of tithes, and
 "of the system of tithes? I said years
 "ago, in a book that is before the
 "public, that it was the relic of a bar-
 "barous system, oppressive of course
 "in its operation to all classes. But
 "suppose that the *Duke of Devonshire*
 "*may have seventy parishes*, and the
 'ecclesiastic only one. (Here Mr.
 'Sadler was interrupted by the persons
 "before-mentioned, who stood behind
 "him.) I must complain of the con-

"duct of those individuals, I am called
 "upon to take part in the discussion of
 "this question, at a moment's warning,
 "without any preparation, and yet I am
 "not allowed to follow my own course,
 "though no part of the subject would I
 "willingly omit. Still, gentlemen, I
 "say, that whether I see a resident ec-
 "clesiastic who may have a single pa-
 "rish, or the *Duke of Devonshire* who
 "may have seventy, I am not to draw
 "the distinction—I think it is a barba-
 "rous system. As his Majesty's Gov-
 "ernment have done me the honour,
 "without my privity, to place me on
 "the committee regarding tithes in
 "Ireland, though I am understood to
 "be opposed to them on many politi-
 "cal questions, I say that I will ap-
 "proach the question, as one of that
 "committee, with the most thorough
 "intention of assisting the oppressed
 "people of Ireland. (Applause.) But
 "I will tell you again, that that is not
 "enough for me; and I will make a
 "few observations upon what has fallen
 "from Mr. Lees. I am happy to see
 "that there is a growing intelligence
 "among the people of England; they
 "are not now content to know a part
 "of a subject, but they wish to know
 "the whole of it. (Applause.) I am
 "one of those who have expressed their
 "regret at the infamous *spoliation*
 "which took place in the reign of *Henry*
 "*the Eighth*, when so much of the
 "church-property, which I admit ought
 "to have been preserved and better dis-
 "tributed was misappropriated. Mr.
 "Lees has told you that one-third of
 "the property was applied to the relief
 "of the poor: the fact is, that the ratio,
 "as mentioned by the venerable Bede,
 "was one-fourth. I admit that the dif-
 "ference is not very material; because
 "the whole would be insufficient: the
 "poor, indeed, might have been bene-
 "fited, might have been blessed by it,
 "but by an infamous act of *spoliation*,
 "unexampled in any previous age of
 "the world, and never afterwards imi-
 "tated but on one occasion, to which I
 "will advert, the property of the coun-
 "try was sent away and diverted from
 "its source. It is calculated that, at

'one period, one-third of the property
 'of the country was diverted to reli-
 'gious purposes; that is, for the sup-
 'port of the ecclesiastics and the poor;
 'and an eminent lawyer, the venerable
 '*Coke*, has said, with regard to the
 'abbey lands which were confiscated,
 'that '*the poor have not only a moral*
 '*but a legal title to relief from them.*'
 '(Applause.) But let us deal fairly;
 'fair-play is a jewel;' and there's
 'not an Englishman, nor an Irishman,
 'but would scorn to do otherwise, I
 'believe. I am not one of those
 'speakers who wish to blink a subject;
 'therefore, I ask you, 'Who is it that
 'have got that immense plunder? Who
 'have it?' This applies not to me: I
 'have not a farthing of it. I never had
 'a farthing's worth of property in
 'church lands, and I never will have.
 'My views are other than to live by
 'such spoliation as this. But who has
 'this property? Who has it? Address
 'this language to his Grace the *Duke*
 '*of Bedford*, every farthing of whose
 'property consists of that spoliation.
 '(Applause.) Ask his Grace the *Duke*
 '*of Devonshire*. (Applause.) I can go
 'through the whole list, but I do not
 'wish. God forbid that I should se-
 'lect these merely from political con-
 'siderations. I do not. (Laughter,
 'cheers, and 'Go into Northumber-
 'land.') Just as in England so in Ire-
 'land; let me tell you the plain mat-
 'ters of fact. A physician of the name
 '*of Petty* went to Ireland as a medical
 'attendant; he doctored to some pur-
 'pose, for he obtained at least 40,000
 'acres of confiscated land, which had
 'been torn from the poor of that island,
 'and which is possessed in perpetuity
 'under the name of the *Marquis of*
 '*Lansdowne*. This is the point to
 'which I alluded. I am not going to
 'say how we are to deal with them;
 'but I do say that those who have got
 'those large slices of that country, not
 'only taken from the ecclesiastics, but
 'often from the confiscated property of
 'laymen, inasmuch as it is calculated
 'that three-fourths of the surface of
 'that country were wrested from the
 'inhabitants and given to Englishmen!

ought to contribute their quota towards the sustentation of the destitute. My object is not to take from those on whom it has devolved, the obligation of maintaining the poor. If you touch only the former, the ecclesiastical property, there is not enough for the purpose; but my views extend much beyond the calculations that have been made by those who support the amendment.

MR. BAINES.

“ Mr. Baines then went on to reply to parts of Mr. Sadler’s speech. There were not only lay absentees from Ireland, he said, there were also ecclesiastical ones; and out of the *two millions of annual revenue enjoyed by the Irish bishops and other dignitaries of the church*, a very large portion of the sum was spent in England and on the continent. As to the question of the original appropriation of the tithes, one-fourth went to the bishop, another fourth to the officiating clergyman, a third-fourth to the maintenance of the edifice of the church, and the remaining fourth to the support of the poor. ‘Three parties have enjoyed their rights, but the remaining party, the poor, have been deprived of theirs.’ (Cheers.) I make not this assertion upon a light foundation, but on the statement of one of the highest legal authorities in this kingdom, that is, Judge Blackstone. There is a short passage in his *Commentaries*, under the head of ‘Rights,’ which I will read for your information. The words are these:—‘At the first establishment of the parochial clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a four-fold division; one for the use of the bishop, another for maintaining the fabric of the church, a third for the poor, and the fourth to provide for the incumbent. When the sees of the bishops became otherwise amply endowed, they were prohibited from demanding their usual share of these tithes, and the division was into three parts only.’ I think I have now grounded my opinion on

“ law. The next observation I have to make is—you see there are three parties amongst whom the tithes should be divided, so that one-third part of them in Ireland would formerly belong to the poor. Let me ask if, for ages past, they *have got that share?* (‘No, no.’) If all the declamation we have heard on the suffering of Ireland had been directed to its proper point, what ought we to have said in the first instance? We should have said, ‘You have *usurped the property* of the poor; they are in great distress; give them back what you have taken from them, and the consequence will be, they will be in a state of comparative comfort.’ That is the case with respect to the church-property in Ireland. Mr. Sadler has said this church-property would not be sufficient to maintain the poor. It is very probable you will be of that opinion; but it will go far to maintain them. If you appropriate it, it will have a share in their support, if it does not do it altogether. But Mr. Sadler has declined to enter into calculations; he says that he will not enter into calculations, but I know that, in order to arrive at a just conclusion, it is necessary to do so. I will tell you how the state of things is in Ireland. In the first place, the *church revenue* of that country amounts to no smaller a sum than 3,340,000*l.* per annum. (Shame, shame.) I must observe, too, that the tithes of that amount to near 1,000,000*l.* If the poor had their share, would it be a contemptible portion, think you? (No, no.) When you are told that this amendment will impede the course of benevolence, the reverse of the fact is presented to you. Mr. Baines proceeded in this strain of argument at considerable length. Referring to Mr. Sadler’s observations on the *great Whig absentees*, Mr. Baines’s political friends, he said it gave him pain to the core to hear such *illiberality*, and he retorted by observing that it was not fair to blame the Duke of Bedford, or the Duke of Devonshire, any more than the Duke of Newcastle (cheers, and hear, hear,

"from the Association-people) or the Duke of Northumberland. (Hear, hear.) The *abbey lands* and *lay tithes* were the *private property* of the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire and the Marquis of Lansdowne: it had been in their families for *many years*; and therefore, *that* was as sacred as any other private property."

"*There now*," as the old woman at Portsdown fair exclaimed, when she saw the wonderful intellectual feats of the learned pig; "*there now*! Lard Jesus Christ!" What do you, what can you want *more* than this? What have you to do but to let *us* work our way? I would say to you, in a parody on Pope:

Look here, O'Connell! Leave all meaner matter
To Rice and Parnell's and Proud Stanley's chatter.

And let them, for God's sake, chatter away. Let Proud STANLEY, who made his *debut* in the House of Houses by a speech in defence of the principle, that *tithes were as much private property* as any other property was: let him answer MACAULAY's man, BAINES; and let BROUGHAM AND VAUX, who unequivocally held the same doctrine last spring, answer BAINES, who *really put him into Parliament for Yorkshire*, and who thereby made him a *Lord*. Let VAUX, let wise VAUX, answer Baines. But now, will MACAULAY *abide* by the pledge that Baines has given for him? Will MACAULAY, who has defended the Reform Bill upon the ground that it will make *no change* in the manner of conducting the affairs of the country; will MACAULAY, who scorns the "*crazy radical*," agree that the incomes of the parsons and bishops in Ireland should be in part, at least, taken away from them? If he will not, he dare not show his face in Leeds; and if he will, what will *Brougham and Vaux* and the *Lord of Calne* say to him! And what will Dukey Bedford and Dukey Devonshire say to him? For as to the *distinction* that BAINES makes between *clerical* and *lay* church-property, he will soon see how it will vanish from even his own head, encumbered as it is by rubbishy lumber. Doctor BLACK, in remarking on these speeches, says, that it is evident

that Mr. Sadler wishes to *frighten the great Whig landlords*; but that he *will not succeed*! I am glad to hear you say so, Doctor: very glad: I was afraid they would be scared by these doctrines at Leeds. Oh! Doctor, Doctor! Now what think you of the "*PIG'S MEAT*?" Don't you see that your brother BAINES has been *at the trough*. In short (and all the nation sees it), it is that same "*pig's meat*" that has torn up the corrupt concern, though like the poetic oak, it seemed to have its roots in hell.

'There they are in the *mess*: let them get out of it in their own way, if they will not take mine. I could not help laughing to hear Proud STANLEY, when he brought forward the Irish Reform Bill, say that they would make the change, though they might in reason be *restrained from doing it*, in consequence of the *agitation*! The *reporter* gives him the following words, forming part of the opening to his speech. "At the same time he was quite aware he was exposed to no contemptible arguments from those who, admitting the general principle, did yet contend, that neither the time nor the circumstances of Ireland were propitious for such a change. *These persons* asked if it were advisable to extend *popular rights* at a moment when the law was set at defiance—when almost *unbridled license* prevailed, and when excitement the *most formidable* was fomented and did exist? He was aware of the force of this argument. It was an *additional difficulty* thrown in their way, by those who had *promoted combination*, and occasioned *commotion throughout the land* (hear, hear)—by men professing good-will towards the cause of reform, and who had industriously contrived to throw, at every step, the most serious obstacles in the way of reform. (Cheers.) But notwithstanding this *strong reason for abstaining from change*, he said, that if in justice and reason, and not because of, but in spite of agitation which prevailed, they considered the measure would be advisable, they should not hesitate nor refuse to act *fairly towards Ireland*."

When one hears such puling stuff from the lips of a thing called "*the minister* for Ireland," one ceases to wonder at the state of that country! Who does not see that the conceited thing here puts into the mouths of others the thoughts and wishes that are in his own mind and heart? Oh! how he curses the hour that the Reform Bill was first brought in! Oh! how he wishes that little LORRY JOHN had been writing "*Don Carloses*," or diplomatic histories, or playing at ball, or with Tonbridge ware, or had been at anything and any-where, rather than in the chapel of Saint Stephen, playing off his bill! Such a fellow as this does not ask himself *what would have taken place* if the bill had not been brought in. Such a fellow looks upon the reform as a thing *given to us*; a pure *gift*, from him and his brother tax-eaters: a thing which they *might have withheld if they had chosen to do it!* There are no bounds to the workings of a skull so innately insolent in all its thoughts. He even hints, that they *might*, if they *chose*, hold their hands *even now!* That they might, if they would, "*abstain from making the change*," even after all that has passed! Let them *try* it! Let them try it: I, for my part, will not supplicate them to proceed: let them stop if they like: and let them tell us, that the cause is, that you *make speeches against them!*

You do bait and badger them, to be sure; but what do they say to Sadler and Baines; to Baines and the electors of Brougham and Vaux? You have never said anything approaching towards the blow, aimed at the THING by VAUX BROUGHAM's Yorkshire patron. He is for no *agitation*: he is for doing the thing *quietly*. Baines will not touch *impropriations*: oh, no! they are *private* property; forgetting, or, in truth, never having known, that the bishops and deans and chapters are impropriators, and that the *advowsons* themselves are, in most cases, impropriations! Ah! Lord! It is all confusion! The whole thing really seems destined to go to pieces in the hands of these Whigs. When they were planning the ousting of Wellington, I said I thought they would, if they got

in, bring it to an end; and, really, the chattering of this STANLEY, and of MACAULAY the other day, forbids one to hope that a quiet and equitable arrangement is to be expected. They have the *power* in their hands. It is a parcel of children, playing with wood-coals, amidst barrels of gunpowder. We cannot *take the coals away*: they would squall like so many devils if we were to attempt that: and in the bustle the magazine would certainly blow up. We must, therefore, let them *alone*, taking care to be, if possible, prepared for the explosion. Pray, Sir, leave them for a little to SADLER and BAINES and the upholders of Vaux Brougham. Let the Irish Reform Bill pass, as you would hear a ballad sung. Be assured that the deliverance of Ireland is to come from *England*; and that hinting threats of *separation* is worse, and a great deal worse, than *nonsense*.

I am your most humble
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

N.B. The SIX MANCHESTER LECTURES, with a PREFACE, and with a letter to Mr. O'CONNELL subjoined, are just published, in a volume, price 2s. 6d. in boards. The book is to be had at my shop, No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; of Mr. LEWIS, Manchester; Mr. THOMAS SMITH, Liverpool; Mr. WILCOXSON, Preston; and of all Booksellers in town and in the country.

BRISTOL PETITION.

NOTHING was ever more laudable than the following petition from Bristol. The language, the sentiments, the statement, the prayer; all reflect the highest honour on the heads as well as the hearts of the petitioners. I hope it will have the wished-for effect; and that neither that fine city nor the fine town of Nottingham is destined to be stained with

the blood of the men, whom the law has condemned to death for the part they took in the late tumultuous proceedings. I do hope, that *life* is not to be taken upon this occasion; and, if my wish could avail anything no one should, on account of proceedings in these cases, be sent from the country. In these, and in all other cases of punishment, *the effect of the example* is the only thing that a wise government will look at. To make that example produce a *good effect*, all men must be *convinced*, that the punishment is **CLEARLY MERITED** by the sufferers. Here are circumstances of mitigation, most judiciously stated, and calculated to produce great effect in every breast susceptible of feelings of mercy.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the City of Bristol.

"Sire—We, the undersigned Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, beg to approach your Throne with the most sincere and ardent expressions of our attachment to your Majesty's person and government. We yield to none of your Majesty's subjects in our love of social order, in our desire to uphold and obey the laws, and in detestation of the criminal violation of them which lately disgraced our city; and we are at all times ready to support your Majesty's Government in any measures necessary to prevent the recurrence of tumult and crime.

"It is with grief and horror we reflect on the loss of human life which has already occurred in this city; and we are animated by the strongest feelings of detestation against the perpetrators of those tumultuous and disgraceful proceedings. So appalling was the sacrifice of life on that melancholy occasion, that we are most anxious to submit to your Majesty's serious consideration any mitigatory facts in the cases of those convicted which may afford the slightest chance of saving their lives; and we beg further to call your attention to the *remarkable absence of those circumstances of aggravation* by which the carrying into effect the extreme penalty of the law is justified.

"We beg leave to point out to your Majesty's notice the entire absence of any testimony *showing a guilty premeditation*; that it has been made evident that the excesses of the mob arose from *the impulse of the moment* and that, amid the excitement and the devastation of property, they restrained themselves from outrages *affecting personal safety*.

"We beg also to call your Majesty's most gracious consideration to another important fact. The guilty conduct of most of the criminals capitally convicted began at a *late period of the riots*, when the unrestricted access to intoxicating liquors, which accidentally and unfortunately fell in their way, and the impunity that attended the first outrages, involved them in a depth of crime, which, in all probability, would have been prevented, had the proper measures been taken to check their mad and criminal career, and to restore the peace of the city.

"We are fully sensible of the enormous guilt of the prisoners; but we earnestly implore your Majesty to exercise your royal clemency, by sparing the lives of these unhappy men, and, by commuting their punishment, thus afford them an opportunity of repenting of the injuries they have inflicted on society.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

COBBETT'S

HISTORY OF THE REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

I HAVE published *nine Numbers* of this work. I shall publish no more of it *in Numbers*. I find this an inconvenient way for me in the case of a work like this. There are so many books that I am obliged to refer to, that to write the work *by spells* is extremely inconvenient. The tables of my room are spread over with books; and then they are all laid aside again, and I mislay papers and do not easily find them again. For this reason, and because I want the work out, to be ready, with all its documents and other matter, for the times that are at hand, I shall, as soon as I get to London (from the *Ile of Wight*), set to work, and finish the book "*right away*," as the Yankees call it.—Those

gentlemen who have taken the nine numbers will have the *remaining part only to pay for*; because that part will be printed expressly for *their accommodation*.

Nb. VII.

HISTORY OF THE REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV. BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(Continued from No. 4, col. 252. Vol. 74.)

144. The act of the Americans, which act we have just seen, and which was passed in May 1812, was, as was evident to all but the stupid and arrogant men who ruled England, a mere preamble to a declaration of war; and, accordingly, this declaration very speedily followed it. In America so important an affair as that of making war is not left to the decision of the executive magistrate and his ministers. It is not left to those who have commission in the army and the navy to bestow; it is no left to those whose relations and dependents may fatten upon contracts arising out of the war: it is a power the exercise of which is retained by the people themselves; and the act is performed by the whole body of the representatives of the people. War is in short enacted in the same manner as any other thing is enacted; and this war was enacted by the Congress in the following act:

“Act of Congress, declaring war against
“England.

“An Act, declaring war between the United
“Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
“and the Dependencies thereof, and the
“United States of America, and their Territories.

“Be it enacted, by the senate and house of
“representatives of the United States of
“America, in congress assembled, That war
“be and the same is hereby declared to exist
“between the United Kingdom of Great
“Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies
“thereof, and the United States of America,
“and their territories; and that the President
“of the United States be and he is hereby
“authorised to use the whole land and naval
“forces of the United States to carry the same
“into effect; and to issue to private armed
“vessels of the United States, commissions or
“letters of marque and general reprisal, in
“such form as he shall think proper and under
“the seal of the United States, against the
“vessels, goods, and effects of the government
“of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and
“Ireland, and the subjects thereof.

“June 18, 1812.—Approved,

“JAMES MADISON.

“Washington, July 18, 4 o'clock p. m.”

145. It was in this simple, plain, sensible, and honest manner, that the United States declared this war. Here are none of those false professions and pretences that other governments resort to. It is the declaration of a free people, and it is made in words becoming such a people. The English ministry did not answer this declaration at all. They could not answer it; but issued a miserable order in council for the seizure and detention of American vessels; and not for the condemnation of them; not for making prize of them; and not for committing hostilities against the United States in any manner whatever. All the documents relating to the *grounds* of this most important war ought to be preserved; and even the small space which is alone compatible with my plan demands the insertion of this order in council, which was the only answer ever given to the plain and honest declaration on the part of America.

“At the Court at Carlton House, the 31st
“of July, 1812, present his Royal Highness
“the Prince Regent in Council;—It is this
“day ordered, by his Royal Highness the
“Prince Regent, in the name and on the be-
“half of his Majesty, and by and with the ad-
“vice of His Majesty's Privy Council, that
“no ship or vessel belonging to any of his
“Majesty's subjects, be permitted to enter
“and clear out for any of the ports within the
“territories of the United States of America,
“until further order; and his Royal Highness
“is further pleased, in the name and on be-
“half of his Majesty, and by and with the
“advice aforesaid, to order, that a general
“embargo or stop be made of all ships and
“vessels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens
“of the United States of America, now within,
“or which shall hereafter come into, any of
“the ports, harbours, and roads, within any
“part of his Majesty's dominions, together
“with all persons and effects on board all
“such ships or vessels; and that the com-
“manders of his Majesty's ships of war and
“privateers do detain and bring into port all
“ships and vessels belonging to the citizens
“of the United States of America, or bearing
“the flag of the said United States, except
“such as may be furnished with British
“licences, which vessels are allowed to pro-
“ceed according to the tenor of the said li-
“censes; but that the utmost care be taken
“for the preservation of all and every part of
“the cargoes on board any of the said ships or
“vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement
“whatever be sustained; and the Commanders
“of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers
“are hereby instructed to detain and bring
“into port every such ship and vessel accord-
“ingly, except such as are above excepted:
“and the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners
“of his Majesty's Treasury, the Lords Com-
“missioners of the Admiralty, and Lord War-
“den of the Cinque Ports, are to give the
“necessary directions herein as to them may
“respectively appertain.

“CHETWYND.”

146. This order in council was intended for the insolent purpose of making the world believe that it was beneath the *English* government to declare war against such a country as America, and at the same time for the base purpose of seducing the commercial part of the United States from their due obedience to the government of their country; to effect which latter purpose, as we shall see farther on in this history, the foulest means had, for a long while, been employed. Both these purposes were completely defeated in the end, as will hereafter be shown by the events of 1814 and 1815, until we come to the history of which years we must lay aside the subject of this second war against America; not, however, without adverting to the memorable words of the president MADISON, in that message to the congress, which the congress immediately answered by the above declaration of war. "Our moderation and consideration (said he "in his message of the 1st June 1812) have "had no other effect than to encourage perseverance in wrong doing. We behold our "seafaring citizens still the daily victims of "lawless violence committed on the great and "common highway of nations, even within "sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted "with the products of our soil and industry, "or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destination, "confiscated by prize courts no longer the "organs of public law, but the instruments "of arbitrary edicts; and their unfortunate "crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets; whilst arguments are employed in support "of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in "all cases whatsoever.—We behold, in fine, "on the side of Great Britain, a state of war "against the United States; and on the side "of the United States; a state of peace towards Great Britain.—Whether the United "States shall continue passive under these "progressive usurpations, and these accumulating wrongs; or, opposing force to force, "in defence of their natural rights, shall "commit a just cause into the hands of the "Almighty Disposer of events; avoiding all "connexions which might entangle it in the "contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an "honourable re-establishment of peace and "friendship, is a solemn question, which the "constitution wisely confides to the legislative "department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am "happy in the assurance that the decision "will be worthy of the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free and a "powerful nation."

147. It was pretended by the English ministers and noised about by their hireling press, that the Americans favoured France in the war which she was carrying on against England, or

rather that England was carrying on against her; and even the members of parliament were in the habit of representing, by their speeches, Mr. MADISON as a mere tool in the hands of NAPOLEON. Nothing was ever more false than this: one single instance of this partiality was never produced. France also had committed aggressions against the Americans; but she had never committed that great aggression of all, namely, the impressing and flogging of native American citizens. The truth is, that both nations, England and France, wished to force America into the war, each of them on its own side; and the Americans resolved to take part with neither. There was a faction in America, on each side also; but the nation and the government were for strict and honest neutrality; for cheap government, and for getting out of debt. The English faction in America was by far the most powerful, and, in the sequel we shall see what base means were made use of for the purpose of raising up an opposition to the government; but, those means recoiled at last upon the heads of the men that had employed them.

148. With regard to public opinion in England relative to this important war, the war may be said to have been popular; because the myriads who fattened upon war, were all for war; and because the press was in such a state, was so shackled on the one hand, and so completely mercenary on the other hand, that it was impossible for the people to come at any thing like the truth upon the subject; any man who should have dared to make a statement in print relative to the treatment of impressed American citizens; any man who should have dared truly to describe the flogging and other brutal usage of those innocent persons, would have been prosecuted by the attorney-general, would have been ruined, and half put to death. So that the state of things was much worse than if there had been no press at all; and, besides this, the prayers of taxes were so cowed down, they had been brought by degrees to so complete a state of slavery; the national mind was become so abject; that even an event like this war, fraught as it manifestly was with a monstrous addition to the debt, and with disgrace such as England never before experienced; even an event like this seemed to attract far less attention than a gala day for the showing off of splendour purchased with the sweat of the people.

149. This war was a legacy, left by PERCEVAL to his successors, and the expense of it a legacy left to the oppressed people of England. That oppressed people most sincerely rejoiced that he was no more; and at Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield, Wakefield, Chester, Birmingham, Carlisle, and many other places, they openly expressed their satisfaction by every demonstration of joy. Those who lived on the taxes, on the other hand, expressed their sorrow: both the political factious, feeling it to be a common cause, mourned at the

event, and well would it have been for the people if they had contented themselves with mourning. But, besides mourning, they fell to work with wonderful unanimity, and as if with a desire to punish the people for their joy, by inflicting on them the effects of enormous pensions to the widow and the eldest son of the deceased minister, besides voting them fifty thousand pounds down in ready money. The two pensions, if calculated on the usual duration of life, could not be reckoned at a less sum than another sixty or eighty thousand pounds; and these grants were made out of the taxes raised upon the people at a time when distress was so pinching, when hunger was so sharp, as to drive thousands upon thousands of English men and women to brave all the dangers of the terrible penal code; they were made at a time when the industrious people in the north were so pressed with hunger as to venture their lives for the sake of a handful of potatoes, and when a woman was actually hanged at Manchester, upon a charge of highway robbery, she having snatched some potatoes from a cart to carry home to her naked and starving children.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

HILL, I., Strand, hatter.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

SCRIVENER, H. N., Palmer's-folly, Ratcliff-highway, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

BAINES, D., St. Martin's-lane, victualler.

BENSON, G., Kensington, plumber.

DAWSON, W., Waltham, Lincolnsh., tanner.

EVANS, G., Mold, Flintshire, cattle-dealer.

FARDEN, S., Gutter-lane, dealer.

FARRAR, W., Bread-street, Cheap-side, ware-houseman.

POWELL, S., Blackman-street, Southwark, draper.

RAPER, T., Fleet-street, tailor.

SAWYER, J., and G. Lowley, Sheffield, table-knife-manufacturers.

SHALICROSS, T., Liverpool, prov.-dealer.

SMITH, H., Fleet-lane, victualler.

TRANFIELD, T., Marylebone-lane, victualler.

VOAKES, W., Pocklington, Yorkshire, draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

GRANT, N., solicitor.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

FORSAITH, S. S., Whitschapel-road, haberdasher.

GASCOYNE, R., Richmond, Surrey, tailor.

LINDSAY, J. S., Great Cambridge-street, Hackney-road, merchant.

PURSGLOVE, J., Hurstmonceux, Sussex, common-brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

BLACKBAND, E. G., Macclesfield, grocer.

BOSTOCK, G., Old Cavendish-street, tailor.

BUCKLEY, J., Liverpool, cheese-factor.

CASTLE, G. jun., Commercial-repairing-dock, Rotherhithe, ship-builder.

COVERDALE, P. J., Barking, Essex, surgeon.

CROSTON, W. jun., Toxteth-park, Liverpool, painter.

GADESBY, Hopwas, Staffordshire, victualler.

GERVES, T., Hendon, Middlesex, hay-salesman.

HUGHES, E., E. Hughes, and H. Hughes, Manchester, cotton-spinners.

JOHNSON, W., Manchester, innkeeper.

LAW, J., Lloyd, Staffordshire, farmer.

PYNE, C., Bail's-court, Old Brompton, dyer.

SWIFT, J., Liverpool, victualler.

TANNER, E., Ramsgate, tavern-keeper.

TAYLOR, T., Rose-st., Newgate-st., meat-salesman.

UNDERWOOD, T., Bristol, skin-dresser.

WATSON, J., Wood-street, Cheap-side, riband-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

JAMIESON, W., Castle Lawrie-mills, Stirlingshire, miller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 23.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight have been rather limited as respects the following articles:—English, Scotch, and foreign wheat; English and Scotch oats; English, Scotch, and foreign peas; foreign beans; Irish and foreign barley; and seeds from all quarters. Of English barley, malt, and beans, and English, Scotch, and foreign flour, the supplies have been moderately good.

In the market of this day, there was an early and rather numerous assemblage of both London and country buyers, the latter of whom were looking out chiefly for seed oats, peas, beans, and malting barley.—As, however, the sellers continued to be stiff to pretty generally advanced prices, the trade was for some time after its commencement rather dull, though subsequently tolerably brisk.

Very fine wheat, and malting, as well as the best sort of grinding barley, oats, and beans, were at an advance of from 1s. to 2s. per qr. The generality of wheat, peas of each kind, malt, flour, good rye, and inferior barley, were at last Monday's quotations.

Clover, and most other grass seeds for Lent or spring sowing, were in increased demand, but not at an advance upon last week's prices.

Wheat	53s. to 70s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	26s. to 33s.
— fine	37s. to 42s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	36s. to 42s.
— Tick	34s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoc	25s. to 30s.
— Poland	21s. to 28s.
— Feed	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 44s. to 46s.	
Pork, India, new ... 125s. 0d. to 124s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 89s. to 92s.	
— Cork ... 91s. to —s.	
— Limerick ... 88s. to 90s.	
— Waterford ... 87s. to 88s.	
— Dublin ... 85s. to 87s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 52s. to 63s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam ... 47s. to 50s.	
— Gouda ... 46s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 62s. to 70s.	

SMITHFIELD.—January 23.

This day's supply of sheep and beasts was rather numerous, but especially the former, in great part of middling and inferior quality: of fat calves and porkers but limited. The trade was throughout very dull; with the primest beef and veal, generally, at an advance; mutton and pork at a depression of about 2d. per stone; with middling and inferior beef at barely Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,590; sheep and lambs, 19,940; calves, 240; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 27.

The arrivals this week are large, but principally of inferior quality. The best samples maintain the prices of Monday, all other sorts are 1s. to 2s. cheaper.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½	

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New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

Such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

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3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

6. **THE WOODLANDS**; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 11s. bound in boards.

7. **PAPER AGAINST GOLD**; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

9. **TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY**; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

19. **PROTESTANT "REFORMATION"** in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

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A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

10. **POOR MAN'S FRIEND**. A new edition. Price 8d.

11. **THE LAW OF TURNPIKES**. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

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17. **LETTERS FROM FRANCE**: containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

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A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.—This Work, which has been so long in hand, is now in the *Press*. It will contain the Name, Situation, &c., of every *Parish*, and even of every *Hamlet*; it will contain a description, and an Account of the *Country*; also of *each County*; and will, I trust, convey more useful information on *this subject*, than has ever been conveyed in all other books put together. It is not a book made to flatter fools, nor to hide the doings of public robbers: it is to convey a mass of important truths; its object is to make the English reader *well acquainted* with all that he need know about his own country. The precise *bulk and price* of the Book I cannot yet state; but I imagine that it will be a Thick Duodecimo Volume (six or seven hundred pages), and that the Price will be from Eleven to Thirteen Shillings.

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From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles,
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AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence,
Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona,
Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard,
Geneva, and the Jura, back into
France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal
cities and their most striking curiosities;
of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture,
and products; of the prices of provisions
and labour; and of the dresses and
conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil
and religious, and of the morals and demeanour
of the inhabitants, in the several
States.

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Persons in the country are requested to
transmit their Orders and Advertisements to
the Publisher through their country Book-
sellers.

CHOLERA MORBUS, &c.—To those who
value their health, and seek relief from
pain, &c.—The annexed Affidavit of the 13th
of October, 1831, referred to in a letter ad-
dressed to the Central Board of Health,
Whitehall, as stated in *The Times* of the 14th
inst., is respectfully submitted to the public,
by Mr. STROMBOM, who has the honour of au-
nouncing that he has compounded an Embro-
cation called **NE PLUS ULTRA**, for the re-
lief of various disorders, particularly Cholera
Morbus, or Bowel Complaints, Lumbago,
Rheumatism, Gout, Contusions, Sprains,
Bruises, Inflammation of the Chest or Lungs,
Tooth-Ache, Sore Throats, Swelled Faces, Tic
Douleureux, Erysipelas, Paralytic and Glandu-
lar Affections, Swelled Ancles, Chillsains,
Corns, &c., for which he has obtained his Ma-
jesty's Royal Letters Patent, and is now for
sale at his Laboratory, 17, HATTON-
GARDEN, at the rate of 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and
10s. 6d. per bottle. Also Mr. STROMBOM's
address to Earl Bathurst, 1825, about the
Cape Currency, &c., and to the Marquis of
Wellesley, about the Commercial and Finan-
cial State of Great Britain, and its Currency,
in 1831, 8vo., sewed, at 2s. 6d., and 4s. in
boards.

Mr. STROMBOM'S Affidavit, respecting
his New Patent Medicine, the **NE PLUS
ULTRA AND INCOMPARABLE EM-
BROCATION**.—ISAAC STROMBOM, of No. 65,
OLD BROAD STREET, in the City of London,
Merchant, maketh oath, and saith—That the
deponent (after having visited all the four
quarters of the globe, and for about thirty
years resided principally in hot and more or
less enervating climates, and consequently,
through accidental occurrences, having been
subject to severe illnesses, and often so situa-
ted, as well as his family and a large establish-
ment of servants, as to be without any good
medical assistance near at hand to have re-
course to) has been induced to attend a great
deal to the effects of different medicines, and,
particularly of late years, having studied some
of the best medical and surgical authors, in
regard to several complaints which either
himself or any of his family or friends were
subject to:—That, after a great many experi-
ments, by adding such proportions of several
ingredients as might ameliorate the sharpness
and remove the evil of some, without de-
tracting from their good qualities, he has at
last formed a composition of several medi-
cal ingredients, which the deponent firmly
believes, by neutralizing, or absorbing, or
removing the crudities and bad humours,
under and in the proximity of the skin, as
well as for its efficacy (if not in many in-
stances almost instantaneous though gentle
effects, if equalled, not surpassed by any
hitherto known compound) is, for its stimu-
lating, anodyne, and many other beneficial
qualities, both by neutralizing or easing, sub-
duing and removing, several external as well
as internal complaints, by the external appli-
cation of the said composition, which, in every

instance hitherto tried, has been found highly successful; among these are in particular severe bowel complaints, or what is hitherto termed the English Cholera Morbus, spasms in the stomach, cramp, head and face ache, gout, rheumatism, chilblains, contusions, and sprains, pains in the side from disease of the liver, and internal abscesses, besides many other inflammatory complaints and eruptions, &c. Further, the Deponent verily believes that the said composition, by absorbing or neutralising bad humours, acts greatly as a preventive to many serious illnesses:—And the Deponent saith, that as he verily believes that the circulation and extensive use of his said composition would be greatly beneficial to the public and mankind in general, as well as to his own advantage, he intends to introduce it by a patent, under the name or appellation of

STROMBOM'S NE PLUS ULTRA, AND INCOMPARABLE EMBROCATION.

And the Deponent further saith, that the said Embrocation while consisting of the most efficient ingredients, all of which have been occasionally given individually by the medical profession internally, and from its not containing any mercury, the Deponent verily believes that it is less liable to produce any pernicious effects through its application, than most if not any other hitherto-known compound.

J. STROMBOM.

Sworn before me at the Mansion-house,
London, Oct. 13, 1831.

J. KEY, Mayor.

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WM. COBBETT.

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By JOHN MILTON,

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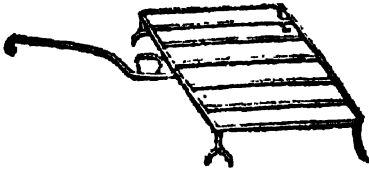
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 1s. 2d.]



THE CHURCH IN DANGER.

TO THE
HAMPSHIRE PARSONS.

Manchester, 1st Feb., 1832.

PARSONS,

Do you remember that, in March, 1817, just as the power-of-imprisonment, the Habeas Corpus suspension, the dungeon, and the gagging bills were passing in that Parliament which the Ministry themselves have now so justly *becalled*; do you remember, that, when those bills were passing, and when that parson's tool, CHUTE, had just voted for some of them; do you remember that your fellow, FLEMING, who was then SHERIFF, had, at your command, called a county meeting, to send an address to the King, expressing *pleasure* at the passing of the *base bills*, and *abusing the reformers*; do you remember that I, on that day, told you that your *day of mourning* was not far distant; do you remember, particularly, that your address expressed a resolution on your part to crush us *reformers*, who, you said, aimed at the destruction of *the church*; and do you remember that I moved, as an *amendment*, to leave out the word *church*, and to insert the word *tithes* in its stead, because, said I, "We do aim at the *destruction of the tithes*, and, mind, I tell you that *you will not get those tithes ten years longer*;" if I had said "*fifteen years longer*," I should have been much about right: do you remember these things? I do; and I remember all your conduct, and particularly your conduct *towards me*; and I am now going to see just and appropriate punishment inflicted upon

you, and upon all the *Slapps* and *Fardells*, and all my "*reverend*" calumniators in every part of the kingdom.

PARSONS, I am going to inflict grief on your very *gizzards*, by showing you the state of the *tithe-affair*, as set forth in what the fellows call "*debates in Parliament*." If there were no other cause for my wishing to see the tithes taken from you, there would be cause more than sufficient in the fact that you are as silent as sows in beans, while a bill is passing to take away the dead bodies of the people, and to cause them to be cut up, instead of being buried with "*burial service*" read over them. What! are you, who are so clamorous against "*infidels*," and who call every one "*an infidel*" who dislikes your exactions; are you now silent? Are you silent while a law is passing to authorise cutters-up of human bodies to take away the bodies of your "*flocks*," just as dog-keepers take away the bodies of rotten sheep or dead horses? What! and do you nurse yourselves in the notion, that if you remain silent while this bill passes, the people are so stupid as to believe that you think anything of the *prayers* that you say over the dead? What! have you the brass to hope, that if you keep silent as to this bill, your "*flocks*" will regard you as *shepherds* "*watchful in season and out of season*" for their good and their salvation? What! when they know, that, if they take away, even without cutting up, one of your *tithe-pigs*, dead or alive, they are liable to be hanged at your prosecution; when they know this (and well do they know it), will they, think you, look upon tithe-pigs as property given to you for reading prayers over the dead; will they look upon this praying as of *any use*, and will they believe that you think it of any use, if *you continue silent* while a *law* is making, authorising people to take away the dead bodies of *your flocks*, and to carry them to a cutting-up shop instead of carrying

them to the churches to be prayed over? Oh! what a cry you set up against the *Catholic Bill*, against the *reformers*, and now against the *Reform Bill*! What an *addressing* and what a petitioning for war against the tithe-destroying "*infidels*" of France! Then how did your *pulpits ring*! But now, when the dead bodies of your flocks are about to be treated like those of the brute creation; when there is before Parliament a bill to authorise the cutting of them to pieces, without any burial service or any prayers over them; when, in short, a bill is passing which tells the people that this service and these prayers are of *no use*; and that it is as well for a human body to be chopped up and flung out, as for it to be deposited in "*consecrated ground*:" when this bill is passing, you are as silent and lie as snug as mice in cheese!

If there were no other cause for my wishing to see the tithes taken from you, this would be cause enough. But there are divers other causes; and one of these is, *your base treatment of me*. I greatly suffered from *imprisonment*; I was *harassed for years*; I was *driven beyond the seas*; I was, at the end of twenty years of sobriety, care, and toil, *reduced to be penniless*; and TO YOU, as the originators, I ascribe all these injuries. I have never lost sight of these injuries, nor of the *authors* of them, the whole of whom, and especially you, seem now to be about to get your *just reward*.

I am now about to insert the *debates*, as they are called. You will see that the affair is just slipping through your fingers. But, before you enter on it, take this along with you: that though you find the names of many men here, as having spoken in favour of *abolishing tithes*, and in favour of putting down the *Protestant hierarchy in Ireland*, every thought of this sort is MY EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY; that is, I, and I only, that have taught the nation to *think* and to *talk* thus: and add to this, that it was YOU; it was YOU, Hampshire parsons, who made me set about the teaching; it was your unprovoked malice against me that first set me to

think about this teaching. You and the Government and its law-people thought that I, like other hunted men, should *sink*, should *pine away*, should *fret myself to death*, under my sufferings, so unjustly and basely and maliciously inflicted on me. Oh, no! that was not in my character. I was resolved to take care of my health, to prolong my life, if I could, to work hard and live on little, and coolly and steadily pursue the means of *finally triumphing over you all*, and making you ALL FEEL the just effects of your endeavours to destroy me.

And what were my *means*? My talents, my industry, my blessed temperance, and my perseverance. I pretty well squared the account with the *Government and its law-people*, by PAPER AGAINST GOLD, by LETTER TO TIERNEY, by PUFF-OUT, and by FEAST OF GRIDIRON. But to square accounts WITH YOU, was a tougher job. It was a job that demanded more previous reflection, and more time and more talent in the execution. At last I resolved to set about it, in the "*HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION*." I began to lay my plan the moment I got safely out of the reach of the fangs of you all, amongst the kind and happy people of Long Island. The knowledge of the bills of the son of old Parson STURGES, which reached me in that island, and of which I was sure YOU were the *real authors*, sharpened my zeal for the work; but PEEL'S BILL brought me home before I could set about it. When I got home, the winding up of my then pecuniary ruin, and the *pressing calls* of Peel's Bill, occupied me until 1824; and then, I, with a mind perfectly at ease, set at you with a hearty good will; and in the space of *fourteen months* put upon paper matter which will live for ages upon ages after your *present powers and emoluments* shall have no other thing to record their rise and their existence. This work, which has been translated into, and published in, seven languages; which has been read throughout the whole of the civilised world; and which has surpassed in circulation all books,

the Bible only excepted: this work it is that has *done your business*. It is the *prompter* of every creature that opens its lips against tithes and church-rates and dues and fees. It is the guide of the learned as well as the illiterate. It is the magazine out of which come all the destructive munitions under the effects of which you are falling; and while you feel yourselves falling you are without the smallest power to help yourselves!

While, therefore, you read what was said by the *several members* against the *tithe system*, put it down to me if you please. While you read and STARE at what was said by Lord MORPETH about his *Leeds petition*; while you read the words of Doctor BLACK; put, if you please, *the whole down to me*; or, rather, to *your reverend selves*, as having been *the cause* of my writing the all-powerful and immortal little book. And do not, I pray you, waste your reverend breaths in unavailing railings against me, as having done this mighty thing from "*motives of revenge*." That is a wrong name to give to the act. Say that I was actuated by a just sense of the wrongs which I had suffered from your unprovoked malignity; say that the laws of my country afforded me no means of obtaining redress from those wrongs; say that the history of the world, from the day when Moses slew the Egyptian task-master down to the present hour, tells us that national deliverance is most commonly the effect of signal wrong-doing to some one individual; say, in short, that here, to hundreds of instances which history records, is added another, that great talents, united with equal spirit, are not *with impunity* to be trampled down or insulted by power, however tremendous, though associated with cruelty the most unsparing, and with craft the most consummate and profound. Heaving a doleful sigh, say this to yourselves; and then read

1. The report of a debate in the House of Commons on the 23d January.

2. The report of a debate in the same place on the 26th January.

3. An article in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 27th January.

The articles are long; but you must read *every word* of them, if you have a mind to have a foretaste "*of that which is to come*." You will find great comfort in what was said by Lord MORPETH on the **RESPECTABILITY of the Leeds petitioners!** To know clearly what this petition was, you must read the article from Dr. BLACK. There, now, take and read it all; and pay attention to the passages that I have marked with *italics*. You will find a pretty good *dose* if you take it all at once; and you may as well swallow the whole off; for sipping will only make it the more painful to get down. When you have swallowed the dose, I will give you some *sugar* to take the nasty taste away.

DEBATE OF 23D JANUARY.

Mr. HUME presented a petition from the parish of St. Agnes, in the county of Cork, praying to be relieved from the pressure of tithes, church-rates, and other taxes for the benefit of a church from which they derived no advantage. In the parish from which the petition which he held in his hand proceeded, the number of Catholic inhabitants was 2,500, the Protestant families but four in number, comprising but fourteen individuals. They conceived that, under such circumstances, there was no moral obligation upon them to continue paying an impost of that nature for the benefit of a church from which they derived no advantage. He wished to take that opportunity of vindicating himself from the charge of having done that which was disgraceful—he had yet to learn that there was anything disgraceful in stating a matter of fact in that house. He had simply confined himself to a matter of fact, and it was one fully capable of the most satisfactory proof. *As to tithes, it was in vain to suppose that things would rest where they were; the legislature must deal with the church-property decisively and definitively;* and, for his part, he did not hesitate to declare that, if resident in Ireland, he would do as his ancestors had done in Scotland—he would resist. If his Majesty's Government desired to preserve the peace of the country, which he could not doubt, they would lose not a moment in proposing some measure calculated to put the question now disputed in Ireland upon something like an equitable footing. If they did not, they would feel the necessity of that which they could not supply, namely, *garrisons for the whole of Ireland, to maintain what were called the rights of the church*. He sincerely hoped that the subject would attract the immediate attention of Government. The hon. Member then presented petitions from two parishes in Kilkenny, from one in Tipperary, from Old-

town, and from three other places, complaining of the tithe system.

Sir ROBERT PERL deprecated any discussion on a subject which had been already referred to a committee. When the proper time came, he should be as ready as any man to deliver his opinions, but now nothing should provoke him into a premature discussion. The hon. and learned Member for Kerry had proposed that the hon. Member for Middlesex should be placed upon the tithe committee, but the hon. Member for Middlesex said it would be of no use to place him there, or for the committee to enter into any inquiries or examinations at all. The right hon. Baronet then proceeded to deny that the refusal to pay tithes in Ireland was at all *so universal* as had been represented, and to add, that he had not used the word disgraceful; but he should not hesitate to apply that term to any attack upon vested rights. It would be disgraceful to the House of Commons to act upon any assumption that the vested rights of the Irish clergy might justly be assailed. To resist their just demands would be tantamount to a *resistance to rent*. He repeated, that the subject was *too delicate* to be discussed at that moment.

Mr. O'CONNELL. No man could for a moment contend that the life estate of the Irish clergy ought to be interfered with; but no man could deny that there was in Ireland a growing determination on the part of the people not to continue the payment of tithe. As to the committee, he thought the members of it had been chosen upon a wrong principle; namely, that the people of Ireland had nothing to do with tithes but to pay them, and upon that principle Catholics had been excluded from the committee. He admitted that at present, the resistance to tithes was not universal; but let them only look to the rapidity with which that resistance had within a short time spread, and then let them say what might soon be expected. The attempt to impose a church adverse to the feelings of the people *had failed in Scotland*, and the example was *not lost upon the Irish*. The people of Scotland *unsheathed their broad-swords* and conquered a freedom for themselves; the Irish had taken a different course, and one perfectly natural in their circumstances, and both the Dissenters and the Church of England Protestants were perfectly ready to follow the example of the Catholics; if left to the people, they might be perfectly assured that they would settle it. If it were left to the people they would set the question at rest. The Irish would make no objections to any proper provision for the Protestant working clergy who attend their duties; but, in fact, the only Protestant clergy who now attend to the wants of the flocks were the curates, who receive the magnificent stipend of 69*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* Neither party in Ireland wished to prevent the working clergy from obtaining a proper remuneration.

Mr. STANLEY thought that a very inconvenient time to enter into a discussion of the

provision for the Irish clergy, and he should not have thought it necessary to rise but for a remark which had fallen from the honourable and learned Member for Kerry, with reference to the principles on which the tithe committee had been formed, and with reference to his intention to propose to add some other members. It would have been more convenient if the hon. and learned Gentleman had attended when the proposition for appointing the committee was discussed, and when the principles of the investigation were laid down by the Government, and had taken that opportunity to make the remarks he had made on this occasion, and had then proposed the additional names. At the same time, one remark made by the hon. and learned Gentleman made it necessary for him to say a few words. In framing the committee, it was the wish of the Government to abstain from putting on it the name of any member who had expressed an absolute and positive determination that no change whatever ought to take place in the church-property; and it had also thought it right to abstain from appointing those who were considered, beyond the reach of argument, bound to the opinion, that nothing but an entire change was a sufficient remedy for the grievance complained of. The Government had constituted the committee so as to keep out extreme opinions of both sides, and make the great body of the committee consist of men of moderate and dispassionate feelings from both sides of the House who would calmly weigh and consider the evidence. That was the ground adopted by his Majesty's Government, after serious deliberation, and they had come to the decision that it would be more expedient to abstain from appointing Roman Catholics on the committee. That decision was not taken from any doubt or fear that the Roman Catholic Members would not, under the obligation imposed on them, conscientiously perform their duties as members of the committee. Had the Ministers thought that the Catholics were inclined to swerve from their duty, they would have been less ready to support them; and there was not a single member of the present Government who had not advocated their claims to take their places in the legislature. The object of selecting members from both sides was, that fair and impartial justice might be done, and both sides must be anxious not to put upon the committee those whose bias might make the appointment not satisfactory to both parties. It was therefore thought more expedient—though that was now made the subject of complaint—not to place the Roman Catholics on the committee, considering that the nature of the subject was such as to make it not proper to refer it to the Roman Catholics. He thought, too, it was acting wisely towards the Catholics themselves, as it was not throwing any imputation on them, or declaring that they had nothing to do with the tithes but to pay them. It was not right to delegate to

them the power of sifting on a committee which was to modify or reform the Protestant church. It was more desirable to delegate that power to a Protestant committee, that the reform might not appear forced on the Protestant church, but willingly adopted by the members of that party. Though the Government had not named any Roman Catholics, Roman Catholic feelings had been consulted, and the opinion of the Roman Catholics would be amply represented in the committee by their Protestant representatives. It was from no accidental circumstance, but from deliberate conviction, that the course which would seem most satisfactory had been adopted. Taking that ground, he would say, that should the hon. and learned Gentleman bring forward a motion to place on the committee his noble Friend—and he was glad that the honourable and learned Member had selected his noble Friend, as it would remove all suspicion from his opposition, for he knew no man whose moderation was greater or whose principles he more respected than those of his noble Friend; but if the hon. and learned Gentleman should propose to place his noble Friend on the committee, he should oppose it, as departing from the rule laid down by the Government when the motion was brought forward. He would say no more than at that time he considered all discussion as most inconvenient. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RUTIVEN agreed that this was not the proper time for discussion; but he was sure that the Irish Catholics would disapprove of being represented by Protestants in the committee. The committee was not so selected as to give satisfaction to them. The spirit of resistance to *tithes* was almost general throughout Ireland. It was on that ground that he wished to see the question speedily set at rest, and the people relieved. They did not wish to injure the present possessors, but they felt that, beyond these possessors, no persons had any claim to the tithes, and to the continuation of the system, therefore, they thoroughly objected. He would be one of the last men to submit to a mob; but he called on the legislature to put the law in such a state as not to provoke a mob, and not to be compelled to submit to one.

Mr. WYSE concurred with the honourable Member, that the resistance to tithe in Ireland was extending. At this time last year it was limited to one parish in Kilkenny, and to a small district of Queen's County. The resistance had now the feelings of the whole country in its support, and a system could not be continued which was the oppression of Ireland and the opprobrium of the legislature. The resistance of the people was directed against the system, not against the individuals. He knew several cases of clergymen, who, having behaved well, the people were spontaneously rewarded by the Catholic peasantry. They gave the Protestant clergy money as a donation, which they refused as tithes. If the question had not been taken up by the

legislature, the resistance would have spread from six counties over every part of Ireland. He would say, as a Catholic Member, that if he had been placed on the committee, he should have refused to act, because doing so would have excited jealousy. But what would the Irish think of a committee which had the extremes of both sides on it, and yet excluded the Catholics from all participation? Were the Catholics so dangerous that they could not be suffered to share in any such investigation?

Colonel PERCEVAL rose to contradict the assertion of the honourable and learned Member for Kerry, that all the Protestants of Ireland were engaged in the atrocious conspiracy to resist the payment of tithes.

Mr. O'CONNELL had not said that all the Protestants were engaged in it, and had not called it an atrocious conspiracy.

Colonel PERCEVAL knew that the honourable and learned Member never meant to assert that the Protestants of Ireland were engaged in opposing tithes, and he called it an atrocious conspiracy, not the honourable and learned Member. The Catholics were not averse from paying tithes, it was the agitators who were the cause of all the evils under which Ireland was suffering. (Hear, hear.) The loyal Protestants of Ireland saw with disgust meetings to agitate the country held in Dublin, under the eyes and at the very door of Government, which did not think proper to come forward and act as all loyal and honourable men had a right to expect from it. He knew that there would be no peace for Ireland while it was under the influence of these conspirators. The Roman Catholic peasantry would gladly pay tithes, were it not that they were afraid that their houses would be burned and their cattle houghed. He was sorry to have troubled the House, as he only wished to deny that the Protestants were engaged in any conspiracy to resist the payment of tithes.

Mr. SMITH denied that only a few Protestants had entered into the conspiracy, as it was called. On a former night it was stated that the Protestants were much disposed to resist the payment of tithes. The Presbyterians were surely not favourable to tithes. It was true, that the Protestants in Ireland had encouraged the Roman Catholics not to pay tithes. It would have been better to have allowed the Roman Catholics to have the option of refusing to serve on the committee; but the Government made them no offer. Even Lord Killeen was surprised at not hearing of any offer. He denied that the committee was impartial. There were three Members for English Universities on it, as well as the right honourable Gentleman, formerly Secretary of Ireland, who had been a staunch supporter of the English church. He thought it was, at least, an error of judgment not to place Roman Catholics on the committee. There were two parts of the tithe question. The Protestant part was for the collection of them, the Roman Catholic part was the payment of

tithe. He was bound to say for himself and his country, that the Catholics ought to have been placed on the committee. It was a great complaint in Ireland that justice was not fairly administered because it was administered by one party; and would not the same complaint be made of this tithe committee? Was being a member of it not as important as being a grand juror? The report of the committee would have to receive the sanction of the House, and on that the Roman Catholic Members might vote; but they must not make suggestions in the committee. The Roman Catholics, then, would have a power to vote, but not the power to get the information which might enable them to vote correctly. (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt, indeed, that justice would be done by the committee, but that was not enough—the Irish people ought to have the conviction that justice was done to them. It was a well-known saying, that justice should not only be pure, but it should be also unsuspected. By so constituting the committee, the Government was giving cause for suspicion. It would not satisfy the people of Ireland. The legislature ought to look, not only to principles but to the feelings of the people; it ought even to legislate consistently with their imaginations, and this it had not done. The Roman Catholics would not be pleased with their Protestant representatives. He admitted, indeed, that among these representatives were many men in whom he placed great confidence, and he was sure that justice would be done when he saw on the committee the Nestor of Irish patriots, the right honourable Member for Waterford; but because the committee was wholly Protestant it would not satisfy the people of Ireland.

Mr. RUTHVEN explained, that the Protestants in his part of the country generally were averse from the payment of tithes, but they did not like to take a part in the plan for resisting them.

Lord ALTHORP was aware that it was very inconvenient to prolong the discussion; but he wished to state the ground on which the Government had proceeded in forming the committee. It was necessary that the choice should be made with great care. There were prejudices on both sides, but the Government could not look to one side only. The course the Government pursued was to steer between them. If it had not placed Roman Catholics on the committee, it had placed those on it in whom the Catholics had confidence, and to whom they could make no objection. The Government had, after considerable deliberation, placed the representatives of seven large bodies of Catholics on the committee. It was impossible, therefore, for the Catholics to suppose that their interests would not be attended to in the committee. On the other hand, the Government had to look at the feelings of the Protestants both in Ireland and England. It had to look at the feelings of the Protestants in both countries; and the feelings of the Protestants, when the

question was concerning the Protestant church, were likely to be roused into jealousy if they were not at liberty to settle the question themselves. The Government had come to this determination after serious consideration, and it thought that the course it had pursued was the best calculated to promote the satisfactory adjustment of the question. Members were nominated in whom the Catholics placed confidence, but, being Protestants, they could not excite any unfounded jealousy.

Mr. CRESSET PERHAM deprecated the interference of Catholic Members with the property of the Protestant church, and cautioned the House not to alter the appointment it had already made.

Mr. Walker said a few words, which were inaudible.

The petition was then read.

Mr. HUME, in moving that it be printed, observed, that he was not opposed in principle to the right hon. Baronet (the Member for Tamworth), as to the respect proper to pay to the rights of individuals. He had never proposed to take any of their property from the present race of clergy, and he had laid, on a former occasion, resolutions on the table of the House, one of which was a declaration that it was necessary to respect the rights of individuals. He should hold it a disgrace to any man who should propose to interfere with the property of individuals.

Mr. O'CONNELL congratulated the right hon. Secretary on the change which had taken place in his resolution with respect to tithes. He was happy to observe that the right hon. Gentleman had abandoned that fixedness of opinion which had led him to declare against all attempts to legislate with respect to the property of the church.

Mr. STANLEY denied that his opinions had undergone the slightest alteration. He had always held it to be in the highest degree unjust and improper in the legislature to interfere with the property of the church for purposes not exclusively ecclesiastical; but he had, during the whole course of his Parliamentary life, maintained the right of Parliament to superintend the application of the property of the church—considering, as he did, that it was a corporation bound to exercise the trust, and apply the receipts to the uses for which they were appropriated. That opinion he had always hitherto held, and he held it now without the shadow of a change.

DEBATE OF 26TH JANUARY.

Lord MORPETH presented a petition from the inhabitants of Leeds, in borough meeting assembled, praying that the House would take into its immediate consideration the expediency of making a permanent provision for the poor of Ireland. The meeting, he observed, at which that petition was agreed to, was most numerously and respectably attended, and the petition was adopted by a very large majority of those present, and in the course of two days it received no fewer than

6,000 signatures. The petition further prayed that no measure of that nature, however urgent the necessity for it was, might be adopted until there was a previous enactment, assigning a certain portion of the church lands and revenues to the purposes for which they were originally intended—namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

Mr. STRICKLAND would certainly support the prayer of the petition, for he desired, as earnestly as any man could, to see the benefits of a permanent provision for the poor conferred upon Ireland, at the same time that he by no means desired to see that country visited with a system such as the present poor-laws of England. *The tithe system in Ireland must undergo some alteration, that was indisputable; and there was little doubt that alteration, too, must soon reach England.*

Mr. JAMES GRATTAN said, there could be question that the people of Ireland were entitled to relief, and when property was appointed to defray the expense of such relief, there would be few to deny that the church ought to bear its part.

Mr. O'CONNELL stated, with reference to the subject of tithes, he should to-morrow, before five o'clock, move that Lord Killeen be added to the committee on tithes; and if that motion were not agreed to, he should divide the House.

Mr. HUME observed, that the want of poor-laws in Ireland had effected a great change in the population of England. *As to tithes, there was an end to them in Ireland.* The House of Commons might meet and might vote, but the people of Ireland had settled the question of tithes. With respect to other church-property, it was entirely at the disposal of the legislature; it was public property, for the purposes of education, religion, or other purposes. He would pay the clergy liberally, but he would give no pay to those who worked none. He called on the Government to take up the matter, and put an end to all sinecures in the church on both sides of the water.

Mr. JOHN WRYLAND was a friend to reform in Ireland, and to making provision for the poor; but he would not take that altogether from the church. He would also take something from the landlords, and he would protest against the notion of taking the tithes from the church of Ireland. The hon. Member for Middlesex said the people of Ireland had settled the question of tithes by refusing to pay them. It was a disgrace to that House not to enforce the laws; and it was the duty of that House to compel obedience. It was disgraceful to any Member of that House to support or sanction people who were disobedient to the law. (Hear, hear.) He would modify the laws if they were bad; but he never would support those who rebelled against the law. It was not worthy of the character of English gentlemen to say, that the law was to be made to conform to the wishes of those who opposed the law. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BLACKNEY said, that the tithe system was much worse in Ireland than in England. *Ireland was disturbed from one end to the other by the tithe system.* He was not a sectarian, and therefore did not feel peculiarly aggrieved. He only felt himself called upon to say a few words in consequence of what fell from the hon. Member for Middlesex, but he thought it not a proper time to discuss the question, while a committee was sitting to inquire into the subject. In six counties of Ireland—Kilkenny, Wexford, Tipperary, Carlow, Queen's County, and Kildare—the system of tithes was actually at an end. The people would not pay them, and they had come to the resolution not to pay this unjust and oppressive tax. They were united to evade the payment of tithes, but they did not break the law. *The system could not last.* The goods taken on distraint could not be sold. There were eight or ten law processes by which the payment of tithes could be enforced, but they were all evaded. The opposition was given by the peasantry. He knew one parish in Kildare, in which the people had consented to pay 4d. an acre to resist the payment of tithes, and they declared that they would rather subscribe 2s. or 5s. an acre than not resist the payment.

An hon. Member, who had been requested so to do, supported the petition.

Sir EDWARD SUGDEN said, the hon. Member for Carlow had stated, that six counties in Ireland had refused to make the payment of tithes; and the persons who did that on a large scale were the worst subjects of the King and the worst enemies of the country. He put it to the noble Lord, if, in the present state of Ireland, it would be wise to extend the franchise to men who openly resisted the law? If that were the state of Ireland, could the franchise be prudently given to them? It was impossible that a country could continue to exist in the present state of Ireland.

Mr. D. O'CONNELL said the Irish Bill was not calculated to extend the franchise. At the Union there were 300,000 voters. Now there were not above 15,000; and the bill would not add 300 to the constituency. He denied that the people violated any law by refusing to pay tithes. The law said that those who did not pay tithes should have their property distrained; well, their property was distrained; was that disobedience to the laws? *The entire national will was against tithes.* When English gentlemen said they were determined to enforce the law, he would ask, would gentlemen enforce any law which the universal will resisted? Why, then, do that to the people of Ireland? If they could not enforce the payment of tithes except by sending out horse and foot, that must be the case. Let them employ the military. The people would not buy tithe property; and he defied any law to make the people buy what they did not like to buy.

Mr. CALLAGHAN said that there must be a compulsory provision for the poor in Ireland. There were thousands of destitute people in Cork, who were in a state of starvation. 44

was impossible that society could continue as at present. Until there was a relief for the poor, the country would be a prey to mobs.

Mr. SADLER wished to explain, that the meeting at which the petition was prepared was not a great one. He had had no hand in convening it. He took no part in the meeting, because it was a packed meeting. He admitted, and had done so before, that *tithes were the relic of a barbarous system, and ought to be done away*. At the same time, he wished that a general system of assessment, affecting landlords as well as the clergy, should be adopted. Were the landlords, who cleared their estates, not to be made to contribute to the wants of the people as well as the clergy? The resolution *came to at the meeting embraced all church-property*—that which had been misapplied long ago, as well as the tithes that were now in the possession of the church. The indefinite postponement of giving poor-laws to Ireland was not, in his opinion, the view entertained by the people of Leeds. He would then give notice, that he would, on an early day, submit a motion to the House for giving poor-laws to Ireland.

Sir JOHN BRIDGES hoped to see poor-laws introduced into Ireland; he meant the English system of poor-laws, corrected and modified.

Lord MORPETH explained. The petition had 6,000 signatures, which showed that *Mr. Baines was at least supported by a large portion of the people of Leeds*.

Sir ROBERT PEEL would have heard with great satisfaction had any of the members of the Government *got up to disclaim* the doctrine of the honourable Member for Middlesex. With respect to the present state and condition of Ireland, he thought his Majesty's Government was bound to *protest against the doctrines of the honourable Member for Middlesex*. The honourable Gentleman said that the tithe question was settled in Ireland, without entering into the discussion whether the state could meddle with the property of the church as a corporation, which was quite a distinct question. It was undoubted that *the individual clergymen now in existence had as good a legal right to their tithes as any man had to his estate*. The honourable Gentleman said that, by a combination amongst the people of Ireland to defeat the claims of the clergy to tithes, the question was practically disposed of. If the honourable Gentleman thought it impossible to collect the tithes for the church, could he *collect them for the state*? Would not the same combination defeat him, if he wished to levy these tithes for the state? It was a melancholy reflection—he was not alluding to the question of the charters of corporations, but to the claims of individual clergymen—it was a *melancholy reflection*, if the Irish landlords sanctioned the *despoiling of the church* (Hear, hear)—if the specific legal claim of the clergy could not be enforced; that by a combination the legal claim to tithes could be defeated. The landlords might depend, that

two years would not pass before a similar step would be taken to *defeat the payment of rent*. Why should it not be done? The learned Gentleman (the Member for Kerry) said that there was no violation of the law—the people had only refused to satisfy the claims of the clergy; but, if they succeeded in defeating these claims, what was to prevent their forming the same combinations against the payment of rent? What remedy had the landlord more than the clergyman, except that of ejectionment, which he would find it difficult to execute? What protection was there for the property of the landlord, should it be invaded by a similar combination? (Hear, hear.) If the landlords thought that they were likely to benefit by encouraging such combinations, never were men more miserably deceived. Whatever settlement might be made of the tithe question, he hoped no parties would be suffered to profit by their own wrong. (Hear, hear.) If the honourable Gentleman succeeded in appropriating the church-property as he wished to the state, at least land in the possession of individuals *ought not to be benefited by despoiling the clergy*; and let gentlemen remember, that if the tithes of the clergy fell into the *hands of the state*, they would probably be levied with greater rigour and to a greater extent than they were in the hands of the clergy. The honourable and learned Gentleman (the Member for Kerry) had talked of the employment of the military—was that recommended by the honourable and learned Gentleman? He had seen enough of the employment of such means not to wish it, but at the same time it was their duty, both as members of the legislature and members of society, not to lend any countenance to those who combined to evade the law or to defeat the legal claims of the clergy. (Hear.)

Lord ALTHORP was quite ready to enter his protest against the doctrines of his hon. Friend, the Member for Middlesex, but he did not think it necessary on all occasions to enter a protest against all the doctrines he disapproved of. The right honourable Gentleman must know that the Government disapproved of such doctrines, but it was not convenient to provoke discussion on the presentation of a petition. (Hear.) He repeated, however, that he *did not approve of the doctrines of his hon. Friend*. The House must know, from the manner in which his right honourable Friend had introduced the question of Irish tithes to their notice, what were the opinions of the Government. And knowing that, he felt it less necessary to enter his protest against the opinions of his honourable Friend. He would then say, that he thought he highly disapproved of the combination alluded to; and whether this was within or without the limits of the law, he was sure if it was suffered, that it would endanger property in general. (Hear.)

Sir R. PEEL did not impute to the noble Lord the slightest approbation of such proceedings, and he was glad to hear the noble Lord's declaration against them.

Lord MORPETH moved that the petition be referred to the committee on Irish tithes.

Mr. SHEIL observed, that the petition related to a matter of general interest, which had excited the people a great deal. That they were still in a state of excitement was evident. Did the right hon. Baronet speak as a lawyer, or as a legislator? If he spoke as a legislator it was different; and he ought not only to enforce the law as it is, but inquire what it ought to be; and in considering what it ought to be, the legislator was bound to take into his consideration the state of facts at the moment. Had the right hon. Baronet suggested that the law should be changed? Had he recommended more severity? From the course pursued for the last five or six years by the right hon. Baronet, he did not think he could now recommend that. How then were tithes to be collected? The Irish landlords thanked the right hon. Gentleman for entertaining fears for them they did not entertain for themselves. The fact at present was, that the whole Irish people were revolted by tithes; that was indubitable—and what could the legislator do? Would he take the tithe pig? What could he do when the whole nation was conspiring against his laws? That was the case in Ireland. What was the case with respect to Catholic Emancipation in Ireland? That it was withheld until it could no longer be denied. It was not conceded until it was felt by those who conceded it to be what they conceived a dire necessity. It was not until that last moment that the right hon. Baronet opposite, did himself the immortal honour of proposing Catholic Emancipation. It was impossible to force down public opinion in Ireland; it might be regulated, but it could not be coerced. He implored the House, therefore, to take measures in time on this important subject, or otherwise, when they did take them, they would prove ineffectual. He implored them to pass such a measure as might be satisfactory to all classes; at all events to pass such a measure as might be satisfactory to the most numerous classes, without including that destruction to the remainder which delay might involve.

Sir R. PEEL, in explanation, said, that all he insisted upon was, *that the private rights of every incumbent ought to be sacred*. His argument was, that if the doctrine were maintainable, that the private rights of every incumbent were not entitled to protection, the same doctrine would equally apply to the private rights of the owners of every other description of property.

Mr. HUME, in answer to the attacks which had been made upon him by the right hon. Baronet and others, declared they had attributed to him doctrines which he had never maintained. He had not said a single word, either then or at any other time, *against the private rights of incumbents*, or against the private rights of the possessors of any other description of property. He had called upon his Majesty's Ministers to pay attention to the petition. He had said that there were two great evils in Ireland—the *evil of tithes*, and

the *evil of church-property*; and he had said that even if the question of tithes were settled, the evil arising from the *great disproportion of church-property* would still remain to be got rid of.

Mr. BLACKNEY explained; but the cries of "spoke, spoke," were so loud and incessant, that all that we could hear was, that *it was a bugbear* to say that by regulating the tithes in Ireland the property of the landowners would be endangered.

The motion for referring the petition to the committee on tithes was then agreed to.

DOCTOR BLACK'S ARTICLE,

27TH JANUARY.

A discussion took place last night in the House of Commons—on the presentation by Lord Morpeth of a petition from the inhabitants of Leeds, in borough meeting assembled, praying for a permanent provision for the poor of Ireland—which strikingly illustrates the danger of a want of sympathy between the people of a country and their legislature. The petitioners (6,000) signed the petition in the course of two days) prayed that no provision might be adopted until there was a previous enactment assigning *a certain portion of the tithes and church lands to the purposes for which they were originally intended—namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked*. The statement by his Lordship of the purport of the petition led naturally enough to the consideration of the very ticklish question of Irish tithes. Mr. Strickland observed, that "the tithe system in Ireland must undergo some alteration; and there was little doubt that alteration too must soon reach England."—Mr. Hume said, "*as to tithes, there was an end to them in Ireland*. The House of Commons might meet, and might vote, but the people of Ireland had settled the question of tithes." This plain way of putting the case excited the indignation of Mr. John Weyland, who "protested against the notion of taking the tithes from the Church of Ireland." The honourable Member for Middlesex said the people of Ireland had settled the question of tithes by refusing to pay them. It was a disgrace to that House not to enforce the laws; and it was the duty of that House to compel obedience. It was disgraceful to any Member of the House to support or sanction people who were disobedient to the law. (Hear.) He would modify the laws if they were bad; but he never would support those who rebelled against the law. It was not worthy of the character of English gentlemen to say, that the law was to be made to conform to the wishes of those who opposed the law." (Hear.)

When there is a sympathy between the people and those who make their laws, the laws will harmonise with the inclinations and opinions of the people as a matter of course; and, in such a case, the people will be attached to the laws, and will yield a ready obedience to them; for it would be a contradiction in terms to say that men who can obtain laws to their liking, would, when the easy mode of alter-

tion presents itself, think of opposing or resisting the laws. If Mr. John Weyland were capable of reflection, he would see that it is because the law in Ireland has been the enemy of the people, and that those who made the laws were not the friends of the people, that the people are enemies of the laws. Mr. John Weyland would modify the laws if they were bad. This is very kind and very considerate in Mr. John Weyland. But one swallow does not make a summer. Would the legislature modify the laws because they are bad, and precisely because they are bad? for that is the question. Now, Mr. John Weyland ought to know, that if there is one lesson which experience has taught the people of Ireland more than another, it is, that resistance to bad laws is the only mode by which they can obtain an alteration of them. Was not the Catholic Question, for instance, conceded at last, not because the Catholics had justice on their side, but because it was dangerous any longer to resist them? Had not the Catholics been hawking about their sores, knocking at the door of every great man with humble petitions; and were they not spurned and neglected till they became furious agitators, and carried alarm into the camp of their enemies? Will this lesson ever be forgotten? Let Mr. John Weyland be assured, that the evils of injustice cannot be confined to one side—that disobedience and retaliation follow naturally and necessarily in the train of laws made not to protect but to oppress. Why is it that we are now seeking an alteration in the constitution of the legislature, but that the conviction has become general that the interests of those who make the laws are not identical with the interests of the people, and, consequently, that the laws must be partial and unjust?

Mr. BLACKNEY stated, that “in six counties of Ireland—Kilkenny, Wexford, Tipperary, Carlow, Queen’s County, and Kildare—the system of tithes was actually at an end. The people would not pay them, and they had come to the resolution not to pay this unjust and oppressive tax. They were united to evade the payment of tithes, but they did not break the law. The system could not last. The goods taken on distraint could not be sold. There were eight or ten law processes by which the payment of tithes could be enforced, but they were all evaded. The opposition was given by the peasantry. He knew one parish in Kildare, in which the people had consented to pay 4d. an acre to resist the payment of tithes, and they declared that they would rather subscribe 2s. or 5s. an acre than not resist the payment.”

A very striking illustration of the feelings of the Irish is to be found in a letter published in the Irish papers, from Mr. R. Cassidy to the Dean of Kildare, and the Rev. Rawdon Green, in answer to an application to him for tithes:—

“Mr. ROBERT CASSIDY takes leave to submit for the consideration of the Dean of Kildare, a copy of a petition from the

“parish of Lea, complaining of very gross
“abuses in the appointment and application
“of tithes and charitable donations in the
“parish. The circumstances stated in the
“annexed petition, and the recent conduct of
“the ‘Spiritual’ Peers, in the division of the
“House of Lords, on the Reform Bill, have
“satisfied Mr. R. Cassidy that voluntary pay-
“ments to the clergy of the established
“church would sanction a system of profligate immorality, and tend to retard the
“legislative reform so imperatively necessary
“to relieve the people of England and of
“Ireland from their oppressive burdens.
“Mr. R. Cassidy, under such a conviction,
“does not consider himself justified to support, by voluntary contributions, a system of
“plunder and corruption, at variance with
“the doctrines inculcated by the meek and
“charitable founder of the Christian religion. Mr. Robert Cassidy, at the same
“time, takes leave to assure the Dean of
“Kildare and the Rev. Rawdon Green, that
“he does not withhold his tithes from any
“wish to be relieved from a tax to which the
“land he holds is subjected; and when
“the tithes and other church-property are
“allocated to the purposes for which such
“property was originally set apart by the
“pious founders of the Christian religion,
“viz.—the support of the sick, the aged, and
“the poor—the erection of churches, hospitals, and schools—and the decent maintenance of the clergy who minister to the
“spiritual wants of the parishioners committed to their care—Mr. R. C. will not only
“pay with cheerfulness the present amount of
“tithes chargeable on his lands, but any
“further sum deemed necessary to attain
“these important and long-neglected objects.”

Now why, we ask, do the people of Ireland adopt this course with regard to tithes? It is precisely because they are firmly persuaded that this is the only way in which they can obtain a modification or repeal of bad laws. Does Mr. John Weyland doubt the existence of such a persuasion? Does he think that its existence reflects disgrace only on those who seriously entertain it? The people of Ireland have all the distrust which oppression usually engenders. So accustomed are they to unprincipled conduct in their superiors, that nothing is so difficult as to persuade an Irishman in any case that there is not a concealed purpose under the avowed one. Being generally distrustful, they are more particularly distrustful of the declarations of such gentlemen as Mr. John Weyland, when they profess their readiness to modify bad laws, provided they will only obey bad laws till they are modified. But in this matter of the Irish church, even the English are full of suspicion. In an article in *The Leeds Mercury* of Saturday last, the editor of that influential journal observes with much shrewdness; speaking of the Leeds petition:—

“We the more earnestly urge this subject
“on the people of England, because Ministers

"and Parliament will naturally revolt from touching the tithes, and they will never of themselves give to the poor their rightful portion. The fact is, that these tithes are a comfortable appendage to the aristocracy—a snug pension fund for younger sons and brothers of noble families—a rich host of sinecures for those who have neither industry nor brains to gain their livelihood by an honest profession. Never was an abuse more monstrous than the temporalities of the Irish church establishment. And the best ministers, when themselves of high families, are too prone to screen such abuses. Even Earl Grey, unparalleled as his sacrifices of ministerial patronage have been, has yielded to the temptation of showering ecclesiastical and other preferments on his own relations, and thus has brought upon a lofty and noble character the only stain it bears. The people, then, must fight this battle for themselves, and struggle against many difficulties, till they have nearly won the victory, and then crowds of aristocrats will change sides, and partake the triumph."

These are the sentiments of ninety-nine out of every hundred disinterested individuals in this country. The people say to themselves, Here is a set of men who have obtained the power of making laws for us, but who have, in many things, an interest of their own quite opposed to our interest. We must manage matters as well as we can under such circumstances, obeying where we must, and evading where there is an opening; but, whatever we do, let us not commit the unspeakable folly of supposing that they who profit by abuses will ever voluntarily remove them. We lay it down as a broad position, that there cannot be a better criterion of the quality of a legislature than the disposition of a people to obey or disobey the laws. Disorder is the child of injustice. Let Mr. John Weyland bear then in mind that there is nothing miraculous in Ireland. Ye shall know the tree by its fruits; and from the fruits of legislation in Ireland you can be at no loss to pronounce the character of the legislation. The compelling obedience to the law is an idle phrase in the case of Ireland. You may make laws for Ireland much more easily than compel obedience to them. The proverb says, one man may lead a horse to the water, but twelve cannot make him drink. But the difficulty with Ireland is, that the people in the case of tithes really violate no law. The law is suffered to take its course, but its course is inoperative.

Mr. O'CONNELL "denied that the people violated any law by refusing to pay tithes. The law said that those who did not pay tithes should have their property distrained. Well, their property was distrained. Was that disobedience to the laws? The entire national will was against tithes. When English gentlemen said they were determined to enforce the law, he would ask, would gentlemen enforce any law which the universal will resisted? Why then do that to the people of Ireland? If they do not en-

"force the payment of tithes, except by sending out horse and foot, that must be the case. Let them employ the military."

When the law and the universal will are at variance, the law can have no hold. It is as if a summons were sent to the lifeless figures on the deck of the plague ship, which, in one of Mr. Galt's novels, floats up the Thames to the terror of the London citizens. So long as the Irish people will not pay tithes, and not buy property distrained for tithes, the more the law is appealed to, the more its impotence becomes manifest.

Sir R. PEEL "thought his Majesty's Government was bound to protest against the doctrines of the honourable Member for Middlesex. The honourable Gentleman said that the tithe question was settled in Ireland. Without entering into the discussion whether the state could meddle with the property of the church as a corporation, which was quite a distinct question, it was undoubtedly true that the individual clergymen now in existence had as good a legal right to their tithes as any man had to his estate." The distinction taken by the right honourable Baronet between the property of the corporation and the life interest of the individual members of it, is quite correct. Whatever change be adopted, let the rights of individuals be respected. It is, however, one of the mischiefs attendant on the pushing claims on one side too far, that the other side is disposed not to go far enough. Our opinion is, that the longer this struggle continues, the worse it will be for the clergy. They ought to have their incomes secured to them, without reference to the original distinction of tithes, because they entered on the livings with an understanding that a rule—quite different from the ancient—was in force. Let the reform be prospective. But, as we have said, it is one of the mischiefs of that sort of vicious legislation, which rouses against it the feelings of the whole nation, that the remedy is often in turn a departure from justice. The abomination of a sinecure church for the aristocracy has been clung to with so much pertinacity, that at length the hatred of the institution is extended to the individuals belonging to it. Sir Robert Peel endeavoured to frighten the landlords by holding up to them the encouragement which success in evading tithes would give to the peasants to attempt to evade payment of rents by similar means. "The landlords," he said, "might depend upon it, that two years would not pass before a similar step would be taken to defeat the payment of rent." The landlords are too old birds to be caught with chaff. There is such a thing, Sir Robert, as history. We have now the history of a number of attempts in different counties successfully made to resist the payment of tithes; but in no one instance was any such attempt followed by a resistance to the payment of rent. It requires no conjuror to explain why men may be very anxious to rid themselves of a tax without wishing to put an end to property. When you say that no rent will be paid, you suppose the

monstrous state of things, that any man may seize on what property he pleases—a state of things which would not last one week. If a man paying rent for 500 acres were to say he would pay no more, what is there to prevent some sturdy Milesian, who possesses no laud, from taking a fancy for the whole or part of these 500 acres, or another for detruing him in turn? No, no; the Milesians may not be the most prudent people in the world, but their instinct will soon teach them that the very existence of a people is bound up with a respect for property. The Scotch were as staunch in their refusal to pay tithes as the Irish, and compelled a permanent settlement, by which that country has been greatly benefited; but in the bitterest period of their warfare against tithes, they never refused to pay rent.—Mr. Sheil touched with keen sarcasm the sore place in the right hon. Gentleman with respect to Ireland:—"The Irish landlords (he said) thanked the right honourable Gentleman for entertaining fears for them they did not entertain for themselves. The fact at present was, that the whole Irish people were revolted by tithes; that was indubitable—and what could the legislator do? Would he take the tithe pig? What could he do when the whole nation was conspiring against his laws? That was the case in Ireland. What was the case with respect to Catholic Emancipation in Ireland? That it was withheld until it could be no longer denied. It was not conceded until it was felt by those who conceded it to be what they conceived a dire necessity. It was not until that last moment that the right honourable Baronet opposite did himself the immortal honour of proposing Catholic Emancipation."

No, no; it is not for the right honourable Gentleman, after the lesson which he taught the Irish people, to turn round on them and exclaim, "For God's sake, do not agitate—pay the tithe-pig in peace—keep up the abomination of a church without a people, consuming not only the part of the church but the part of the people. You may gain greatly by obedience to the laws, but you can gain nothing by agitation. All the good which the people of Ireland have ever obtained from their superiors has been a voluntary emanation from their benevolence." *We rejoice with exceeding great joy* that there is at last a fair prospect that the Irish will be relieved from the burden of a sinecure church, and the British Empire from the reproach of seeking to degrade the Irish people by upholding this badge of their slavery.

There, now, Parsons; how long do you think that you will have the tithes? You will, as I do, laugh at the protest of Lord ALTHORP. You will ask of what use it can be, except to make people cry out against the Ministers. And you will, as I do mine, shake your heads at the solemn declarations of HUME and O'Con-

NELL against touching *vested rights*! As to the former, he cannot be expected to know much about the nature of these rights; but the latter must know that the *advowsons* are much nearer, in their nature, to private property, *than the tithes are*; and that, if the proposition of these gentlemen were adopted, these advowsons would be *swept away at once*! . . . But, parsons, I must quit you for the present, in order to go to dinner. I will come back to you when that is over!

DINNER TO MR. COBBETT.

Manchester, 3 Feb. 1832.

I BEG my readers in the South to observe, that the CHAIRMAN at this dinner, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, is one of the greatest of the great manufacturers in this county; and, then, I do beseech them to read the whole of his speech with attention. I beg lords and all landowners and farmers to read it; and they will then see, whether it be dangerous to them to put men into Parliament from these manufacturing towns. Compare this speech with the goose-gabble stuttered forth by the belchers and hiccupers and spitters from Bellamy's! It was a more neat and more useful speech than I had heard for years. It was received with a degree of admiration which showed the good taste and sound understanding of the company; and I cannot help being proud that I was the cause of calling it forth.

WM. COBBETT.

From the Manchester and Salford Advertiser.

A dinner was given to Mr. Cobbett by his Manchester committee, at the Town Hall, Salford, on Monday; and was among the most gratifying ceremonies of the kind that have ever occurred in this town. The company amounted to about 140. The dinner, which was supplied by Mr. Wilde, of the White Lion, at which house the committee generally held their meetings on business, was exceedingly well got up, the viands were of good quality, and very well dressed; and not the least attractive garniture of the table consisted of six quarters of house lamb, which Mr.

Cobbett had had sent from his little farm at Kensington, expressly for this occasion, together with a plentiful supply of fine white broccoli.

But much more gratifying than anything connected with the mere dinner, which was the apology for the meeting, was to see such an assembly gathered together on such an occasion; to see such a company, chiefly of young men, animated by so warm a zeal in so good a cause; to observe the order and decorum of the evening's entertainment, protracted as it was till twelve o'clock, without, as we believe, one solitary instance of inebriety; and to witness the good sense and knowledge displayed by the various speakers. We should be willing to stake the whole of our cause on the comparison between this meeting and its proceedings, and the orgies of any Pitt-club that ever assembled.

The dinner was laid about half-past six o'clock, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, of TUDMORDEN, took the chair. The table, which was laid in the form of a horse-shoe, was completely filled, and the lower extremities were occupied by the vice-chairmen, Mr. William Croft, of Pendleton, and Mr. William Harvey. We observed also with pleasure the presence at the table of Mr. Joseph Brotherton, Mr. Joseph Johnson, Mr. Edmund Grundy, of Bury; and Messrs. Halliday, Halliwell, and Earnshaw, of Oldham; Mr. Thomas Smith, of Liverpool; and Mr. James and Mr. Thomas Fielden.

After the cloth was removed, the Chairman gave several toasts before he came to the health of Mr. Cobbett, which he prefaced by a speech that filled his hearers with admiration, and of which we here give a mere sketch.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that his next duty was to propose to the company the health of a gentleman whose reputation was not to be affected by anything that he could say or leave unsaid—a gentleman, who, during a long course of years, had been the consistent advocate of reform, and who had now the happiness to see converts crowding to join him; who had been the advocate not only of parliamentary reform, but of all those measures of prac-

tical improvement which were bound up with the welfare of the people, and with which his own name was identified; who had been the consistent advocate of just principles of government, in seasons when the people, maddened by a delusive prosperity, thought those principles to be false; but which principles, by the dissipation of that fancied prosperity, were proved to be true. He was not more distinguished, however, for his advocacy of reform in the constitution and practice of Parliament, than for his zealous maintenance of the just rights of the people. The cause of the suffering poor and the oppressed labourer was that which had always lain nearest to his heart; and it was this, above all things, that had raised him in his (the Chairman's) estimation, and in the estimation of all the best friends of their kind. He had not only pointed out the cause of the sufferings of the people, how they originated, and from what they sprung, but he had pointed out, in a manner the most clear and simple, the specific remedy for those grievances. (Hear, hear.) There were a great many men, of the best intentions, who had a just and strong feeling with respect to the actual condition of the working classes, and yet could not be brought to assent to the only means that were adequate to the permanent improvement of their condition. It was that friend, whose name he was about to mention to them, and it was he only who had the skill to trace their sufferings up to their source, in the debt and the exorbitant taxation necessary to sustain the debt, and who had also the courage and the justice and the good sense to recommend the removal of the cause, as the sure and only means of removing the effects which proceeded from it. (Loud cheers.) There were many, indeed, who had their specifics for relieving the distresses of the poor. Of these the first and the strongest was to remove their poverty, by depriving them of the resource which they now had in the *poor-laws*. This surely was one of the wildest schemes that ever proceeded from the lips of man; and more especially might it be deemed so, after what had been recently witnessed in the

South. This scheme could not be carried into effect, even if it could ultimately do good, for it would throw the nation into convulsion. Others hoped to accomplish the same end by giving the people *cheap bread*; and this was to be secured by the *abolition of the corn-laws*. He was one of those who thought the corn-laws should be abolished. But in order to do justice to all parties, we ought to place the growers of corn in England in a condition to *compete on equal terms with the foreigner*; then we might fairly call on the legislature to repeal the corn-laws, and expect our call to be heard. (Loud cheers.) There were others who proposed to remove the calamities of the people, by giving them an *improved system of banking*. (Laughter.) Now, if it could be shown that banking was productive of good to any portion of the community, then the question might be entertained with propriety; but he had never yet been able to discover any good from banking, *except to bankers themselves*; and in his eyes the object of the banker differed in no respect from that of the *pensioner*, namely, to *live upon the industry of the people without giving them an equivalent*. This was forcibly illustrated by what had occurred to him lately at Halifax, where he was on business recently, when a meeting was held of the proprietors of the joint-stock bank of Halifax. This was a recent but a very successful establishment. He had been once solicited to become a shareholder in this, as he had been in other joint-stock banks, but he declined the overtures, because he was convinced that *he could not accept them with a clear conscience*. A friend who had been at the meeting of the Halifax bank, and who was a shareholder, told him that a dividend had been made of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in addition to 5 per cent. voted as a sinking fund to cover future losses, making a total of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; he asked *who were the payers of this $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* His friend replied, "Oh, the joint-stock bank furnishes accommodation to those who furnish labour for the people, and without that aid the commerce of the country could not be carried on." This he

said was no answer to his question, and he still wanted to know *who paid the $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* "Oh, it was paid by those who received the accommodation." The conversation was carried on till the payment was traced to the *labourers themselves*, who thus paid $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to keep up a fund for their own employment. (Loud laughter.) It had been said that *an increase of money* was necessary to an *increase of trade*, that the use of the banker was to supply that increase of money; and that to make payments *in promises to pay* was necessary to the commerce of the country. He denied the truth of the proposition; and as facts were the best, he would bring its truth to the test of facts, of which one on such a subject was worth a thousand speculations. Let the inquiry be made in that branch of trade, the cotton trade, with which all around him were familiar. At the close of the last war the consumption of cotton was 6,000 bags per week. During the progress of that war, the Government had formed in loans made in paper-money the means of carrying on that war, as well as of paying the dividends on what was previously contracted; but with the war ceased the system of borrowing by which it was supported, the paper money was diminished in amount, and the country was plunged into suffering and ruin; though that suffering and that ruin were little to the suffering and ruin which had been experienced since PEELE'S BILL came into operation. Now what, during this period, was the progress of the cotton trade? From 1815 to 1824, which latter was the year of Mr. ROBINSON'S *vaunted prosperity*; and during which period there was no question that though we had a *less circulation* than during the war, we had a greater average circulation than we have since had; from 1815 to 1824 the increase in the consumption was from 6,000 to 11,000 bags a week. At the close, then, of 1824 the amount was eleven thousand and some hundred bags a week; a *contraction of the currency* then took place, and lowered prices; and the people were obliged to do more work in order to find the means of pay-

ing the same taxes. From 1824 to 1832 there was a progressive increase in the consumption of raw cotton from 11,000 to 16,000 bags, which was the average weekly consumption during the last year. He thought then that he had thus made out his case, *that an increased trade might be carried on with a diminished quantity of currency; (loud cheers;)* so that it was quite clear that there was no necessity for that accommodation, which consists of the *circulation of promises to pay*, in order to make the people happy and prosperous. Another of the specifics of the political economists, was *free trade*. One would think that there was *already trade enough to satisfy the most sanguine* of these speculators; and that it was not an increase of trade that could relieve us, while pressed as we are to the earth by burdens. He had already shown that the cotton trade had increased, from 1824 to 1832, from 11,000 to 16,000 bags a week; in the last year the consumption was *higher than it had ever been before* in the history of the cotton trade; and never was there a period, he appealed to all around him, in which there was more *suffering among the working men, more difficulties and distresses among the employers*, than during that year. *FREE TRADE* could confer, was expected to confer, no benefit, but *an extension of trade*; here was *an extension of trade*, and *an increase of suffering going hand in hand*; here was an extension of trade increasing the suffering; and the increase of suffering *urging to an additional extension of trade*; and yet *free trade* was expected to relieve us! He was thus convinced that all the specifics and panaceas propounded by the political economists, were only calculated to delay the period, without weakening the necessity for the adoption of that grand measure which originated with their distinguished friend. *(Loud cheers.)* He did not deny others the freedom of opinion which he wished to exercise; but he could not agree that any of the expedients on which he had commented, or any other expedient, could enable us to *sustain the debt*; and when he knew the inefficacy of palliatives, and saw a remedy pro-

posed which struck at the root of all the evils we complained of, that was the remedy which he would advocate. This was the remedy which Mr. Cobbett had proposed, and which he had shown to be just, and consistent with the rights of the community, namely, the destruction of the debt. *(Loud cheers.)* This measure would relieve the poor by removing the demands on their wages; it would relieve them by relieving the farmer from burdensome taxation, and *removing the necessity for the corn-laws*; it would relieve them by *removing the system of credit and the banker's profits upon it*. The means of the people would be increased by the same process, and with their means their consumption; *and our home trade would find us an ample market for all our commodities*. He was not accustomed to meetings of this kind; still less to occupy so conspicuous a position in them. He was placed in that chair, not by inclination or choice, but a sense of duty, and a wish to manifest the respect which he felt for Mr. Cobbett, and which he owed to him. He begged to propose, "*Our distinguished guest, William Cobbett, and may he live to complete that economical reform which he has so long and so nobly advocated.*"

MR. COBBETT returned thanks, and proposed prosperity to the industrious town of Manchester.

MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE IV.

29th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM this evening to submit to you the reasons on which I found my propositions with regard to the DEBT, commonly called the NATIONAL DEBT, and also with regard to an adjustment of pecuniary contracts between man and man. And here, gentlemen, I shall stand in need of all that indulgence which you have hitherto so largely bestowed upon me; for the subject is intricate in itself, and I have to encounter all the obstacles that prejudice, bred and fostered by a long series of misrepresentations

and calumnies, has placed in my way. Nevertheless, favoured by your patient and indulgent attention, I believe myself able to satisfy you, not only of the necessity, but also of the justice of the measures which I recommend, with regard to this most important branch of our national affairs. First, however, permit me to read those of my propositions which relate to it.

6. To cease, during the first six months after June, 1832, to pay interest on a fourth part of the debt; second six months, to cease to pay interest on another fourth; and so on for the other two fourths; so that no more interest, or any part of the debt, would be paid after the end of two years.

7. To divide the proceeds of all the property mentioned in paragraph No. 5, and also in paragraph No. 2, in due proportion, on principles of equity, amongst the owners of what is called *stock*, or, in other words, the *fundholders*, or persons who lent their money to those who borrowed it in virtue of acts of the late parliaments, and to give to the fundholders, out of the taxes, nothing beyond these proceeds.

8. To make an equitable adjustment with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man, and thereby rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and ruin inflicted on thousands upon thousands of virtuous families by the arbitrary changes made by acts of the late parliaments, in the value of the money of the country.

These propositions, or anything amounting to the same, or having the same object in view, have been called by all manner of vile names, such as are usually applied to the most flagitious acts of dishonesty. *Robbery* has never failed to be used for this purpose; and I have been frequently called a *rogue*, for barely mooted the proposition. This, however, has not deterred me from repeating it, as often as occasion has called for it, from the year 1803 to the present day. When I was in America the first time, I was a mere zealous prater of politics. Finding the whole of the peo-

ple railing against my own country, I espoused its cause, right or wrong; and the Bank having stopped payment in 1797, I defended bank-notes not convertible into gold, it being quite sufficient for me that England had bank-notes. But I had not been in England three years, before I clearly saw the wickedness and the mischievous tendency of the whole system of debts and paper-money. So that these are no new notions of mine, at any rate, I having continued to promulgate them for twenty-eight years, in spite of all the shafts of ridicule, and all the venom of calumny. In 1806, when the Whigs and the Grenvillites came into power, and in the bringing in of whom I had a great hand, I might have been under-secretary of state to Mr. Windham, who was then secretary of state for the colonies; but he having laughed at me, when I mentioned, as a condition, that *the interest of the debt should be reduced*, and that *Freeing* should not be turned out of the Post-office, I made up my mind to have nothing to do with the matter; being quite sure, as I told him, that the Ministry never could remain in power for any length of time, unless the undermining vermin of Pitt and Dundas were swept out of the offices; and that, which was still more material, shame and disgrace must finally fall upon all those who attempted to carry on the affairs of the country, loaded as it was with the National Debt; and that debt, observe, taking the difference in the value of money into consideration, was not then half so great as it is now. These opinions, then, are not new with me—taken up for this occasion, and put forth for the purpose of ingratiating myself with any part of the people, who now feel themselves pressed to the earth by that debt.

If the Reform Bill do not lighten the burdens of the people, it is agreed, on all hands, that the bill will be of no use. We all agree, except BABINGTON MACAULAY perhaps, that unless the Reform Bill lead to measures of *relief*; unless it lead to a great taking off of taxes; it will be a mere mockery of the people; and that, like *Catholic emancipation*, it will make things worse than they were

before. Catholic emancipation, instead of content and tranquillity, has already been followed by *almost* a revolution in Ireland; and such will be the case with regard to reform in England, unless it be immediately followed by such a reduction of taxes as shall be sensibly felt by every part of the community, down to the very lowest of the labourers. When I come to speak of Ireland more particularly, I shall not only show that the present state of things was naturally to be expected to follow the Emancipation Bill, but that it was foreseen, and foretold by me in most distinct terms, even while the Emancipation Bill was before the Parliament. I may now, then, be excused for presuming to predict, that the Reform Bill will be followed by similar consequences in England, unless it lead to great changes in the management of our affairs, and especially unless it lead to a great reduction of the taxes. This is natural; for the nation wants the reform, because it is over-burdened: it has great hopes and expectations from this reform; and we all know what are the invariable consequences of sanguine expectation disappointed. The labourer, who is discontented at having nothing but potatoes, when he ought to have bacon and bread, will not feel satisfied with those potatoes, upon merely being told that he has now got *reform*.

To this we come, then; without a great lightening of our burdens, the reform will be a mere mockery; a temporary delusion, and a permanent addition to the grounds of discontent. The next thing then to be considered is, how this lightening of the burdens of the people is to take place; and every one must answer, that it cannot take place at all, and that it is an abuse of words to talk of it, unless there be an alienation of the debt. When you hear men talk of retrenchment and economy, as you will hear Babington Macaulay, and others, and all the school of Brougham, and all the Whigs themselves, who are in power, and hear them at the same time declare their firm resolution not to touch the interest of the debt; declare that *national faith*, as they call it, must be kept sacred, though, by-the-by, their *national*

faith means a most infamous plundering of the nation; when you hear men talk thus, set them down as hypocrites or madmen; for how is relief to come, except by a ceasing to pay interest on the debt?

Gentlemen, there are none of you, I am certain, crazy enough to suppose that the Ministers can pay this interest out of their own pockets; if you wish it to be paid, you must wish yourselves to pay it; and if you wish this, there can be no diminution of our burdens; and the state vessel must go on, blundering about among the rocks, till it goes to pieces. The case stands thus: The total clear amount of the revenue, after paying charges of collection and management, and all sorts of things, is stated by the Government to be forty-seven millions. This may be true, to be sure; but I make it a rule never to believe any of their statements or returns. It may, however, be true, and we will take them upon their own showing. The expenses of collection, together with other innumerable charges, direct and indirect, over and above this clear revenue, would still bring the gross amount, squeezed out of the people, to sixty millions; but, at any rate, it would bring it to fifty-six. Now, then, out of the forty-seven millions, thirty are taken for paying the dividends upon the debt, and paying the charges of all sorts relative to the debt. We must give the debt, half at least, of the expenses and charges attending the collection and management of the revenue; and that makes its annual cost thirty-four millions and one-half. This is still far from being all that it costs; for out of the debt grows the necessity of this thundering standing army in time of peace. The debt causes the heavy taxes; these cause distress; distress causes discontent; violent discontent creates threatened commotion; and then it becomes the duty of the Government to have a force at hand to put down commotion. To cry out, therefore, against the standing army being kept up in time of peace; to inveigh against oppressive taxation, and to complain of distress and suffering, and *starvation* even, is to be stupidly unjust, as long as you keep up the idiot-like cry of *national faith*.

Thus much, then, for the plea of *necessity*; and though Milton has called that the tyrant's plea, it is only the tyrant's plea when it is false. In this case it is true; and it is, in fact, the plea of industry and want against all-devouring usury. But, now, for the *justice* of the propositions, even if we were to leave this plea of necessity out of the question. This robbery, as it is called, is really no more than imitating the practice of the wisest and most just of mankind. Many of you, gentlemen, well know, that when Solon became lawgiver of Athens, he found that ancient and famous republic in a state of utter confusion and destitution; he found it unable to make war against its enemies, unable to defend itself; and he found besides, that all the active and industrious persons in the community were ground down into a state of beggary and ruin by the *usurers*, who had made a great part of the people in a great measure their actual slaves. Rome was in a similar state, and from a similar cause in the time of Julius Cæsar. Both of them resorted to an adjustment which freed the people from the claws of the usurers, by making these latter in some cases take a part of their demand, and in other cases relinquish the whole. But not to mention the kings of France, who repeatedly paid off the debts of the state by lopping off, directly or indirectly, the amount of the demands of its creditors; not to mention these, who effected their purposes by clippings of the coins, and by other tricks, upon an equality, in point of baseness, with the tricks that have been played here to lower and to raise, and to lower and to raise again, the value of money; not to cite the example of these *grand* and shuffling *monarques*, let us come to our brethren across the Atlantic, who, having borrowed money to an enormous extent, for the purpose of effecting that "glorious revolution" which, until it had succeeded, we used to call "a foul and unnatural rebellion;" having borrowed of all sorts of people, of all ages and all sexes, an enormous sum of money for this holy, or, as it would have been, *unholy* purpose; and having effected that purpose, never paid one single farthing,

principal or interest, of the borrowed money. It would have been a jest, indeed, to have made a revolution in the name of liberty, and to have ended it by making all the people slaves to the usurers. But let us come to our own countrymen, and hear what illustrious persons amongst them have said upon the subject; and that our authorities may be as high and undoubted as possible, let us go in amongst the Ministers themselves, where, sitting with the King himself in council; not the Birmingham council; but the real London council; and not the council from which Sir F. Burdett absconded; but the real King and council, who sit at Whitehall, with Bathurst for their clerk, though crammed in by the Tories, and kept in by the Whigs: let us go into that council which my Lord Coke describes as "an honourable, noble, and *reverend*" assembly; let us go in among these *reverend* persons, and clap our hand upon the shoulder of Sir James Graham of Netherby, a member, too, in another place of the "*noblest assembly of freemen in the world*;" and let us pull out his pamphlet of 1827, and therein let us read a distinct, a most unequivocal proposition, to deduct *thirty per cent.* from the interest of the fundholders. Only one-third; but we may ask Sir James, reverend as he is, upon what principle it is that he would take thirty per cent., other than that principle which would apply to the taking of the whole?

I have another authority to quote, which, though not of a very *reverend* character, I must confess, is pretty nearly as good as the last; and that is Mr. BAINES's, the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*; who, if he have not bestowed upon me every term and epithet of abuse contained in the English language, for having proposed a reduction of the interest of this debt; if he have not done this, it has certainly been for want of being sufficiently conversant with those terms and epithets; and, therefore, speaking conscientiously, I take the will for the deed. After all this abuse, however, this very Mr. Baines now tells us it is "still doubtful whether the middle and lower classes will not find themselves oppressed by the

"weight of taxation, and whether it may
 "not ultimately be necessary that persons
 "of property, both landowners, mer-
 "chants, fundholders, and others, as well
 "in the church as in the state, should
 "make a general contribution, to ex-
 "tinguish a large portion of the Na-
 "tional Debt; that mountain which
 "Mr. Pitt and his followers raised to so
 "gigantic a magnitude, and which over-
 "lays and oppresses the country." Of
 this scheme for *lightening the burdens*
 of the landowners, merchants, manufac-
 turers, and others, to pay the *principal*
 instead of the *interest* of the debt, I will
 speak by-and-by, when I shall have to
 notice the observations of a literary bro-
 ther of Mr. BAINES, who seems to have
 come to the same conclusion upon much
 about the same premises. But here, at
 any rate, we have Mr. BAINES, the great
oracle of the North, and as famous and
 for the same reasons as oracles generally
 are; here we have this famous Mr.
 BAINES acknowledging that we cannot
 have relief, without a paying off of the
 debt; and observe well, proposing at the
 same time, to make the fundholders *con-
 tribute towards paying off themselves*.
 From this oracular suggestion let us
 come, if it be robbery to take the inter-
 est from the fundholders; let us not
 amuse ourselves with these small game,
 but let us come to the robbers upon a
 grand scale; namely, those who propose
 to make new emissions of paper of some
 sort or other. Sir Henry Parnell, and
 all the Scotch tribe of political econo-
 mists; all the Scotch bankers, and Mr.
Maberly amongst the rest, whom the
 Scotch have always pointed out for many
 years past as a profound financier: all
 this tribe, who propose joint-stock bank-
 ing companies; and who always propose
 to make the paper-money a legal tender,
 or, whether they be divided as to this
 latter point or not, all propose to make
 prices higher than they now are, by the
 means of this paper. Of course, then,
 they propose to *lower the value of
 money*; of course, they propose to deduct
 in a base and fraudulent manner, from
 the interest of the debt. At any rate,
 they are either mad or they must intend
 to give the fundholder *less than he now
 receives*; and if they intend to give him

less than he now receives, they intend,
 to use their own stupid phraseology, to
 commit a breach of national faith and to
 rob the fundholder; and if they do not
 intend to give him less than he now
 receives, how can the measures which
 they propose lighten the burdens of the
 tax-payer? Supposing the act to be
 unjust in itself, the only difference be-
 tween their proposition and mine is, that
 mine is taking by open and undisguised
 force, while theirs is theft or private
 stealing. Our different modes of pro-
 ceeding serve to mark our different
 motives: mine may, at any rate, be
 sincere and honest; but theirs must be
 in its nature *furtive*. The sly manner
 in which they are foolish enough to
 believe they can effect it, would in any
 court of justice in the world be a proof
 of the furtive intention; that is to say,
 the thievish intention arising from a
 roguish mind. Mr. Attwood's scheme,
 which has many partisans, though paper
 be one of its ingredients, is open and
 honest; for he says, and he says truly,
 that owing to Peel's bill, and the various
 other tricks of our at once bungling and
 bragging Government, the fundholders,
 the mortgagees, and other usurers, are
 now receiving twice or thrice as much
 as they ought to receive; that they
 ought to be compelled by law to receive
 less; and a paper-money ought to be
 made, and they ought to be made to
 receive it, which paper-money would be
 worth a great deal less than the King's
 coin pound for pound. In all but the
 remedy I perfectly agree with Mr.
 Attwood, who is a man of great talent,
 and whose brother, the Member of the
 House of Commons, has shown more
 sense and more virtue (except in his
 opposition to the Reform Bill) than all
 the whole crew of Ministers and Min-
 isters' underlings, who have been upon
 the stage during the whole of the
 twenty-eight years that I have been
 knocking their heads one against the
 other, and, finding no sense in them, have
 finally been dragging them in the dirt.
 I differ with the Attwoods as to the
 remedy; because, in the first place, it
 would violate all recent contracts; be-
 cause I know it would enable me to rob
 my yearly servants of one-half of their

yearly wages ; because I know that it would give like ability to all other employers ; because I know that it would rob English, Scotch, and Irish merchants and manufacturers of half the debts due to them abroad ; because I know that the mortgagee who lent his real gold upon an estate, would be paid off in paper not worth half the money, and so with regard to recent marriage settlements, rent charges, annuities, and every contract and stipulation for time ; but secondly, and of more weight than all the other considerations put together, because the Attwood remedy might by some chance or other, prolong the existence of the debt, and of that truly infernal gamble carried on in London, called the Stock Exchange ; rather than not see the destruction of which, I would behold and endure my share of any possible evil that could afflict us.

Now, then, there is no scheme for lightening the burdens of the country, which does not amount to what my opponents designate a robbery ; so that I am not singular in this respect. All agree to take away something : we only differ as to the manner of the taking. But I deny that it is robbery, in any of its shapes or forms ; I deny that the nation owes the fundholders anything at all ; I deny their claim to a single farthing from the nation ; and, when I propose to take the church-property and crown estates, for the purpose of giving the proceeds to the fundholders, it is not a proposition founded on an opinion of mine, that they have a *right* to demand anything ; but founded in the right of the nation to dispose of certain property that it possesses, and which is now of no use to it, and which it in policy ought to bestow on that part of the fundholders, who would be totally ruined, unless this relief were afforded them ; and especially that part of them who may have been compelled, against their expressed will, to have their property deposited in the funds. This is the principle upon which I would give the fundholders anything at all, they having, in point of right, no claim upon the nation whatsoever.

No nation, supposing the whole nation to have been the borrowers, has a right to burden its posterity. I might stop

here to show, and I easily could show, that it was those, whom the present Ministers have accused of having usurped the legislative rights of the people, who borrowed the money. I might insist upon, and prove it most clearly, that it was not *the nation* that borrowed the money ; but, grant that it was, what right had your fathers to load you with this intolerable debt ? What would be said of a law that should compel the children to pay the debts of the father, he having left them nothing wherewith to pay ? Of a law that should make the children work all the days of their lives, to clear off the score run up by a drunken and profligate father ? Of a law which should say to the father, Spend away, run in debt, keep on borrowing, close your eyes in the midst of drunkenness and gluttony ; imitate the frequenters of Bellamy's all your life ; and your children, and children's children, shall be slaves to pay Bellamy and others with whom you have run up the score ? Would not the makers of such a law be held in everlasting execration ?

And in what respect does this case differ from that of a prodigal and borrowing nation ? " Oh ! " say the advocates of the Jews, " the difference is very great ; for the nation borrows money to defend itself against an enemy, which defence it could not effect without this borrowing of money." I might stop here, and flatly deny that one penny of this money was ever borrowed for that purpose ; for it is notorious that it was almost all borrowed for the purpose of carrying on one war to force unjust taxation on the American colonies, and another war to force back the Bourbons upon France, and thereby prevent the overthrow of borough-mongering in England. This is perfectly notorious ; but I will not disfigure my argument by any reliance upon it. Let it be admitted that the money was borrowed for the purpose of defending the country ; and then I ask, what right your fathers had to *purchase* ease and safety, and to leave you to pay the debt ? What right should we of the present day have to throw upon our children the burden of defending ourselves ? If we be in danger, we are to come forth in

our persons, or by our purses, for our own defence. By the very argument of our opponents, the resources of the country are the great means, if not the only means, of its security; what right have we, then, to anticipate these resources? What right have we to take beforehand the means of security from our children?

Gentlemen, not another word need be said with regard to the right of mortgaging the strength of the child in the cradle; not another word need be said about the want of the right in a nation to burden posterity, and very little is it necessary to say about the right of the lender to demand a liquidation of the burden. For, if there existed no right in the borrower to make the loan, what right can there be in the lender to demand repayment? This latter knew who it was to whom he was lending, and he knew also the base and dishonest intentions of the borrower to throw the debt upon posterity. If in consequence of the unjust and cruel law, which I have before supposed, to make children pay the debts of the father, he leaving them nothing wherewith to pay; if, in that case, a lender were basely to administer to the father's profligate extravagance, would not the world call him monster when he came to grind the children to death for repayment of the loan? Yet, in what respect would he be more detestable than the atrocious Jews, whether calling themselves Christians or not, who now come and demand from us the pound of flesh in virtue of their bond? In the affairs of individuals, the law knows of no such anticipation as this. The law not only will not allow the children to be answerable for the debts of the father, but will not allow them to be answerable for their *own debts*, contracted before they arrive at the age of maturity. And why is this? They are not answerable for the debts, because the law considers them as incapable of *giving their assent* to them. How then can you be answerable for these debts, the greater part of which was contracted before scarcely ten men here assembled were twenty-one years of age?

Not one farthing, therefore, of these debts is due from you to the fundholders.

The great advocate of the abominable Jews, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, resorts to a couple of curious arguments in defence of their claims; the first of which is this: that the nation having "*suffered*" the Government to borrow the money, or rather to make the loan (for it was not *money*); the nation having *suffered* the Government to do this, is bound to pay the debt. So that here is - a Government, 'with an army, with all the means of compelling the nation to submit to what it pleases; to resist its will is treason; and the Jew, who comes and lends money to this Government, is to come, when the people have got the power of altering the law which enabled the Government to do this, and tell them; the blaspheming Jew is to come, and tell them that they are bound in conscience to pay back the money that he lent for the purpose of keeping them down, and to threaten to have them crucified, if they hold back a farthing of his demand. But, gentlemen, even if we were to admit this, monstrous as it is, it would not come up to the purpose of our opponents. For, if the nation ought not to have *suffered* the Government to borrow the money, and if it assumed responsibility for this loan, in consequence of suffering it to be made, it must be the nation that was *then alive*; and how are you, who were not then born, or at most were infants, to be held responsible for payment, because you did not prevent the Government from borrowing the money?

The other argument of this new disciple of the synagogue; this new child and champion of the hell called the Stock Exchange, is this: that if an invading enemy besiege a town, and demand a *ransom* to spare it from being abandoned to the soldiery, and a sum of money be borrowed to pay the ransom, and thus save the town, the people of the town are bound all to contribute according to their means to repay the money thus borrowed. Certainly, Rabbi, nothing more just, but, then, it is the people *then alive*, that are to repay the ransom; and this is precisely my argument, not only did no man living ever hear of the repayment of such a ransom being thrown upon

the posterity of a town, but the thing cannot be, for mankind have never yet heard of a law to tax people for such repayment; and if such law were to be passed, if any lawgivers of a town were equally foolish with the lawgivers of this nation, the people would avoid the tax by abandoning the town, as they are now abandoning England to the amount of *ten millions a year* of rents and income, in order to avoid paying their share of this unjust burden called the debt. And this is one great evil of the thing. All the world acknowledges what dreadful evils have fallen upon Ireland in consequence of the absentees not expending their revenues in the country. How many projects have we heard, and sometimes even in Parliament, for taxing the property of absentees at a higher rate than that of other people! Base indeed it is, that those who live on the taxes, and particularly those who live on the tithes; shameful it is in them to carry their revenues out of the country. Sorrowful it is to see men going off with their wealth to the United States of America; but while in the former instance there are no means of prevention, in the latter instance there is neither prevention nor ground of blame. Men flee from unjust pressure; they flee from a law that compels them to pay the debts of their fathers; and flee they will, as long as that law shall exist. I am, therefore, for putting an end for ever to this unjust law, and for the doing of which I have, I think, produced much more than argument sufficient. But I must not dismiss the subject without asking a little, what, after all, would *really be due* to these fundholders if we were for argument's sake to admit that they had a claim to anything at all? The sum is stated in its most modest amount, at eight hundred millions. It would not be right to have an appearance of boldness in addressing persons who are worth eight hundred millions of money, but one might just ask them **WHERE THEY GOT THE MONEY?** Where did you get it, gentlemen and ladies? There are a good many of you, to be sure, but you have lent more money here than there now is, or ever was, in the whole world; more pounds of gold and silver than ever came out of the mines. It amounts to more than the whole of the kingdom, lands, houses, mines, and woods, would sell for, if put up to auction, and if foreigners could bring gold and silver into the country, and purchase them. There must be some great mistake then. It is physically impossible that you can have lent this money.

Gentlemen, it has all been a jugglery from the beginning to the end. A loan-monger, or the maker of a loan, has never lent any money at all. He has written his name upon bits of paper; these he has distributed about in sales to under loan-mongers; these have been turned into other bits of paper; and these bits of paper the Government have paid away. I cannot adopt a better mode of explaining this matter than by describing to you a transaction by the means of which I was once likely to become a loan-monger myself, and which first opened my eyes with regard to this matter. When I came home from America, in the year 1800, I was looked upon by the Government people as likely to become one of their vigorous partisans. It was the custom in those glorious times of Pitt and paper, to give to the literary partisans of the Government what were called "*slices*" of a loan. For instance, Moses was the loanmonger; and, as the *scrip*, as it used to be called, was always directly at a *premium*, a bargain was always made with the loan-monger that he should admit certain favourites of the Government to have certain portions of scrip, at the same price that he gave for it; I was offered such portion of *scrip*, which, as I was told, would put a hundred pounds or two into my pocket at once. I was frightened at the idea of becoming responsible for the immense sum, upon which this would be the profit. But I soon found that the *scrip* was never even to be shown to me, and that I had merely to pocket the amount of the *premium*. I positively refused to have anything to do with the matter, for which I got heartily laughed at. But this was of great utility to me; it opened my eyes with regard to the nature of these transactions; it set me to work to un-

derstand all about the debt and the funds and the scrip and the stock and everything belonging to it. At every step I found the thing more and more black, and more and more execrable; and it soon brought my mind to a conclusion, that the system was what *the accursed thing* was in the camp of the Israelites, and that the nation never could be happy again until it was got rid of; in which opinion I have remained from that day to this.

Now, if I had pocketed this money, it must have come out of the estates, skill, and labour, of the people. I should have been a robber indeed; this would have been real robbery, and a great deal more worthy of the gallows than the forging of a bank-note, or the stealing of a sheep. From this, gentlemen, you may judge what loan-making was. If I did not get the hundred pounds or two, somebody else did; and we have had to pay interest and compound interest upon it, from that day to this. I should have thus taken from the nation enough to support four or five labourers and their families, for one year at any rate; and, if I had taken it, and had bought stock with it, as it is called, would it not have been right to pay me with a halter, instead of paying me in money? If certain proprietors of newspapers, whom I could name, were brought to a strict account, what, good God! are the sums which they have got in this way! How soon they would come tumbling from their chariots, and lie by the wayside, food for kites and carrion-crows, unless, out of pure benevolence, taken up by the grave-robbers and Burkers, and carried, "for the benefit of science," to the humane Mr. Warburton's schools of anatomy!

Well, then, wholly unable to account, upon principles of either natural philosophy or arithmetic, how these gentlemen and ladies came by the 800 millions to lend to the nation, let us leave that, as a matter for posterity to handle, we ourselves taking care to leave them nothing else belonging to the debt, and let us now proceed to inquire what, even according to their own showing, is really due to these "public creditors," as they impudently call themselves. The far

greater part of the money, if it were money, was borrowed (if a transaction such as I have just described can be called borrowing) when, according to the showing of the Parliament itself, a pound of the currency was not worth more than fourteen shillings of the present money. This was the statement of the bullion report of 1810. VANSITTART made the house negative the fact; but the fact was revised and ratified in 1819 by that very same house. So that, upon their own showing, we are paying interest upon a pound, instead of interest upon fourteen shillings. That, however, is not the true view of the matter. The bullion committee took a wrong standard or criterion. The true standard was the bushel of wheat; and it is perfectly notorious that the average price of that article, during the time that the loans were making, was more than double what it has been, on an average, during the last sixteen or seventeen years. So that, at the very least, we are paying in interest double the sum that we ought to pay. The debt, if debt it ought to be called, was contracted in depreciated money; and we are compelled to pay in money of full value. This has been effected too by acts of that Parliament whose business it was to take care of our interests; and now, when we demand that this grievous wrong should be put an end to, we are accused of wishing for a breach of the national faith. *Faith* in such a case means *honest dealing*; and has not faith been due to the nation? Are the Jews the only people in the world towards whom there is to be honesty of dealing? During the time that the chief part of the money was lent, the price of wheat was, on an average, fifteen shillings the bushel; the ruinous bill of PEARL brought it down, at one time, to four shillings the bushel. Thus were all the rest of the nation robbed for the benefit of a band of Jews and jobbers; thus were the resources of the country poured into their laps, that they might lend them again to Spaniards, Portuguese, South Americans, Austrians, Prussians, and Russians. In short, the whole thing seems to have been invented for the purpose of reducing the people of this kingdom to beggary.

It has been surprising to every one who has paid attention to the matter, that the present Ministers tolerate in **PEEL** the audacity which they do tolerate. What! is the possession of a million or two of money, to make it safe for him to stand up and talk in the tone of a Solon, while every tongue ought to exclaim, "Is this man not to be brought to account for the destructive bill of which he was the author; are those really representatives of the people, who can sit and hear him opposing a reform of that Parliament which sanctioned his destructive bill?" Is it possible that men can sit and hear this language from him, and not remind him that he has done more mischief to his country than ever was inflicted upon it by any other man for a thousand years past? Is it possible that the people can deem those their representatives, who have not the spirit, or who want the understanding, to place in a proper light the conduct of this man?

Let us now look a little into another matter connected with this debt. We have seen that it has no valid foundation as a charge against the present nation: we have seen that it is not our debt at all; and if it were, we have seen that we are paying more than double the amount of interest due. Mr. Mushett, of the Mint, a great stickler for the fundholders, at the close of his voluminous calculations, admitted that the fundholders had sometimes lost and sometimes gained by the changes in the value of money; but that, up to the year 1820, they and the nation were *even*; so that, according to this decision of their advocate, we have been now for eleven years paying them two for one; so that, upon this view of the matter, we might now be free from all interest for *eleven years* at any rate; and, at the end of the eleven years, the nation might, *if it chose*, begin to pay interest again. However, I deny the claim altogether; and to strengthen, if anything were necessary to strengthen, my argument in support of this denial, let us look at the *security* which the lenders took when they lent the money; for, observe, this is a very material consideration, and will be found to involve results of the greatest importance.

When a man lends money, he knows, or ought to know, the sufficiency of the borrower. He ought to know what security he has. In the case of a mortgage, rent-charge, annuity, he has the land or house as security. In the case of money lent on bond, in other manner, he has the goods and chattels, and, after all, the person of the party; but what security did these loan-mongers take? It is the common talk with them, that they have a mortgage upon all the lands and houses and other real property in the kingdom. Let them, then, produce the deed and the bond. They can do no such thing. They have no deed and no bond, and they have no mortgage upon anything. Their security consists solely of an act of Parliament, or acts of Parliament, which are properly called *loan acts*; and a loan act is of this nature: the Government contracts a loan with a loan-monger; and an act of Parliament is passed, to provide that the interest of the loan shall be regularly paid, without any deduction, out of the proceeds of the *consolidated fund*. Now, then, what is this fund? The fundholders, and particularly the ladies, have an idea, natural enough, that this fund consists of a monstrous heap of gold and silver money, kept somewhere or other, under the guard and protection of the Government or the bank. I beg leave to assure the ladies that there is not any such heap of money, or any heap at all, or any chest, or box, or receptacle for the gold and silver; but that the *consolidated fund* means the clear proceeds of the taxes that the Ministers are able annually to squeeze out of us: that these taxes are paid into the bank when collected; that out of them the bank pays the interest to the fundholders half-yearly; and that, if the taxes in the hands of the bank be not sufficient to pay the half-yearly interest, which is frequently the case, the bank *lends the Government enough to make up the deficiency*; that is to say, makes some of its bank-notes, and lends them to the Government; and for the bank-notes thus lent, *we have to pay the interest*. Now, gentlemen, did the world ever hear of such a thing as this before? However, here we have a clear idea of the nature of the security; and a very

consolatory appearance it has to the ladies who do us the honour to lend us money ; for, though it does not actually come up to the beautiful scriptural idea of the "*munition of rocks*," it at any rate takes a very wide spread; and really is good as long as the loan acts shall continue in full force. *Consolidated fund* is a very imposing phrase ; but still it consists only of words, and conveys no idea of anything fixed to the earth ; in short, a loan-bill is the fundholder's contract ; it gives him a claim upon the taxes annually collected ; it gives him no other claim, and if the taxes be not collected, he has no claim at all ; which brings us directly to a very important matter closely connected with the subject of parliamentary reform ; seeing that every man in his senses deems the reform to be of no use at all unless it produce a great diminution of the taxes, which, in other words, seems, at the very least, a great diminution of the security of the fundholder. And yet, is any one of you, gentlemen, prepared to say that no taxes ought to be taken off ; and are you prepared to say that the Corn-bill ought to continue in order to prevent this security from being diminished ?

When the bank stopped payment in gold in 1797, one of the arguments urged against the measure, or rather one of the complaints against Pitt, for having reduced the bank to the necessity of stopping, was this : that amongst other things, it would be a *fraud* upon the fundholders, a *robbery* of the fundholders, because it put forth a depreciated and compulsory paper instead of the King's coin, and thereby did, in fact, violate all the loan-bills by compelling the fundholders to take less than the loan-bills had stipulated for. The answer of Pitt was, that it was a case of *necessity*, and that it was the duty of the Government to preserve the country even if it did cause some loss to the fundholders. Pushed hard on the other side, the then Solicitor-General, Sir John Mitford, since Lord Redesdale, rose, and, as a lawyer, said that there was no wrong done to the fundholder ; that he lent his money with the knowledge of the *risk* that he ran ; that he received an interest *proportioned to the risk* ; that the nation

was not bound to secure him against all risk ; that many persons in the kingdom had a claim *prior* to that of the fundholder ; that the soldier and the sailor had a *prior* claim ; and he asked if any one would assert that the King himself had not a *prior* claim. There was no answer to this argument *then* ; and who is to find an answer to it now ? And is it not as clearly a case of necessity *now* as it was *then* ?

Thus, then, we see that the interest can be lowered, and that the whole can be withheld without any real violation of the contract. But to come closer to our own affair ; if we cannot withhold the interest without breach of national faith, how can we without breach of that faith diminish the security for paying it ? We have seen that the source of payment is the annual produce of what is called the consolidated fund, and that means the taxes ; and has not the security been diminished then by the repeal of the salt tax, the beer tax, the candle tax, and the numerous customs and taxes, which have been recently taken off ? Has not the security been diminished by reducing the proceeds of the consolidated fund from a clear fifty-four millions a year to a clear forty-seven millions a year ?*

And will the security not be further reduced, when the *malt tax* shall be taken off ? And do you, gentlemen, imagine that the malt tax can remain

* We learn from the newspapers published since this lecture was delivered, that this *consolidated fund*, if we believe the Government statements, has fallen down to forty-two millions a year. I repeat, that I never place faith in any of these statements of the Government, having so many times proved them to be false ; but there must be something in this new story ; and I shall be very glad to find that this is a true account ; having always regarded that argument which deduces a proof of the prosperity of the country from the great amount of money squeezed from it by the tax-gatherer, as the most stupid effusion of human folly and impudence. If this account be true, it shows that we are got to the end of the tether ; that taxation has run its race, and that a new sort of career must be adopted. I am disposed to believe, however, that this is the case ; namely, that Lord Grey has not found himself capable to adopt the tricks so long in practice at the treasury ; that we have now a true account ; and that the truth would have been kept from our sight, if the old stagers had still been at the treasury.

on many months after a reformed Parliament shall assemble? I am aware that you in the north here are not fond of ale, particularly if it be strong, and require much malt in the making; but after long and attentive observation, I can most positively assure you that the thing is quite otherwise in the south, and the west, and the east; and that the very first thing that the chopsticks expect, as the consequence of a reform of the Parliament, is a repeal of that tax, which, taking the necessary monopoly into view, makes ale five-pence or six-pence a pot, where it would not be more than one penny or three halfpence. Without a repeal of this tax, as one of its first consequences, the Reform Bill is not worth a straw; and if it be repealed, mark well what it does: the tax itself, including that on the hops, which must be repealed also, amounts annually to about four millions and a half. But, observe, this is a small part of what it does in the way of injury to the people. Barley is at this time about 4s. a bushel, or rather less. A bushel of barley makes a bushel of malt, and the increase pays for the malting, and if there were no tax, gentlemen as well as farmers, all over the country, would make the malt themselves; and then, all things considered, the malt would not on an average cost them more than 3s. a bushel at this time; because all the marketing expenses would be saved, and because unmarketable barley would frequently be turned into malt. Formerly, in every considerable parish, there was a malt-house attached to the parsonage, and the priest was maltster for the poor, as well as guardian of their souls; but this was in the dark ages; and we who now live in the light cannot expect to enjoy this adventitious benefit of darkness. But, at any rate, if the malt tax were repealed, we should now have malt at 3s. a bushel. The tax is 2s. 6d. on the bushel of malt, upon the increase as well as upon the barley, so that this brings the malt (the barley being 4s. a bushel) to 6s. 6d. a bushel; but I pay at this time 9s. 6d. for a bushel of malt! The maltster charges the 3s. a bushel, besides the increase, in virtue of the monopoly which the tax gives him. He is obliged

to have a large building; he is obliged to submit to a restriction and superintendence extremely injurious to his business; he is compelled to have a large capital to make advances in the payment of the tax, in order that he may have a stock of malt by him, being compelled to make in winter that which is used in summer, the summer not being a season for the making of malt; he is compelled to submit to regulations which frequently cause him losses that take away a great part of his profits; and he is continually exposed to the risk of severe punishment for deviating in the smallest degree from these minute and vexatious regulations; so that this trade, which rarely ought to exist at all, is far from being a trade of profit; and the result is, that I now pay *nine shillings and sixpence* for a bushel of malt, instead of the *three shillings and sixpence* which I should pay if there were no tax upon it. The moral effects are still more injurious. The working people are driven from their own houses to the ale-house. And as "evil communications corrupt good manners," these are become, not places for taking refreshment, but scenes of drunkenness and of profligacy of every description: and all this the landowners of England have been base enough to suffer, at the same time that they have been incessantly hardening the laws wherever they bear upon the working people.

And shall not this enormous evil be removed? Will you so use your franchise as to send men to Parliament to support this curse of the country? Will you send men thither to prohibit the farmer and his men from turning into drink the produce of their fields? If you will, a Reform of the Parliament will be a source of shame instead of triumph to you. Much better remain as you are, in quiet submission to this tax, instead of sharing in the disgrace of upholding it. Yet if this tax be taken off, what becomes of the security for paying the interest of the debt? The tax on malt and hops may, as I said before, be four millions and a half a year; but, mark well, the repeal of the malt and hop tax will virtually repeal

nine-tenths of the spirit tax ; also nine-tenths of the tea and the coffee tax ; a large part of the sugar tax ; for it is against all reason to believe that the tea and coffee shops will remain in vogue amongst the millions of working people, when they can have a pot of good ale for a penny or three halfpence. A very great part of the wine tax would come off too ; for, once at liberty to use the produce of our own fields, very little wine would be consumed by persons in the middle rank of life ; nine-tenths of the wine not being either so good or so palatable as drink that can be made out of our own barley and our own hops. Sixteen good round millions would come off by this repeal of the malt tax. But what would then become of the securities for the interest of the debt ? And yet will you send men to Parliament who shall vote for the continuance of this tax, with all its disgraceful evils ; with all the sufferings that it entails upon the millions ? Will you send men to vote for the continuance of this tax, lest the repeal of it should destroy the means of the payment of the interest of the fundholder ? One more question : will you send men to vote against the repeal of the CORN BILL ? Yes, you will, if you send men not to vote for a repeal of the MALT TAX ; for, think what you may of the matter, the Corn Bill can neither be repealed nor mitigated as long as the tax on malt and hops shall continue ; and of this I beg you to be assured.

It requires but very little profundity to perceive the vast advantages that the manufacturers would derive from a repeal of these abominable taxes. The manufacturers are, at the very outside, not more than two millions out of the seventeen or eighteen millions of the people of this kingdom. The rest, after deducting a couple of millions more for the sea-port towns, and the food-consumers of the monstrous wen, are persons employed in agriculture, or in trades, or occupations subservient to the purposes of agriculture. These millions, who must be your very best customers, first seek their food, next their drink ; next, their clothing and their bedding. Take, then, threepence a pot from the cost of their drink ; take away that which

is now *wasted* on the foreign articles of tea, coffee, sugar, and wine, and what will become of the savings ? Do you think they will fling the savings into the sea ? not they indeed. The wife and daughters will take care that a part of these savings, and a pretty good part too, shall go to the cotton and the riband shop ; and the men will, once more, get coats upon their backs ; for be you assured that not one penny of the money will be buried in the garden, or under a stone in the cellar. So that you are much more deeply interested in the repeal of the malt and the hop tax than you are in the repeal of the Corn Bill, even if that could possibly be accomplished, which it cannot without a repeal of these taxes.

Well, then, to this point we come at last : even admitting the debt to be a valid debt, which I do not ; even admitting that the last generation had a right to burden this, which I deny, as being a thing abhorrent to every principle of reason and of justice, to this point we come ; that the Reform Bill is to produce no good effect to the people, and the working people especially, unless the security for the payment of the interest of the debt be taken away. Will any one pretend to deny that the Parliament had a right to repeal the tax on salt, the tax on candles, the tax on beer ? Then how can any one pretend to deny its right to repeal the tax upon malt and upon hops ? Of what use, then, can this reform of the Parliament be, unless we acknowledge the right of a reformed Parliament to repeal taxes ; and if we do allow this right, on what foundation stands the interest of the debt, other than that of expediency and convenience, respecting the power and disposition of the nation to pay ? Some years ago, Alexander Baring, the great loan-monger, said that "*the nation was bound to pay, as long as it had anything to pay with.*" This loan-monger chose to place the nation upon the footing of an individual in common life ; and insisted that, like the bankrupt, it was under an obligation to surrender all it had. The bankrupt is bound to surrender all the worldly goods that he has then in his possession ; but the bankrupt *himself*

has been the borrower, or has become the debtor, from some cause or other; it is for his *own use* that he has contracted the debt, and not for the use of his successors. He surrenders *his* all; but he does not extend the surrender to his children. Besides this, the bankrupt is not stripped of the clothes that cover his body; the tools necessary to earn his bread are left him; an act of bankruptcy or insolvency clears him of the past; his creditors cannot deprive him of the use of his limbs, and of his means of making future provision for his wants and his safety. But these inexorable creditors of ours would make us, and even the child in the cradle, slaves to them; would leave us no part of our future earnings; would take all from us except our bare lives; would leave us none of the means of providing either for the safety, or for the upholding of the honour of our country; would make the country submit to invasion, conquest, and everlasting servitude, rather than give up their claim upon the resources of the country! If there be anything so audacious as this; if any pretension equal to this in cruelty, as well as presumption and profligate defiance of the moral sense of mankind, I should be glad to have pointed out to me where I am to find it ever was heard of.

Thus, then, in every possible view that can be taken of the matter, it appears to me clear as day-light, that the people of these northern towns will be guilty of a scandalous breach of duty if they send to Parliament any man not pledged on the conditions which I have before stated; namely, on the conditions stated last evening of payment to the fundholders, to the extent of the amount of the property which the nation has at its disposal; guilty I say of a scandalous abandonment of duty, if they fail to send to the Parliament men pledged to free the nation from this intolerable load.

It now remains for me to offer, with your permission, the observations called for in explanation of the eighth proposition; namely, an *equitable adjustment*, with respect to the pecuniary contracts between man and man; and to rectify, as far as practicable, the wrongs and

ruin inflicted on many thousands by the arbitrary changes in the value of money, which changes were made by acts of the unreformed Parliament; to extend this adjustment to every transaction between man and man; as, without this adjustment, even the abolition of the claim of the fundholders would be of no avail, and even injurious in numerous and most important cases of money lent and money borrowed. In numerous cases of mortgage, marriage-settlement, rent-charge, and annuity, growing out of real property, estates have either been taken away or almost taken away; not by any indiscretion, not by any extravagance, not by any fault of any kind in those who ought to be the owners of the property. The wills of the deceased have been violated; the prospects and the just expectations and reliances of numerous most virtuous and industrious people, have been blasted in an infinite number of cases; those who might be still opulent, are in a state of beggary; and all these grievances have been caused by Acts of the Parliament in changing the value of the money of the country, which acts have been as completely acts of *confiscation* as if they had borne that title, and as if the preambles of them had set forth that it was *expedient* to violate the contracts of the living and the wills of the dead, to blast all the efforts of industry, and all the hopes of virtue; to render human affairs throughout the whole kingdom as uncertain as the movement of the winds and the waves: if the preambles of the acts had set this forth as the ground of the acts, the effects could not have been other than they have been. For what will a reformed Parliament assemble then? What will it be worth, unless it be able to do something in the way of rectifying these enormous wrongs; the main tendency of which has been to deliver over the possessions of the legitimate owners and the earnings of industry to the hands of usury. In thousands upon thousands of cases, skilful, upright, and most industrious merchants, traders, and manufacturers, have been utterly ruined by these arbitrary acts of this Parliament, every one of which tended to the

swelling of the wealth of the usurers, and to the crushing of industry and virtue. A reformed Parliament may, and I trust will, reach the principal actors in these works of ruin ; but, not even a reformed Parliament, nor all the wit of man can discover the means of affording anything approaching to redress in those numerous instances where ruin has thus been inflicted on families engaged in commercial pursuits. But where the property is of an immoveable nature, where the deeds and records can be referred to for proof, where the parties are alive, or where there are successors entitled to redress, or sufficient to answer ; in all these cases, justice may yet be done ; and, if justice be not done, the reformed Parliament will, after all, be a just object of the scorn of mankind.

Oh ! the *difficulty*—the impossibility to make such an inquiry into the mortgages, settlements, and the rest ! It could never be done ! Not done, gentlemen ? This same Government and Parliament, though they enacted Peel's Bill, and the panic-bill ; though they have done all this mischief, bunglers as they have been in these matters, unhesitatingly as they have lashed their destructive tail amongst the shoals of the community, and with as little mercy as the whale lashes its destructive fins amongst the shoals of the sea ; careless as they have been here, and incompetent to every purpose of good, they have been very efficient as to other purposes ; and, from their proceedings with regard to them, we must not decline to take a profitable example. They found no difficulty, when they had an income or property-tax to collect ; they found no difficulty then, in looking into every man's rent-roll, and every man's lease, they found no difficulty in ascertaining the amount of the profits of every man's trade, no difficulty in ascertaining the number of his children, and in prescribing to him the extent of his annual expenditure ; no difficulty do they still find in ascertaining the number of our windows, dogs, horses, carriages, and servants ; no difficulty in ascertaining whether we be bachelors or married men ; not the smallest difficulty in ascertaining whether we or our families,

or inmates, put powder into our hair or leave it unpowdered ; no difficulty do they find, in coming at the curious fact of whether we put arms upon the seals that hang from our watches, or upon the spoons with which we eat our broth ; they find not the smallest difficulty in ascertaining whether our canine property consist of greyhounds, hounds, spaniels, pointers, setters, lurchers, mastiffs, or lap-dogs : not the smallest difficulty, again, do they find in ascertaining the number of sheets of paper and print which a pamphlet ought to contain, and even the number of square inches in each sheet, in order to prevent such pamphlet from having a seditious or blasphemous tendency.

What, gentlemen ! and cannot such clever men as these discover the means of finding out whether the reputed owner of a piece of real property, is now held to pay, or has been held to pay, more than is, or has been, due to the lender of the money upon that property, whether in the way of mortgage, or in any other way ? If they cannot discover this, a reformed Parliament would, or that Parliament would immediately demand further reforming ; for, a body of legislators, who could not do that which was so easily done by Solon and by Cæsar, so far from meriting our respect, would deserve to be trampled under foot.

Here, again, the Corn Bill stares us in the face. Nine-tenths of the houses and lands of England are mortgaged, and otherwise charged for more than one-half of their worth. To a certain extent the real property of every country always was, and always must be, thus pledged. It is one of the great uses of real property, that it can be made available in this way ; but there is a limit, beyond which this species of pledging becomes destructive of the happiness and even of the peace of a country : and this limit we have long passed. In fact, the usurers, who are also the principal owners of the debt, have in the first place drawn up the resources of the country in taxes ; and then they have expended the taxes thus received by them in lending them upon the houses and land ; and thus become, in great part, the real owners of the whole king-

dom. Amongst other things, they have become proprietors of boroughs and the makers of laws; and this is the true and only reason why that great source of confiscation has not long ago been swept away. With respect to the *practicability* of making this adjustment nothing in my mind, that is to say, nothing of considerable magnitude; nothing which has usually been thought to demand the knowledge and talent of a statesman, could be more easy. An act of Parliament, distinctly laying down the *principle* of the adjustment; distinctly providing for the rate of reduction in each year, for forty years past, distinctly laying down the rules by which the commissioners should be bound to decide; such an act, sending three commissioners into each county of the kingdom, and these might be members of Parliament themselves, would settle the whole affair in a month. For, observe, the act would leave the parties to make the settlement themselves if they chose; if they agreed to the settlement, the agreement would be merely ratified, and rendered legally binding by the commissioners. Not one case out of one hundred would be left to be decided by the commissioners, the act being so plain as to the principle and the rule.

If this be not done, even the annihilation of the debt would be an injury to innumerable persons, to a very considerable part of those who are, or ought to be, the possessors of the buildings and the land. First, the debt ought to be swept away, and the other measures adopted which I have submitted to you in these propositions. Then the real value of money, compared with the value of the money in any former year, would be at once and exactly ascertained: and upon the standard thus furnished, the adjustment would be made. Now, gentlemen, unless this be done, the affairs of the nation can never be set to rights; here are grievous wrongs to redress, and if the redress be not afforded by a reformed Parliament, that Parliament will be with me no more an object of respect than are the guttlers and boozers of Bellamy's.

Before I conclude, I cannot help making to you, gentlemen, an observation

or two on the illustration which France now affords us with regard to the workings of that abominable thing called the *national debt*. The public papers inform us that the people of Grenoble, which is a large city in the south-west of France, recently rose to impede the operations of the tax-gatherers; that the tax-gatherers called out the National Guard; that the National Guard consisted of 6,400 men; that only *four hundred* would obey the call of the tax-gatherers; and the probability is, that these *four hundred* were receiving out of the taxes more than they paid; that the tax-gatherers seeing themselves without support, scratched the names of nearly *three thousand* persons out of the tax-book, thereby intimating that these *three thousand* persons should not be called upon to pay the taxes put against their names; that this, however, did not satisfy the people, who *insisted upon burning the book itself*, and who actually burnt it amidst shouts of triumph.

Such are the natural consequences of national debts. Our profound Government thought it had achieved a great object, when, by the means of our debt, it had compelled the French people to submit to debt; thinking that that debt *would keep the French people quiet*. It answered this purpose for awhile; but that debt, which, in the course of only sixteen years of Bourbon sway, has been pushed up to *thirteen millions of pounds sterling* of annual interest, has already produced the driving out of one king; and, if that fund-loving gentleman, LOUIS-PHILIPPE, persist in upholding the debt of France, the consequence to him is by no means difficult to be foreseen. It was the Breton association against the paying of taxes which produced in Charles X. a project for stifling the press of France; because it became evident, that, if that press were left free, the Breton association would speedily be extended all over the kingdom; to give effect to his project, he brought troops into Paris; the people defeated the troops; and CHARLES X. was expelled. To have made the throne of his successor stable, the debt should have been expelled too. That remaining, the people exclaim, "What have we gained

by the revolution other than a mere *change of names*?" And, if our debt and taxes remain after the reform shall have taken place, will not the people of England exclaim, "What have we *gained* more than the mere *name* of *reform*?"

There has been a proposition made in several of the great parishes of London, to refuse to pay the direct taxes unless the Reform Bill pass. The same proposition has been made in several parts of the kingdom; but what sense is there in this, unless the parties expect that the Reform Bill is to produce a diminution at least of taxation? What sense is there in it, if this be not their expectation? This being their expectation, the proposition has clear reason on its side; but again, how is the diminution of taxes to take place, if the great burden of all, and the real cause of the greater part of the rest, remain unabolished? There is no sense in the proposition, unless this expectation be confidently entertained; nor is there any sense in wishing for the Reform Bill to pass.

I have now, gentlemen, offered my opinions with regard to this important matter, and have endeavoured to maintain the correctness of those opinions by arguments which I deem satisfactory. It is not for me dogmatically to assert, that all, who do not agree with me, must be in the wrong; but sincerity calls upon me, openly and clearly to state my opinions to you, and, here, again, to declare my determination not to be the representative of any body of persons, however great might be the honour of being the object of their choice, unless they unequivocally pledge themselves to support me to the utmost in giving effect to measures consonant with these my opinions.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

ARMITAGE, J., and J. Greenwood, Clayton and Swamp, Yorksh., worsted-stuff-manuf.
LONG, T., Brick-lane, Spitalfields, carpenter.

NEWMAN, J., South-st., Chelsea, victualler.
POYNTON, G.B., Oxford-st., woollen-draper.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

ROSE, J. E., Bath, linen-draper.
THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

CROCKWELL, S., Torquay, Devon, builder.
HARTNEY, J., Ironmouger-lane, merchant.
WILLIS, E. P., Chichester, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

ATHEARN, W., Peckham, brick-maker.
BAUCKHAM, E., otherwise E. Bockham, Providence-row, Kent-road, builder.
BEECROF, J.R., St.Alban's, Herts, innkeeper.
BURKE, J., Greenwich, licensed victualler.
CATLEY, J., Green-st., Leicester-sq., chemist.
DRAPER, G., Whitechapel, High-st., victualler.
GEEVES, T., Hendon, Middlesex, hay-salesman.
GRAY, R., Cottingham and Kingston-upon-Hull, wharfinger.
HEWITT, W. and T., Kingston-upon-Hull, merchants.
HODGES, J. S., Bunhill-row, tailor.
HUNTER, J., Church-passage, Guildhall-yard, undertaker.
IVORY, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, victualler.
LEWIS, T., Whitechapel-road, victualler.
MABERLY, J., Bread-street, Cheapside, and John-street, Berkeley-square, banker.
SMITH, H. W., Greenwich, carpenter.
STUART, H., Worcester, wine-merchant.
TAYLOR, W., Coppull, Lancashire, timber-merchant.
WILKINSON, T., Finsbury-sq., upholsterer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

CRESSEY, C. W., Bristol, tea-dealer.
CROHN, H. L., John-st, Minorities, ship-agent.
KING, B., Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, lithographic printer.
STEPHENS, J., Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, bookseller.

BANKRUPTS.

BOND, T., Bath, cabinet-maker.
DE BUCK, W. J., Broad-street-buildings, general merchant.
GLAVES, J., Upper East Smithfield, and late of Bordeaux, master-mariner.
HILL, I., Strand, hatter.
HUDSON, H., Harrow-street, Paddington, stable-keeper.
HUGHES, R., Welchpool, Montgomeryshire, saddler.

KAUL, A., Camomile-street, Bishopsgate, watch-manufacturer.
LANGDON, R., East Stonehouse and Plymouth, rope-maker.
NICHOLS, J., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, wine-merchant.
PULLEN, R., Newgate-market, carcass-butcher.
SALVIDGE, G., Bedminster, Somersetshire, butcher.
STOKES, W. A., Kidderminster, bookseller.
THOMAS, W. C., Plymouth, hatter.
WAGSTAFF, J., Denton, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.
WALKER, G., Orange-street, Bloomsbury, linen-draper.
WALKER, J., St. John's, Worcestersh., tanner.
WEBB, T., and **W. Pritchard**, Pillgwenly, Monmouthshire, coal-merchants.
WILKINSON, T., Shrewsbury, ironmonger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MONCUR, J., Edinburgh, plumber.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JANUARY 30.
 —Since this day se'nnight we have had a tolerable supply of English, Irish, and Scotch wheat; English and Scotch barley; English beans; English and Scotch malt; and English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour. Our supplies of Irish and Scotch oats, and foreign peas, great; of foreign wheat, English oats, and seeds from all quarters, have been rather limited.

We have not seen so few buyers in a Monday's market for some time past, especially in the early part of the morning, and as most even of those present kept off from purchasing under the idea of obtaining abatement, the trade was very dull. Very superior wheat, and the finest malting barley, as well as peas, beans, malt, flour, and seeds, were at last week's currency; wheat and barley, generally, as also each kind of oats, at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per qr. The quotations of rye and bran are but nominal.

Wheat	52s. to 68s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	24s. to 32s.
— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 37s.
— Tick	35s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 29s.
— Poland	23s. to 26s.
— Feed	17s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	65s. to 68s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles; new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new ... 44s. to 46s.
 Pork, India, new ... 125s. 0d. to 128s.
 Pork, Mass, new ... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.
 — Carlow ... 89s. to 92s.
 — Cork ... 91s. to —s.
 — Limerick ... 88s. to 90s.
 — Waterford ... 87s. to 88s.
 — Dublin ... 85s. to 87s.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 52s. to 63s.
 — Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 62s.
 — Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.
 — Edam ... 47s. to 50s.
 — Gouda ... 46s. to 50s.
 Hams, Irish ... 62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—January 30.

This day's supply of sheep and beasts was moderately good, but not so great as was that of this day se'nnight; of calves and porkers but limited. The trade was, throughout, very dull: with veal at a depression of 1ull 2d. per stone: with beef, mutton, and pork, at barely Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,581; sheep and lambs, 17,130; calves, 110; pigs, 69.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 3.

The arrivals this week are large. The market very dull, at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		82½	82½	—	82½	82½	82½

Just published,

Price One Shilling, to be continued Monthly,

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE FOR ENGLAND and IRELAND.
 No. 1. for February, 1832.

Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; (to whom all communications and advertisements are to be addressed).

Sold by **W. F. Wakeman**, 9, D'Olier-street, Dublin.

* * * Persons in the country are requested to transmit their Orders through their country Booksellers.

Printed by **William Cobbett**, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 75.—No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11TH, 1832. [Price 1s. 2d.



THE MINISTRY.

Preston, 6th of February, 1832.

It really does appear that this thing *cannot hold together*. "What everybody says must be true," is an old saying; and everybody says this. I wished the thing to reel along until the Reform Bill should be passed; but, after the RECENT SCENES AT BRISTOL AND AT NOTTINGHAM, I can have, and I have, no such wish. I dare not *trust my pen* upon this subject. I feel as *the nation* feels with regard to it; and whenever THIS MINISTRY shall hereafter be spoken of, the recollection of these scenes and of those in the south-western counties, will never fail to suggest to us the *proper epithet* to put before the compound word, *Whig-Ministry*! How fully has this faction proved itself to be that which I described it when I had the fellows sitting before me, *in the Court of King's Bench, on the 7th of July last*! They were *sitting for their picture*; and I drew it to the life. This is the *eleventh Ministry* that I have seen, and I can truly say, that I never before saw one with so few persons to venture to say a word in its commendation. It cannot continue long in power; nobody thinks it capable of any useful undertaking; it will fall from its own native incapacity; it, like all other such bodies of men, is severe and violent from its feebleness; it is *not strong enough* to dare to be lenient and conciliating. Hence it excites, at once, the *two feelings* which, though the opposite of each other, concur in rendering it impossible for power to remain

long in the hands of those who are the objects of them.

I find very generally prevailing a high opinion of LORD GREY himself; but always accompanied with a feeling of regret that he is so situated, with regard to his colleagues, as to be unable to do that which he ought to do; and from this opinion men very speedily come to the conclusion that he himself is, and can be, *of no use to the country*. It is evident to every one, that, besides PALMERSTON, GODERICH, and GRANT, the LANSLOWNE PART of the Ministry cannot co-operate cordially with him; and this is a very important part of it. If we look back a little, we shall see that there never can be a real union of mind in these parties; and that it was great folly in LORD GREY to attempt to carry on the Government with such colleagues.

When CANNING became Minister, in 1827 (month of April), the party of LANSLOWNE joined him; and Lord LANSLOWNE himself became *Secretary of State under him*! It is fresh in all our memories, that BROUGHAM ridiculed reform as soon as Canning was in office; he said that *the people no longer wished for it*, and even attached HUME when he proposed a repeal of one of the SIX ACTS! Lord Grey, on the contrary, refused to have anything to do with CANNING. Just at this time (the near approach of the end of Canning not being foreseen), the EDINBURGH REVIEW (that mouth-piece of Brougham and the Lansdowne clique) put forth the most contemptuous attacks upon Grey. In the number for June, 1827, Lansdowne himself being in place, and Brougham and the rest being prepared to follow him, there appeared a long article, intended to show the gross absurdity of making PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, or even CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, a condition of coming into office. The clique knew that Lord Grey would not come into office except of being allowed to propose these mea-

stures; and the clique, thirsting for the sweets of power, and resolved to separate from him, and to lick up the good stuff that Canning had to spare, laboured hard, in the article just mentioned, to show that they were *wise*, and that Lord Grey was *foolish*. In the true Scotch-sarcastic style, they, after having spoken of Lansdowne's taking office, proceeded as follows: "The Whigs ought to have insisted, we suppose, that REFORM should be made a ministerial measure! We will not at present inquire, *whether they have, as a body*, ever declared any *decided opinion* on the subject. A much shorter answer will suffice. Be reform *good or bad*, it is at present EVIDENTLY UNATTAINABLE. No man can, either by coming into office or by going out of office, either effect it or prevent it. * * * * *

"At the present juncture, we own, that we should think it *as absurd* in any man to *decline office* for the sake of this object, as it would have been in Sir THOMAS MORE to refuse the great seal, because he could not introduce all the institutions of his UTOPIA into England." Then as to CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION:—"The difficulty, we believe, is neither with the King nor with the cabinet, neither with the Commons nor with the Lords. It is with the *people of England*; and not with the corrupt, not with the servile, not with the rude and uneducated, not with the dissolute and turbulent, but with the *great body of the middling orders*; of those who live in comfort, and have received some instruction. * * * The Catholics must conduct the controversy with good sense and good temper, and there cannot be the slightest doubt of the issue. But of this they may be fully assured, that while the general feeling of the nation remains unchanged, a Ministry which should stake its existence on the success of their claims, would ruin itself without benefiting them."

Now, observe, these were the two great measures for which Lord Grey always contended; for which he,

in 1827, still contended; and the clique, the Lansdowne Scotch clique, were now angry with him because his consistency stood in the way of their getting at the honey-pot; and they vented their anger in the above manner. They had, indeed, resolved to be at the pot; they had, when this article was published, resolved to set him and his pledges and conditions at defiance; they were just going to the honey-pot; but Lord Grey's refusal to go with them threw a sort of suspicion on their motives, and, indeed, made the public see that they had abandoned the objects for which they, as well as he, had been so long contending. Hence the above attack on him and defence of themselves.

Alas! how soon were their prospects blighted! How soon were all their tricks rendered of no avail! How soon were they proved to have known nothing at all of the course which events were about to take! The leader, the lord, of the clique, LANSDOWNE, was in office, under CANNING; but scarcely was he in that *honourable* situation, scarcely had he dipped his hand in the same dish with that insolent calumniator of the people of England; that sworn enemy of reform; that supporter of every measure of extravagance and of tyranny from 1794 to the day on which Lansdowne joined him; scarcely had the Lord of the clique dipped his hand in the same dish with this brazen abuser of the "*low, degraded crew of reformers*," when the brazen and empty thing began to give signs of preparation for *going to the other world*! This alarmed the clique! They hesitated; they consulted *physicians*; they looked sharply out for *bulletins*! And, in October, when the death of the calumniator of the reformers put an end to their prospects of the honey-pot through that channel, they had to repent of their *saucy sarcasms* on Lord Grey, published in the month of June, and to eat their words with all convenient speed!

Their *folly* (as well as their selfishness) was very soon exposed; for, in only *fifteen months* from the day that they declared *Catholic Emancipation* to

be a measure, the standing on which would ruin any Ministry, the measure was absolutely proposed by a Ministry which supported itself, for awhile, by that very proposition! And, with regard to reform, which this CLIQUE so positively declared to be utterly unattainable, that same Ministry was, in three years from the date of the CLIQUE's declaration, driven out, because, and only because, it expressed its determined opposition to reform!

The honey-pot being covered over against them by the death of the once saucy and always empty CANNING, the CLIQUE turned again towards Lord GREY; and, here it was that his errors began, errors the effects of which have constantly stuck to him from that day to this, and of which he now feels the deadly force. He ought to have spurned the CLIQUE; he ought never to have thought of co-operation with them again. If I be asked whom he was to have found to co-operate with, I answer that it would have been better for him, and far better for his country, if he had found nobody until events had given colleagues willing to act upon his views, willing to act under him. The CLIQUE saw that he was their only hope after the death of CANNING; and, accordingly, their contemptuous sarcasm was soon turned into eulogium! REFORM, that very reform to which they, while CANNING was alive and in health, said that they were not pledged, now became a *sine qua non* with them; and they so managed matters, that, when WELLINGTON was driven out on account of his declaration against reform, they appeared amongst its most boisterous partisans; and, as such, they came into power with Lord Grey, to his never-ending mortification, and to the infinite injury of the country. You may see, in all his movements, this clog upon him: it has been the cause of all the delay, all the inconsistencies, all the troubles, all the sorrowful scenes that we have witnessed since he came into power; and it is now the cause of that apprehension, that awful suspense that hovers over the country, and that is producing so much uncertainty in all

our affairs. It is impossible for those who were the colleagues, or would-have-been colleagues of CANNING, to forgive him: it is impossible for them to labour cordially in furthering any thing which shall establish his fame; and he ought to have seen that this would be impossible; and he ought not to have embarked with such associates.

What was he to do then? Whom was he to embark with? It is not to be believed that there were no other men in the country as wise and as able as those who had joined CANNING, and who had represented emancipation and reform as utterly unattainable. But if there had been none then, "events create men;" and rather than have taken to power thus encumbered, thus clogged, thus hampered, he should have made his explicit declaration to the country, and have waited for events; which events would soon have given him power to do all the good, without inflicting any portion of evil. He has recently said, "that he had no hand in loading the country with 800,000,000*l.* of debt." Ah! but this comes too late. He took to the embarrassed, the ruined concern, without making to the nation a true and full statement of the plight in which he found it. And why did he not do that? Why did he not do a thing so clearly pointed out by, so loudly demanded by, a regard for his own character and by the public interest? Why? Because he could not do it, and have these men for colleagues; having, almost the whole of them, had an active part in causing the embarrassments, in causing the state of ruin of which his own character called upon him to give a true picture to the country. Those of them who had not actually been in office, who had not been engaged in upholding the ruinous system, had for the most part "given their adhesion" to it by their support of CANNING. The CLIQUE had become part and parcel of its band of supporters. A declaration, an exposition making against the system, would have been a declaration against them; and, therefore, such declaration, such exposition,

he, having them for his colleagues, could not make.

Thus he entered into office tongue-tied with regard to things, a clear exposition of which was necessary to justify his measures. One of the arguments, and a great argument it always must be when change is proposed; one of the arguments against the measure by which he was to stand or fall, was, that it was *uncalled for* that the *Parliament* had *worked well* that it had been sufficient for the *good of the country*. What answer has ever been given to this? None; not even by Lord Grey himself. The answer was, that the corrupt state of the representation; or, in other words, *the want of members chosen by the people*, had caused the long wars and the debt; had caused so many millions to be wasted in pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, and dead-weight; had caused the standing army in times of peace; had caused millions to be expended on embassies, where nothing ought to have been expended; and so on; proving, in every case, that those who *voted away* the money had an *interest* in voting it away; and tracing the public money back to the members or to nominators of the members; tracing the church-revenues in the same way; and then proving that the embarrassments of the nation, the anticipation of its resources, its state of decrepitude, and the poverty, misery, and crimes of the people, had *all been produced by the members not being chosen by the people*.

This was the proper defence, and, indeed, the only complete defence, of the change that was proposed. But was this defence ever made? No: nor was it ever so much as attempted. And how was it to be attempted, when the Minister had for colleagues those who so long upheld and profited by the system, by that sort of Parliament, that it was the object of reform to put an end to? Hence the Minister has not been able, has not dared, to defend efficiently his own measure, and has been compelled to leave the defence of it to the people themselves. From the same cause has

arisen another curious thing; namely, the *denial*, in effect, that the reform will produce *any good*! Its adversaries have urged, and still urge, that it will make *great changes* with regard to *taxes, tithes, the debt, pensions*, and other things. The *defenders* of the reform *most vehemently deny this*; they insist, that it will make *no change at all as to these matters*. Thus they excite suspicion, not only as to their ulterior views, but as to their sincerity with regard to the bill itself; and not only with regard to its provisions, but with regard to the wishes of the Ministers respecting its fate.

Thus it is, that this Ministry is a mass of weakness, and an object of indifference with the nation at large. Lord GREY ought not to have come into power so clogged. He ought to have made *his declaration to the country*; and then have let the thing take its own course; let *the people call for him*; or, if they did not, remained at his estate in Northumberland: for he might have easily foreseen, that, muzzled and clogged, he could render no service to the country, and must be an extremely fortunate man if he escaped ruin to his own reputation. The opinions of the people, as to the *passing* of the Bill, are divided; but there is no man, except he be a downright fool, who does not anticipate, that whether *the bill*, or any Reform Bill, pass, or not, *very great changes* in the mode of managing the nation's affairs must take place. No man dreams of things proceeding in their former course. Every one sees, in fact, that *the reform is going on*, while the Reform Bill is under discussion; and, my real opinion is, that that *reduction of taxation* and that *abolition of tithes*, which are amongst the changes which are anticipated from a reform of the Parliament, will take place, whether the Reform Bill pass, or not. The reform is made in *men's minds*; and the mind never goes backwards. The foundation of the change is laid; and, though I should greatly prefer seeing the building raised and finished by Lord Grey, I wish to see it *done*, at any rate; and see it done I assuredly shall.

MR. MABERLY.

"LONDON GAZETTE, 27th JANUARY, 1832.—
BANKRUPTS: JOHN MABERLY, of Bread-
street, Cheapside, and of John-street,
Berkeley-square, banker, February 10 and
March 9, at twelve o'clock, at the Court of
Bankruptcy, Basinghall-street. Solicitors,
Messrs. Walford and Sons, No. 10, South-
ampton-street, Covent-garden."

Now, observe, I do not insert this for the purpose of giving pain to this gentleman, who never did me any harm, nor ever gave me as an individual any offence. Nor do I insert it in the way of triumph over him as a public man; and far is it from my wish that any one should from this pointed insertion, infer that I mean to insinuate any imputation on the integrity of Mr. MABERLY. My object is, to produce to my readers an instance of the precariousness, of the ruinous tendency, of the atrocious system of *paper-money*. Mr. MABERLY had great property; he was the fox-hunting squire of the county of Surrey; he had lords and lordlings to bow to him as the munificent patron of the sport; he has long been a sort of borough-monger; and now he is, all of a sudden, a *poor man*, and he ceases for a while, at any rate, to be a member of Parliament: for the bankruptcy vacates his seat!

This has arisen from Mr. MABERLY'S ignorance of the nature and tendency of the system with which he was so indiscreet as to meddle so deeply. He is not what is *commonly called an ignorant man*; but rather the contrary: a sharp man, an industrious man, a very good accountant and calculator, I dare say; as good a totter-up as Mr. HUME himself; knows, I'll engage, all about the manner of making what old stutering VAN used to call "*an operation*" in the funds. But there required *something more* than all these to enable him to perceive the perils with which *paper-money* and *changes in the value of the currency* surrounded him.

In 1822, I think it was, Mr. MABERLY, in describing the state of the country, and the good it had derived from *paper-money*, said, in his place in Parliament, that since the beginning of

the French war, we had ADDED SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS TO OUR CAPITAL. I told him then, that PUBLIC DEBT was not *public capital*, and never would be until we looked on our unpaid tradesmen's bills as *private capital*. That the "*improvements*," as he called the *new streets, new enclosures, new roads*, and the like, had not been created by paper-money, but had been by the means of that false money, made out of the plunder committed on the working-classes: and I further told him, that these classes would finally take their own back again; that the poor-rates (while this increase of capital and these improvements had been going on) had risen from one million a year to seven millions a year; that this was the sum now paid to the working people as compensation for the clocks, brass kettles, pewter plates, bedding, and chairs, that the paper-money had taken out of their houses; and for the clothing and bacon and bread that it had taken, and was still taking, from their backs and bellies; but that the plunder taken by the paper-money, amounted to twenty or thirty millions a year; and, that hence it was, that the people had become miserable in the exact proportion that the paper "*improvements*," had increased in number and in magnitude; but that, as "all that is given to the poor is lent to the Lord," so, all that is taken from the poor is lent to the devil; and that, as "what is got over the devil's back goes under his belly," these "*six hundred millions of capital and of improvements*" must all, by one means or another, be finally taken from the present possessors, and that the "*gain of oppressions*" must, in this case, as in that mentioned by the prophet ZECHARIAH, finally cause the songs of the oppressors to be "*turned into mourning*." For that it was contrary to nature, and, therefore, not to be believed that Englishmen would ever be so base as to lie down and quietly die from starvation, while their country abounded in food of *their own raising*; and that, unless they could at last be brought to this pass, the paper-fraud must in the end be blowed to atoms.

They *have not*, I thank God, suffered themselves to be brought to this pass. They have demanded, and begun to obtain, their own again; and, indeed, do the Parliament what it may about reform, or about anything else, the *six hundred millions* will go back to the working classes. An event of magnitude so vast is not accomplished in a day: no man can tell precisely when or how the full accomplishment will take place; but in the motto, taken in October 1830, by the labourers of Kent, "**WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES,**" the loanmongers, Jews and jobbers and paper-money gamblers and swindler read their just and certain doom.]

had read this passage in Rousseau, and upon that ground, put the following questions to my Lord ALTHORP, who appears not to have liked them any more than those *children* with whose taste ROUSSEAU had been acquainted. The questions will be found to relate to the finances, which are become a very curious concern, and to the famous pledge of VAUX BROUGHAM, relative to the poor-laws. The answers of Lord ALTHORP will be found to be such as one might have expected from a child; but let us insert the report of the whole proceeding first, as it took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of February.

TO MR. O'CONNELL.

Preston, 6 Feb., 1832.

SIR,

Being so near to the Emerald Isle, I feel myself violently tempted to go thither, and to address your Dublin audience on the subject of the poor-laws; and therefore I beg you to have the goodness to send me, under your hand and seal, a warrant for "**SAFE-CONDUCT**" from the landing-place at Dunleary to the Corn-Exchange in Dublin. I think we agree as to all other matters; but I really must insist upon having shoes, stockings, and shirts, and bacon and bread, for those who raise all the food and make all the houses and all the raiment in Ireland. I have long been labouring to effect this great object: for many years I have laboured alone: I have now got many fellow-labourers; but if I can have you, you will be worth more than all the rest. Send me the Safe-conduct, and I shall regard it as a token of friendship and as a harbinger of our success.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

ASKING QUESTIONS.

Preston, 7th Feb., 1832.

ROUSSEAU says, "*Personne n'aime à être questionné surtout les enfans.*" PREL and Mr. WEYLAND, I suppose,

"Sir R. PEEL, referring to the passage in the King's speech which mentioned the determination of the Government to introduce a better system of police in the large cities and towns of the kingdom, begged to ask the noble Lord (Althorp) when it was that the plan would be laid before the House of Commons?

"Lord ALTHORP really could not give the right honourable Gentleman any distinct answer to that question. Measures for the improvement of the police were under consideration; but he really could not say at what time they would be laid before Parliament. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition.)

"Sir R. PEEL observed, that the practice of alluding to measures in the King's speech before they were in a state for the consideration of Parliament was a departure from a good old custom, which would have been better avoided. (Hear, and a laugh.) He had another question to ask the noble Lord, and that was, at what period the estimates of the year would be laid on the table? The noble Lord would doubtless recollect that resolution of the House, moved by an honourable Gentleman connected with the present Government, *which resolution required, that when Parliament met before Christmas, the estimates of the year were to be presented before the 15th of January, and when it met for the first time after Christmas, then the estimates were to be presented within*

"ten days of that meeting. The present session presented the first instance of a departure from the practice enjoined in the resolution, and he was anxious to know when it would be complied with. (Hear.)

"Mr. WEYLAND had also a question to put to the noble Lord. He wished to know whether the Government proposed to bring in any measure for the better administration of the poor-laws and the melioration of the condition of the labouring poor; and if they did not, he would then ask if they were aware of the intentions of the noble Lord on the Woolsack in the other House, who stood pledged to introduce some remedy himself? Did they know anything of the noble and learned Lord's plans, or had they a measure in contemplation of their own.

"Lord ALTHORP, in reply to the question of the right honourable Baronet, said he *really was not able to state* any special reasons for the delay in the *presentation of the estimates*, except this, that Parliament had not *usually met until February*, and that although on the present occasion it had been called together before Christmas, the estimates *were not ready*. In reply to the question of the honourable Member (Mr. Weyland), with respect to the intentions of the Government to introduce some measures for the better administration of the poor-laws, he was enabled to say that the subject had been under the *serious consideration* of the Government for some time past. They had examined with the greatest attention the mass of evidence collected by the committees of the House, and otherwise, with a view of discovering if it was possible to come to any such definitive conclusion on the question as would justify them in recommending some provisions for the sanction of the legislature. He would observe, however, with respect to the *administration of the poor-laws*, that the Government felt it to be a *question of such magnitude*, and involving so many and such *important considerations*,

"in reverence to all classes in the country, that they did not think it wise to attempt to legislate on any *general measures*, but rather wished to apply themselves to *particular parts* of the system. (Hear, hear.) One thing, however, struck them in the examination of the evidence before the committee, and of individuals, and that was, that all who gave their testimony on the subject *had some preconceived opinions* with respect to the poor-laws. There seemed, in fact, to be *want of knowledge* of the working of the *different systems* in different places, which it was highly desirable to obtain, and without which, any attempt to legislate generally on the administration of the poor-laws might be attended with the very worst consequences. They *thought it best*, therefore, under these circumstances, to *institute inquiries on the spot*, with a view of obtaining information from *impartial persons*, who were not anxious to support any particular views on the subject of the poor-laws, and they were, therefore, *in the course of appointing a commission* to ascertain in what manner the *different systems worked* in different parishes. (Hear, hear.) He did not think the labours of the commission *were likely to be extended over any very long period*, as the inquiries were merely intended for purposes of comparison, and in order to ascertain *if it was possible* for the Government to *introduce any general or extensive changes*. (Hear, hear.)

We risk nothing in saying that it must be impossible for any Ministry to stand which can attempt to go on in this kind of way. The estimates for the year ought to have been before the House long and long enough ago. For what do we pay such immense sums in salaries and retired-allowances, if it be not to be furnished with persons of sufficient industry and ability to prepare documents of this sort in time, so that those who have the voting of the public money may not only see the real state of the pecuniary concerns of the country, but may have plenty of time to

deliberate as to what they shall vote in future, or whether they shall vote anything at all into the hands of the Ministers. PEELE, who, it seems, forgets all his own measures of finance, for which, by-the-by, he must and *shall*, first or last, be made answerable in a suitable manner, or I will have nothing to do with the concern; to which latter alternative, I dare say, he will very readily agree. PEELE very properly asked why the estimates had not been laid before the House, when a positive resolution of the House required, that in case like the present, they should be laid before the House by the 15th of January. And, what was the answer of our brilliant Chancellor of the Exchequer; what was the answer of this manager of our money affairs? Why that "*really* he was not able to tell," and that he could give no guess at the cause, other than that Parliament had not usually met until February, and that the estimates "*were not ready!*" This latter was a pretty good ground of guess, to be sure; but it is precisely that sort of ground, for the alleging of which any merchant that I have ever known, would have taken his clerk by the arm and shoved him out of his counting-house. For what have we a First Lord of the Treasury, and a parcel of junior Lords of the Treasury; for what have we a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and two Secretaries of the Treasury; for what have we such troops of clerks in the Treasury and in the several pay-offices, amounting in the whole to no mean battalion in point of numbers; for what have we to pay all these, if the resolutions of the House are to be set at defiance by a poor miserable pretence like this, upon the mere statement of the Minister that the resolution has been set at defiance? In short, it is manifest that all is confusion; that the underlings disobey their superiors; that the superiors want the spirit to turn out the underlings, or the judgment to choose others in their stead; that the great officers of state are but creatures in the hands of clerks; and that everything is, according to the vulgar saying, at sixes and sevens.

The other question which was put by Mr. WEYLAND, was of a vast deal greater importance. My readers will recollect that BROUGHAM and VAUX gave notice, at the beginning of the present session of Parliament, that *he himself* would take the poor-laws in hand this time, and that he *pledged* himself to bring in a bill upon the subject before the close of the session: they will also recollect that I *pledged* myself, that if he attempted any measure that should militate against the principle of the present poor-law, he would fail, and expose himself to ridicule and contempt. In 1819, he asserted, in his place in Parliament, that he was "*quite prepared* to defend the principles of Malthus in their fullest extent." I have frequently challenged him on the subject; I have reprobated the principles of Malthus; I have hunted Malthus out of vogue, and almost out of existence: Mr. Godwin has done the same, and in a much more elaborate manner, with much greater patience, and with a vast deal more of research: and if BROUGHAM and VAUX now bring in a bill containing one single particle of the principles of Malthus, his madness, his crack-skull state, will be much more manifest than if he were to bring in a bill for altering the succession to the crown, and making a new dynasty, springing from his own loins, or from those of any other fellow who had come to London by a Berwick smack. Poor Lord ALTHORP's answer to Mr. WEYLAND about the "*serious consideration*" which the Government had given to the subject, about the "*vast magnitude*" of it, about the "*important considerations*" connected with it, about the Government being "*in the course of appointing a commission* to ascertain in what manner the "*different systems* worked in different "*parishes,*" before the Government determined to introduce any general and extensive changes; this answer, this heap of shocking nonsense, manifestly indicating that nothing at all will be done, manifestly indicating that good sense enough has been found somewhere, to point out that any scheme of alteration would be little short of mad-

ness, and that nothing at all ought to be attempted : all this does, however, leave BROUGHAM and VAUX in a pretty situation ; and it ought to convince Lord Grey, that he would have been much better off to have this Berwick-smack gentleman against him than for him. For any man belonging to the Ministry to give such a pledge, and to do nothing in consequence of it, would have been sufficiently mortifying to any man at the head of such a Ministry ; but for a Lord Chancellor to give such a pledge, and for it to evaporate in this sort of way, would be sufficient to sink any ministry in any country upon earth where common sense was prevailing among the people.

I believe that my letter to Mr. O'Connell has blown all the poor-law projects into air. But what must we think of the mind of the man who, having presumed to become the first law-officer in a country like this, was so profoundly ignorant of the nature and extent of this greatest of all our laws, as to believe that he, he alone, could invent a something, a mere parcel of words to put upon paper, totally to change, all at once, or to annihilate, that law, a law not only affecting us all, as every law must, but affecting nineteen-twentieths of us directly, and as sensibly and deeply, and as frequently as we are affected by the *demands of our appetite* ; by the demands of our stomachs and of our backs ! What a mind must this man have had, to give, off hand, such a pledge as this ! However, never will he carry into effect any project of the sort. The project of Malthus has proved the demolition of the character of every man that has attempted to give effect to it. STURGES BOURNE, SCARLETT, poor NOLAN, every one of the projectors has, at least, lost character by their attempt to give effect to the odious and stupid project of Malthus. Malthus it was, in effect, who was the real cause of the scenes which we have beheld in the agricultural counties. I remember well when the fellow's audacious book was first published ; I remember with what eagerness it was caught hold of by the parsons

of Hampshire. Several of them talked to me about it ; and they always represented it as containing a plan necessary to be adopted. STURGES BOURNE, who was a lawyer by trade, and who was the son of a Hampshire parson, was, at the time that I am alluding to, *the chairman of the quarter sessions in Hampshire* ; and he was in that situation when he brought in his bills of 1818. One of those bills altered the voting in the vestries, giving to the rich proprietors *numerous votes*, and thereby taking away the weight of all the voters that stood nearest to the poor. That bill was followed by the select-vestry bill, which gave the rich parishioners the power of refusing relief even in defiance of the magistrates, and which gave them the additional and horrible power of setting aside the authority of the *native overseer* ; of making that overseer a mere collector of the rates ; and of appointing a hired overseer to have the distribution of the relief, and, in short, the sole management of the poor. Hence all the *harnessing* of the poor people ; hence all the starvation ; hence all the cruelties, all the degradations that they have had to endure ; and hence, at last, all the consequences of their resentment. In a great part of the parishes, the amount of the salaries of these hirelings has been made to depend upon the *reduction which they could make in the amount of the poor-rates* ; that is to say, they have received *more*, in the exact proportion that they could make the poor receive less. If ever there were a scheme bottomed on injustice and inhumanity, this was that scheme ; and yet even this scheme seems not to be sufficient to satisfy the projectors of the Berwick-smack origin.

Amidst all the talk about abuses of the poor-laws ; about mischiefs of the poor-laws, the projectors seem to think that the public, and particularly the poor, never perceive what it is they mean, never perceive what it is they are driving at ; and what is it that they are driving at ? And what is it that Mr. SLANEY, and the Hampshire parsons, and BROUGHAM and VAUX, are driving at ? Why, it is this ; *to cause*

less to be given in relief than is now given! To cause the same pensions, sinecures, grants, and dead-weight, to be paid; to cause the same tithes to be gathered; to cause the same immense masses of income to be received by the deans and chapters, by the bishops, by the colleges; to cause the same standing army, the same military and naval academies; to cause the same mass of fundholders; to cause all these to be kept up, and to be paid in full tale, and in gold of full weight and fineness; and to cause, at the same time, the working people who are taxed to contribute to all these, to die in ditches with hunger, when they can no longer labour, and when they have been beggared by these contributions. This and this alone is the point at which all the Malthusians are driving.

To be sure, they are driving against nature itself: and they will fail, as they have hitherto failed. They have been at it for thirty years very nearly; and as the goldfinch, which begins pecking at the wires of the cage, in order to get out, from the moment it is put into the cage, keeps on pecking, though manifestly in vain, to the last hour of its life; so, I suppose, notwithstanding all that they have seen within the last eighteen months; notwithstanding that they have seen the chopsticks themselves blow all their projects into air; notwithstanding that they now have plenty before them; this simple choice, an honest and humane administration of the poor-laws, or the destruction of property, and the annihilation of the peace of proprietors; notwithstanding that they have this choice so plainly before them, they are still pecking away with as much activity, and apparently with as much hope of success, as when the callous-hearted *parson and pensioner* Malthus put forth his project referring the poor to the laws of nature for relief.

A bill was brought in last year by my Lord TEYNHAM, which would, in effect, have done away with the bills of STURGES BOURNE; which would have healed the wounds inflicted by those bills; and which I have no hesitation

to say, I, who know the chopsticks throughout the whole country, better than any man living; I have no hesitation to say, that that bill would have restored harmony to the villages and safety to the farms. My Lord Teynham was a strenuous supporter of the bill for Catholic Emancipation; he has even encountered unpopularity in supporting the present Ministry; he has been from the first a strenuous supporter of the Reform Bill; and yet the Ministers themselves put an extinguisher upon his bill; and BROUGHAM and VAUX took upon him to bring in a bill of his own! He, forsooth, who knows nothing of England, beyond the geography of it, and the profit which he derives from the labours of its people; who knows nothing at all of the habits, the manners, the labours, the way of thinking, of the great mass of the people of England more than I, thank God Almighty, know of the passengers in the Berwick smacks. This was a pretty projector, to bring forward something to supply the place of the bill of Lord TEYNHAM; a bill that really did honour to the head as well as to the heart of the author; and the proposing of which was an act truly worthy of an English nobleman. How Lord TEYNHAM and every one else must laugh at the idea of a "*commission*" being appointed, to ascertain in what manner the *different systems* worked in the different parishes! Only think of *different systems*, working under the same acts of Parliament. Good God! were I not endued with the patience of Job, this Lord Althorp would certainly drive me mad! A commission appointed by the Government to prowl all over the country, to find out "*from impartial persons on the spot*;" to find out how the poor-laws *work*" in the "*different*" parishes, the poor-laws being the same in all the parishes. It is well for these commissioners that I am not a justice of the peace; if I were, I'm a rogue if I would not cause them to be brought before me, under the vagrant act, to discover on what authority they were running up and down in my bailiwick, or upon what ground they came as eaves-droppers,

asking questions about the manner in which the overseers and magistrates executed their duty. My Lord ALTHORP does, indeed, only say that this commission is *in the course of being appointed*; and, therefore, let us hope that the completion will not take place; but if it should take place, I hope that some justice of the peace will be found of sense and spirit sufficient to bring these commissioners before him, if it be only for the sake of seeing the great seal of BROUGHAM and VAUX attached to their commissions, and of thereby letting us have upon record something to commemorate this act of unparalleled childishness.

REPRESENTATION OF MANCHESTER.

WHEN I sent the article for the last *Register* from Manchester, I had only time to prefix a few words by way of preface to the speech of Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, made at the dinner to which I was invited in that great town; and at which dinner Mr. Fielden presided as chairman. The matter of that speech is of the greatest importance in itself; but it is of still greater importance, as considered relatively to the source from which it came. The enemies of parliamentary reform have made it a great argument against reform, that the persons who called first, and especially those who have called themselves radical reformers, *were persons of no property*; persons who must necessarily gain by confusion; persons who made use of reform as a pretence for producing a scramble, in which they might be gainers, and could not be losers; persons who cared for the well-being of nobody, having nobody dependent on their own well-being. With regard to the proposal for me to be a member for Manchester, the base part of the press has taken infinite pains to cause it to be believed that nobody at Manchester entertained the idea but those whom the pert and shallow and saucy MACAULAY spoke of as the "crazy radicals." Therefore it is right that I

here truly describe the character of the maker of this speech. In the first place, he has from the very first been a radical reformer; in the next place, he is one of four brothers, all engaged in the same firm, being manufacturers, spinning, weaving, and printing; and their concern being among the greatest of the immense concerns of this description in the county of Lancaster. They have in their employ constantly much nearer three than two thousand persons; and it is notorious throughout the whole county that their affairs are conducted with the greatest skill, and that they are deemed to be amongst the very best and humane of employers. Such is the description of the character, as to property and situation in life, of the gentleman who did us the honour to be chairman on this occasion. Far from me (and he well knows it) the base motive of saying this in the way of flattery: I say it from a sense of duty to our cause, to the cause of parliamentary reform; and also from a sense of what is due to my Lord RADNOR, who was taunted in his place in the House of Lords with the letter which he had addressed to Mr. WHITTLE of Manchester, expressing his pleasure to hear that I was thought of as a member for that town. Those who taunted his Lordship on this account, will here see that I have supporters (and I might name many who were at the dinner), who have probably as great a stake in the country as those by whom his Lordship was taunted; and they will see that the gentleman who placed himself at the head of those supporters, does not, in order to know how to conduct his business, need being taken to the school of BROUGHAM and VAUX, and Sir HENRY PARNELL. Their Lordships, who taunted my Lord RADNOR, will learn from this speech of our "crazy-radical" chairman, that those who support me understand *all* the interests of the country; and are ready to scorn the tribe of little conceited prigs (for such there are to be found even in the enlightened town of Manchester) who would worm their way into popularity by crying aloud against the monopoly of the *Corn-bill*, while they

are scratching, tooth and nail, to *better the lot of the working people* by an "*improved system of banking*," the effects of which improved system are so happily described by Mr. Fielden. I said, from the outset, that I would appeal to the sense, and not to the nonsense of Manchester: that sense has been expressed by our chairman upon this occasion; and, let the faction of "*liberals*" do what it may, that sense, my readers may be well assured, will finally prevail.

I here reinsert the speech of Mr. John Fielden, which, as I said before, is a mere report of the substance of his speech; but that substance is very correctly given. I repeat, that it is of the greatest possible importance, even in itself; but that, if it were possible, it would derive additional weight from the person by whom it was uttered.

From the Manchester and Salford Advertiser.

A dinner was given to Mr. Cobbett by his Manchester committee, at the Town Hall, Salford, on Monday; and was among the most gratifying ceremonies of the kind that have ever occurred in this town. The company amounted to about 140. The dinner, which was supplied by Mr. Wilde, of the White Lion, at which house the committee generally held their meetings on business, was exceedingly well got up, the viands were of good quality, and very well dressed; and not the least attractive garniture of the table consisted of six quarters of house lamb, which Mr. Cobbett had had sent from his little farm at Kensington, expressly for this occasion; together with a plentiful supply of fine white broccoli.

But much more gratifying than anything connected with the mere dinner, which was the apology for the meeting, was to see such an assembly gathered together on such an occasion; to see such a company, chiefly of young men, animated by so warm a zeal in so good a cause; to observe the order and decorum of the evening's entertainment, protruded as it was till twelve o'clock, without, as we believe, one solitary instance of inebriety; and to witness the good sense and knowledge displayed by

the various speakers. We should be willing to stake the whole of our cause on the comparison between this meeting and its proceedings, and the orgies of any Pitt-club that ever assembled.

The dinner was laid about half-past six o'clock, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN, of TODMORDEN, took the chair. The table, which was laid in the form of a horse-shoe, was completely filled, and the lower extremities were occupied by the vice-chairmen, Mr. William Croft, of Pendleton, and Mr. William Harvey. We observed also with pleasure the presence at the table of Mr. Joseph Brotherton, Mr. Joseph Johnson, Mr. Edmund Grundy, of Bury; and Messrs. Halliday, Halliwell, and Earnshaw, of Oldham; Mr. Thomas Smith, of Liverpool; and Mr. James and Mr. Thomas Fielden.

After the cloth was removed, the Chairman gave several toasts before he came to the health of Mr. Cobbett, which he prefaced by a speech that filled his hearers with admiration, and of which we here give a mere sketch.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that his next duty was to propose to the company the health of a gentleman whose reputation was not to be affected by anything that he could say or leave unsaid—a gentleman, who, during a long course of years, had been the consistent advocate of reform, and who had now the happiness to see converts crowding to join him; who had been the advocate not only of parliamentary reform, but of all those measures of practical improvement which were bound up with the welfare of the people, and with which his own name was identified; who had been the consistent advocate of just principles of government, in seasons when the people, maddened by a delusive prosperity, thought those principles to be false; but which principles, by the dissipation of that fancied prosperity, were proved to be true. He was not more distinguished, however, for his advocacy of reform in the constitution and practice of Parliament, than for his zealous maintenance of the just rights of the people. The cause of the suffering poor and the oppressed la-

bourer was that which had always lain nearest to his heart; and it was this, above all things, that had raised him in his (the Chairman's) estimation, and in the estimation of all the best friends of their kind. He had not only pointed out the cause of the sufferings of the people, how they originated, and from what they sprung, but he had pointed out, in a manner the most clear and simple, the specific remedy for those grievances. (Hear, hear.) There were a great many men, of the best intentions, who had a just and strong feeling with respect to the actual condition of the working classes, and yet could not be brought to assent to the only means that were adequate to the permanent improvement of their condition. It was that friend, whose name he was about to mention to them, and it was he only who had the skill to trace their sufferings up to their source, in the debt and the exorbitant taxation necessary to sustain the debt, and who had also the courage and the justice and the good sense to recommend the removal of the cause, as the sure and only means of removing the effects which proceeded from it. (Loud cheers.) There were many, indeed, who had their specifics for relieving the distresses of the poor. Of these the first and the strongest was to remove their poverty, by depriving them of the resource which they now had in the *poor-laws*. This surely was one of the wildest schemes that ever proceeded from the lips of man; and more especially might it be deemed so, after what had been recently witnessed in the South. This scheme could not be carried into effect, even if it could ultimately do good, for it would throw the nation into convulsion. Others hoped to accomplish the same end by giving the people *cheap bread*; and this was to be secured by the *abolition of the corn-laws*. He was one of those who thought the corn-laws should be abolished. But in order to do justice to all parties, we ought to place the growers of corn in England in a condition to *compete on equal terms with the foreigner*; then we might fairly call on the legislature to repeal the corn-laws, and expect our

call to be heard. (Loud cheers.) There were others who proposed to remove the calamities of the people, by giving them *an improved system of banking*. (Laughter.) Now, if it could be shown that banking was productive of good to any portion of the community, then the question might be entertained with propriety; but he had never yet been able to discover any good from banking *except to bankers themselves*; and in his eyes the object of the banker differed in no respect from that of the *pensioner*, namely, to *live upon the industry of the people without giving them an equivalent*. This was forcibly illustrated by what had occurred to him lately at Halifax, where he was on business recently, when a meeting was held of the proprietors of the joint-stock bank of Halifax. This was a recent, but a very successful establishment. He had been once solicited to become a shareholder in this, as he had been in other joint-stock banks, but he declined the overtures, because he was convinced that he *could not accept them with a clear conscience*. A friend who had been at the meeting of the Halifax bank, and who was a share-holder, told him that a dividend had been made of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in addition to 5 per cent. voted as a sinking fund to cover future losses, making a total of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; he asked *who were the payers of this $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* His friend replied, "Oh, the joint-stock bank *furnishes accommodation* to those who *furnish labour for the people*, and without that aid the commerce of the country could not be carried on." This he said was no answer to his question, and he still wanted to know *who paid the $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* "Oh, it was paid by those who received the accommodation." The conversation was carried on till the payment was traced to the *labourers themselves*, who thus paid $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to keep up a fund for their own employment. (Loud laughter.) It had been said that *an increase of money* was necessary to an *increase of trade*, that the use of the banker was to supply that increase of money; and that to make payments in *promises to pay* was

necessary to the commerce of the country. He denied the truth of the proposition; and as facts were the best, he would bring its truth to the test of facts, of which one on such a subject was worth a thousand speculations. Let the inquiry be made in that branch of trade, the cotton trade, with which all around him were familiar. At the close of the last war, the consumption of cotton was 6,000 bags per week. During the progress of that war, the Government had formed in loans made in paper-money the means of carrying on that war, as well as of paying the dividends on what was previously contracted; but with the war ceased the system of borrowing by which it was supported, the paper-money was diminished in amount, and the country was plunged into suffering and ruin; though that suffering and that ruin were little to the suffering and ruin which had been experienced since PEEL'S BILL came into operation. Now what, during this period, was the progress of the cotton trade? From 1815 to 1824, which latter was the year of Mr. ROBINSON'S *vaunted prosperity*, and during which period there was no question that though we had a *less circulation* than during the war, we had a greater average circulation than we have since had; from 1815 to 1824 the increase in the consumption was from 6,000 to 11,000 bags a week. At the close, then, of 1824, the amount was eleven thousand and some hundred bags a week; a *contraction of the currency* then took place, and lowered prices; and the people were obliged to do more work in order to find the means of paying the same taxes. From 1824 to 1832 there was a progressive increase in the consumption of raw cotton from 11,000 to 16,000 bags, which was the average weekly consumption during the last year. He thought then that he had thus made out his case, *that an increased trade might be carried on with a diminished quantity of currency*; (*loud cheers*;) so that it was quite clear that there was no necessity for that accommodation, which consists of the *circulation of promises to pay*, in order to make the people happy and prosperous.

Another of the specifics of the political economists, was *free trade*. One would think that there was *already trade enough to satisfy the most sanguine* of these speculators; and that it was not an increase of trade that could relieve us, while pressed as we are to the earth by burdens. He had already shown that the cotton trade had increased, from 1824 to 1832, from 11,000 to 16,000 bags a week; in the last year the consumption was *higher than it had ever been before* in the history of the cotton trade; and never was there a period, he appealed to all around him, in which there was more *suffering among the working men, more difficulties and distresses among the employers*, than during that year. FREE TRADE could confer, was expected to confer, no benefit, but an *extension of trade*; here was an *extension of trade*, and an *increase of suffering going hand in hand*; here was an extension of trade increasing the suffering; and the increase of suffering *urging to an additional extension of trade*; and yet *free trade* was expected to relieve us! He was thus convinced that all the specifics and panaceas propounded by the political economists, were only calculated to delay the period, without weakening the necessity for the adoption of that grand measure which originated with their distinguished friends. (*Loud cheers*.) He did not deny others the freedom of opinion which he wished to exercise; but he could not agree that any of the expedients on which he had commented, or any other expedient, could enable us *to sustain the debt*; and when he knew the inefficacy of palliatives, and saw a remedy proposed which struck at the root of all the evils we complained of, that was the remedy which he would advocate. This was the remedy which Mr. Cobbett had proposed, and which he had shown to be just, and consistent with the rights of the community, namely, the destruction of the debt. (*Loud cheers*.) This measure would relieve the poor by removing the demands on their wages; it would relieve them by relieving the farmer from burdensome taxation, and removing the necessity for the corn-laws

it would relieve them by removing the system of credit and the banker's profits upon it. The means of the people would be increased by the same process; and with their means their consumption; and our home trade would find us an ample market for all our commodities. He was not accustomed to meetings of this kind; still less to occupy so conspicuous a position in them. He was placed in that chair, not by inclination or choice, but a sense of duty, and a wish to manifest the respect which he felt for Mr. Cobbett, and which he owed to him. He begged to propose, "*Our distinguished guest, William Cobbett, and may he live to complete that economical reform which he has so long and so nobly advocated.*"

Mr. COBBETT returned thanks, and proposed prosperity to the industrious town of Manchester.

TRENCHING.

I, SOME TIME ago, published an account of the success which Mr. HODGES, one of the members for Kent, had had in practising the mode of *trenching land*, for the performance of which instructions are given in my work on *tree-planting*, called *THE WOODLANDS*, and also in my *ENGLISH GARDENER*. I now copy, from the STOCKPORT ADVERTISER of the 30th of December last, an article which shows that the practice has been adopted in *Cheshire*.

"Trenching land, three spits or grafts deep, stirring the bottom one, and keeping throughout the upper and middle grafts in their proper places, is a most important operation in gardening as well as in the husbandry of arable land, and may justly be said to give an additional value in perpetuity to the land itself. Mr. Cobbett has the merit of bringing this particular system into public notice in his *English Gardener*, and any person desirous of witnessing the mode in which it is carried on by several gangs of men at the same time, may do so for the next three weeks by applying to Joshua Grimshaw, at the Crescent Inn, Pepton."

I understand, that this work was doing for Lord VERNON, who appointed his servant JOSHUA GRIMSHAW, to be at the above-mentioned inn, to conduct people to the spot, and to show them how the work was done. I am much obliged to his lordship, and his neighbours are still more obliged to him; and that they will find, if they profit from the lesson; for, they will find, that they have doubled, and *more than doubled*, the value of their land. If I had (and I will have) a farm of one hundred acres, I would trench every inch of it at an expense of of from 6*l.* to 8*l.* an acre. I would not have *bad* land; and if I had good, I would not farm it without this trenching, which I would do even in the case of a lease of fourteen years. But, in the case of a TREE or HOP plantation, or of a garden of any sort, the trenching really makes a difference of five to one. Either of the above books will give all the instructions for this work, in the most minute detail; and I beg my readers, who have land, to try it. On a small scale first; and then on a larger scale, when they find it to answer.

MANCHESTER LECTURES.

LECTURE V.

30th December, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM this evening to address you on the remaining propositions, all but the last. That is to say, in all the propositions from 9 to 13 inclusive, which I will first read to you, lest there should be some gentlemen now present who were not here the first evening.

9. To abolish *all internal taxes* (except on the land), whether direct or indirect, including stamp-taxes of every description; and to impose such a postage-charge for letters as to defray the *real expenses* of an economical and yet efficient post-office establishment, and no more; so that the postage would be merely a *payment* for the conveyance of letters, and not a tax.
10. To lay just as much custom-house duty on importations as shall be

found conducive to the benefit of the navigation, commerce, and manufactures of the kingdom, viewed as a whole, and not to lay on one penny more.

11. To make effectual provision, in every department, for the maintenance of a powerful navy; to give such pay and such an allotment of prize-money to the seaman as to render impressment wholly unnecessary; to abolish the odious innovation of *naval academies*, and re-open the door of promotion to skill and valour, whether found in the heirs of nobles, or in the sons of the loom or of the plough; to abolish all military *Orders*, and to place the navy next in honour to the throne itself.
12. To make a legal, a *fixed*, and a generous allowance to the King, and, through him, to all the branches and members of his family; to leave to him the unshackled freedom of appointing all his servants, whether of his household or of his public ministry; to leave to him the full control over his palaces, gardens, and parks, as landowners have over their estates; to take care that he be not worried with intrigues to purloin from him that which the people give him for his own enjoyment; so that he may be, in all respects, what the chief of a free people ought to be, his name held in the highest honour, and his person held sacred, as the great guardian of the people's rights.
13. To make an accurate valuation of all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, in each county in the whole kingdom; to impose a tax upon that property, to be paid quarterly, and in every county, on the same day, and in such manner as to cost in the collection, or, rather, payment, not more than *four hundred pounds* a year in any one county; to make the rate and amount of this tax vary with the wants of the state, always taking care to be amply provided with means in case of war, when war

shall be demanded by the safety, the interest, or the honour of the kingdom.

The first of these propositions recommends a repeal of all the internal taxes, except the land tax; that is to say, all the taxes, with this single exception, other than the taxes imposed at the custom-house. There must be a charge for the carriage of letters; because that is not a tax, but merely a payment for service rendered; and this payment ought to be enforced by law, as it is in America; else there could be no responsible officers to conduct the business. At this time, this is a very heavy tax, and a most unjust and partial tax; because the aristocracy bear hardly any part of it; because even the soldiers are excused from this tax, while the rest of the people pay for it five times as much for the carriage of their letters, as is necessary to cause that carriage to take place. It is one of the ways indeed in which the people are stripped of their earnings.

My reasons for recommending a permanent tax on the land I shall fully state by-and-by. I now proceed to the other internal taxes, except the malt and hops; namely, the taxes of excise, of stamps, the assessed taxes; the taxes laid on under the name of licenses; and, in short, every tax of every description (the county and parochial rates not being included of course), except the tax on land and the custom-house duties and charges, of which I shall speak hereafter. What a blessing it would be to be relieved not only from the burden, but from the everlasting torment of these taxes, we all know but too well. In estimating the weight of the burden, we must by no means, however, overlook two very great things; first, the collecting and managing of these taxes, which, all taken together, amount to little short of eight or nine millions a year, if we include the retired allowances to the discharged officers and clerks; also the surcharges, the fines, the loss of time in dancing attendance upon the tax-gatherers, the losses arising from the seizure and forcible sale of goods; from the costs of lawsuits in the exchequer, and various other sources of injury, and of

ruin arising from these internal taxes ; which cost, taking them altogether, forms about a seventh part of the whole of that enormous burden under which the nation is now sinking, and, in order to be relieved from which, it is calling so loudly for a reform of the Parliament.

The other item, which we must not forget, consists of the *monopolies*, which are created entirely by the taxes. I have mentioned fully, in the former lecture, the injury which the people experience from the monopoly arising out of the malt tax. The monopoly arising out of the hop tax is a still more cruel monopoly, and more repugnant to every sense of justice, because it not only throws the growing of hops into comparatively few hands, and thereby greatly enhances the price to the consumer. but it intercepts that which nature would give us for nothing. In innumerable cases all over England, hops grow up naturally in the hedges, poles stuck into the hedges for the hops to run up would give you a crop, without any other labour than that of gathering the hops and drying them ; but you dare not gather them and dry them, even for your own use, without making an entry beforehand at the Excise Office, and without going to give notice when you are going to gather them ; then waiting till an exciseman comes to see the place where you dry them ; and then not to put them by for use until he has weighed them and assessed you to the duty upon them. In short, in this law, the Government forbids you to take that which God gives you for nothing. Were it not for this law, every poor man would have a few plants of hops in his garden enough for his use ; but this law comes and says he shall not have them, because it is not worth while to go to the Excise Office and enter the ground, and to put yourself under the claws of an exciseman for a matter so small in amount, besides the danger of exposing yourself to penalties and improbable imprisonment, and without limit of time too, for the neglect of some precaution, the non-observance of some petty regulation, adopted by these tormenters of the people.

Let me stop here to observe on the punishments inflicted for breaches of the taxing laws. If you thus incur a debt, as they call it, to the Government ; in the first place, no property that you possess is protected against the claim. The process against you is the most swift and most severe. It spares you in no respect whatsoever. If wholly unable to satisfy the debt, imprisonment is your doom ; and, unless some friend, some extraneous resource, be discovered for you, 'tis imprisonment for life. The bankrupt or the insolvent, however profligate the contracting of his debts may have been, finds term to his imprisonment. Two or three years the law deems a sufficient as punishment for the most unprincipled of debtors : but the Government knows no bounds of vengeance. The law applicable to insolvents is not applicable here ; to be a debtor to the Government, especially in these cases of revenue, is like being a debtor to death ; the crown, which is called the fountain of mercy as well as of honour, knows, when it becomes a creditor of an unfortunate man, nothing at all of forgiveness ; and is the only creditor to whose inexorable exactions the law sets no bounds.

Were there only this one thing belonging to the system of internal taxation, it ought to be abolished ; it ought to be torn up by the roots and destroyed. If a man become a bankrupt, and be in debt for taxes or duties, the Government comes and takes all, if its demand amount to the whole, and leaves the other creditors without a farthing. But, besides this, there is always the monopoly attendant upon the tax. I have mentioned the case of malt, that of candles, soap, and every other taxed thing, is subject, from the same cause, to monopoly in a greater or less degree. The tax upon soap, including the monopoly, amounts to more than one-half of the price of the article. It is the restraint under which the soap-maker is placed, the annoyance and risk to which he is exposed ; these are the causes of the monopoly, and they fully justify his charges on account of them ; so that the nation actually pays from seven to eight millions a year in order to support a race of men called

tax-gatherers, whose business it is to torment the persons who make and deal in the articles, and to augment unnecessarily the price of those articles far beyond that occasioned by the tax. Most of the persons who are in possession of these monopolies are but too prone to wish for their continuance. They gain by the tax, because they make a great charge in consequence of their exclusive right to make the things. They are harassed and tormented by tax-gatherers; but, at last, they contract a fellow-feeling with the government, they consult their own interest, though they know that it is in open hostility to that of their country.

Another evil, arising out of this taxation, in detail is, the hypocrisy, the lying, the false swearing, and the fraudulent acts to which it is constantly giving rise. Then comes the state of dependence of all those who are engaged in the monopoly, and who feel themselves to be, at all times, in some degree, at the mercy of the Government and its magistrates. How many hundreds of men were ruined during the early part of the French war, for being even suspected of what was called "jacobinism!" As to those who had the monopoly of the retail of drink, they were the real personal slaves of the Government. They were frequently mustered by the magistrates, and compelled to give an account of conversations carried on in their houses. They were forced to obey, or the monopoly was gone. Maltsters, soap-boilers, and various others, subject to the laws of excise, were by no means in a better situation. All of them were subject to domiciliary visits, as indeed all of them are now; and therefore they were agents in fact of the Government, to be spies upon the conduct of their neighbours; and many of them were *actual* spies, and carried on their work in a manner the most effectual.

Another evil is the prodigious mass of idlers thus created, and these drawn too from sources most villanous. There is scarcely such a thing as an exciseman or tax-gatherer of any sort, down to the very doorkeeper and porters of the taxing offices, who does not owe his

promotion to some work at an election, or to some patronage or other arising out of services of himself or parents, of a nature hostile to the well-being of the community. The various causes from which this innumerable horde of tormentors are selected, it would require a large volume to state. Their numbers are prodigious; and for every one in possession, there are always two or three in expectancy; and these, in the meanwhile, are at best unprofitable consumers of food and wearers of clothes. Then, as there is no law, either statute or in nature, to forbid them from producing their like, they proceed, in spite of the principles of Malthus, to add to the population of the country. None of them, and none of their children, ever work; ever produce anything useful to the community, to which they are a dead and intolerable burden, besides setting a constant example of laziness and of living by trick.

Now, gentlemen, would it not be a benefit to the country to sweep away this race of vermin? I do not mean to sweep them off the face of the island, or to hurl them down into wells, or down chalk-pits; but to make them cease to be what they are; to make them submit to the general sentence pronounced by holy writ; namely, to make them live by the sweat of their brow; to condemn them; in the words of the Apostle, "those that will not work shall not eat;" a sentence much more lenient than that which is, in fact, pronounced on those who now labour to support them; namely, that though they *do* work, they shall be *half starved*. Those only who have looked well into the matter can form an adequate idea of the evils which arise to a country from its containing great hordes of persons who are not employed to any useful purpose. It is very wisely observed by Lord Bacon, who indeed never said a foolish thing, that one of the great causes of the overthrow of states, was the suffering of great numbers of idlers to exist in a country. He instances soldiers, and particularly clergymen who are married. These, he says, are the cause of great numbers being born who never can be expected to

work; though, in his time, parsons were not so pampered as to entertain the hope that their children must all be gentlemen and ladies. This, however, might be borne were there nothing but the clergy; and did they all reside upon their livings, and have the livings belonging to them and not to others, their savings might provide a sufficiency for placing their children beyond the necessity of resorting to manual labour for their maintenance; and as they would naturally be reared up in virtuous principles and good manners, there could not much evil arise from this source, from which persons of superior degree would arise; but when to these are added the children of ten or fifteen thousand military and naval officers, and three times as many thousands of tax-gatherers of various sorts; when this is the case, the evil becomes too great to be borne; and, if not put a stop to in time, it must in the end produce the subversion of the state.

Therefore, one of the very first duties of a member of a reformed Parliament, is to use his utmost endeavours to cause a total abolition of these internal taxes, as being the grand hot-bed for the breeding of idlers, and for perpetuating the breed. With regard to the tenth proposition, namely, that which relates to the duties received at the Custom-house, there appears never to have been a time when such duties did not form a part of the revenues in England. It would be too tedious at this time, and in this place, to enter into a detail of the particular articles proper to be taxed at the Custom-house; but it is easy to lay down the principle on which the legislature ought to proceed in the laying of those duties; and that principle is this, that the duties should not be imposed so much for the sake of the money proceeding from them as for the sake of the permanent good; that is to say, the permanent power and happiness of the nation. For the mere pecuniary gain is a small matter indeed, compared with the greatness and happiness of a country. If by a commercial treaty a nation, England for instance, could obtain an immensity of profit; if she could make three or four Manchesters spring up in a

year; and if that treaty included a condition (supposing the treaty to be with France), that the French should occupy the coasts of Kent and Sussex, and build what fortresses they pleased there, will any man say that such a treaty ought to be entered into? This is an extreme case to be sure; but it serves to show that a nation may derive great gain from commerce, and ensure its own ruin by the same means, and at the same time. Every wise legislature will do all it can to add to the wealth of the country over which it presides; but it will take care, at the same time, not to purchase this wealth at the expense of the safety and power of the country. This ought to be the principle to guide those who lay on custom-house duties; and in this respect our forefathers evinced the greatest of wisdom, by constantly foregoing all prospects of pecuniary advantage, which were inconsistent with that great object, the fostering of our own navigation, and the securing of our dominion on the seas.

There is, at this time, a point which is by no means settled, with regard to our commercial intercourse with the United States of America: namely, whether a belligerent nation have the right to prevent the ships of a neutral nation covering the goods of the other belligerent. For instance, England and France being at war, and the Americans being at peace with both, whether an American ship shall have a right to carry French goods to Spain without being liable to have the goods taken out of her by an English ship as being the goods belonging to the enemy, or whether, if the ship be bound to America itself with the French goods and the goods be the property of a Frenchman, or Frenchmen, we shall have a right to take out the goods; or whether, if a Frenchman have goods in the United States, and they be in an American ship going to France, or any of the territories of France, we shall have a right to take out these goods. Now, we contend for the affirmative of this right; we contend, that, in all these cases, we have a right to take out the goods; while the Americans contend that, in the two latter cases at any rate,

we have no such right, and that the neutral character of the ship ought to be 'communicated to the goods.' Then, there is another ground of difference, relating to articles *contraband of war*. All nations allow the right of a belligerent to seize articles *contraband of war* found in a ship bound to the port of an enemy; but, then, ponderous volumes have been written to settle the point of *what are* articles contraband of war. The Americans make the list very short, and we make it very long; they confine it to arms, ammunition, warlike accoutrements and implements; we stretch it to hemp, sail-cloth, pitch, tar, and to everything that can be imagined, that goes to the making of a ship, or that can possibly be of any use in enabling an army to take the field; for instance we include leather, as being intended to be used for making harness for horses to draw cannon with. But we do not stop here, very far from it; we include in our list every species of provisions, or, as the French call them, "*munitions de bouche*," in which indeed we are kept in countenance by this very French expression, which is a regular phrase, meaning eatables for an army or a navy.

Now, I am for the enforcing of all these rights claimed by us. I can offer as good arguments for them and as good authorities as JONATHAN can offer against them; besides which (and this is the great argument in discussing questions of national law) they are all *necessary to us*; we have the power of asserting them; and the giving of them up would be the sure and certain cause of the loss of our power. SELDEN proved, and clearly proved, in his time, that GROTIUS was wrong in contending that the seas were the *highway of nations*: he proved that England had, in all times, possessed, asserted, and uninterruptedly enjoyed, the sovereignty of the seas; and this being the case, and the sovereignty being still necessary to us, I am for maintaining it against cousin JONATHAN; for cousin here, or cousin there, we are not to become feeble in order to gratify him. To talk of everlasting peace is nonsense: it is the dream of benevolent madmen. JONATHAN manifestly dreams

of no such thing; for he wisely goes on making provision for war; and, indeed, *actually preparing for war*.* I am for preparing too; and this brings me to the next proposition; namely, that for making effectual provision for the maintenance of a powerful navy.

The power of a navy does not, any more than that of an army, rest on its *numerical* force only, but also in the character of the materials of which it is composed, and particularly in that of the *men*, including those who command as well as those who have to obey. Every Englishman must blush at the recollection of what took place during the last war with the United States. The noise about *Waterloo* came very aptly to divert our attention, and false boast as that was, the nation seemed glad to squander its wealth on the reputed hero, as it were, to prove the reality of the glory, while its eyes were shut to the deep disgrace of the American war. What we then experienced, we must again experience threefold, unless there be a complete renovation of the naval service. We have now a new and most formidable rival on the

* I cannot send this to the press without observing, that there is not one drop of blood in my heart that has not in it friendship towards the Americans. I admire their valour and the manner in which they defended their country against our Government in its unjust acts of aggression. I feel towards those, and the memory of those, who caused the brave Americans to be killed on Dart Moor, all the hatred that can exist in the human breast. On my own individual account, I owe the people of that country a debt of gratitude that I can never repay; and, as an Englishman, I owe them still greater gratitude for having prevented the boroughmonger Parliament from subduing them, and thereby having prevented it from everlastingly subduing us; which double subjugation was clearly their intention at the time when Sir JOSEPH YORKE, then a Lord of the Admiralty, said, in his place in Parliament, that England must not lay down her arms till JAMES MADISON was deposed. Had it not been for the valour of the Americans in the last war, England would, in my firm conviction, have presented to the world a den of miserable slaves for ages yet to come. Therefore I love the Americans, and rejoice in their prosperity and happiness; but it was my lot to be born in England, and it is my duty to endeavour to uphold her true greatness in preference to the greatness of all the other nations in the world.

seas ; and it is in vain that we hope to avoid a contest with him, for which contest he is preparing, and, what is more, he tells us that he is. We must therefore be prepared, not only with ships and guns and ammunition, but with *men* and *officers*, and those too of a stamp very different from that of those with whom we had to carry on the late war, when it is notorious that, in nine cases out of ten, or more, we were beaten by an inferior force, in point of number of guns and men. The apologist for us who wrote the history of that war, has the miserable excuse that our seamen were worn out, and were *tired of fighting and of glory*. These are nearly the very words made use of by Mr. James, in his history of that war. He says that the Americans came *fresh* to the combat, and were full of hope of obtaining laurels. How precisely opposite this is to all the opinions and reasoning of mankind upon the same subject every one must know ; therefore we are compelled to look for some other cause of that astonishing occurrence ; namely, England beaten in a war single-handed by the American States.

The real cause was to be found in the great difference in the characters and qualities of our officers and men, and of their officers and men. I remember my Lord Cochrane telling me, that he believed that the crew of a small American ship, which he took with his frigate, in virtue of some order in council, would, though perhaps he had twice or thrice the number, have *weighed more*, if put into a scale, than his whole ship's crew ; or than double their number of his ship's crew. This was a forcible way of expressing the vast superiority in the size and strength of the American seamen. The truth is this ; I believe that the pay of the American seaman is as much for a week as the pay of an English seaman for a month. I will not speak positively here, not having the books at hand ; but, at any rate, I know that it is a great deal more. Then, as to provisions and clothing, every possible care is taken in the American navy to provide for the good feeding and for the health of the men : and

equal care is taken to prevent their being plundered by pursers, and by blaspheming Jews ; both of whom plunder our poor dissolute creatures, who have never any ground of hope of being able to accumulate so much as twenty shillings, and whose pay is given to them at such times, and in such a manner, as to render it next to impossible for them to feel any encouragement to be economical and provident. Then, again, in the division of the prize-money, the proportion received by the American seaman is about ten times as great as that received by the English seaman, compared with that of the officers. I remember reading an account of the Deccan army prize-money, when the portion of the General commanding was FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS, or upwards, and the portion of the private soldier *sixteen shillings*. The payment too of this prize-money is so difficult to be obtained by the seaman, that great numbers of them die in vain pursuit of the payment ; and those who have read the *Register*, will recollect that the poor sailor Cashman, who was hanged as a traitor, for having joined a contemptible and noisy riot in London, expired in declaring, that, sent from agent to agent in search of his prize-money, he had been reduced to a state nearly approaching to starvation, and had finally got into the riot, not knowing what he did. The American seamen have the most complete security as to this matter. Their prize-money is as surely theirs as the rent of a farm is the landlord's. That, as well as their pay, takes place regularly and without delay, without any cost or any difficulty. They can make over the power of receiving both, or any portion of both, to their parents, their wives, their children, or their friends.

Thus, to be an American seaman, is even a profitable calling ; and then, with regard to *promotion*, that great stimulus to good conduct and valour, the course is always clear.

Hence it is that the Americans stand in no need of the cruel and disgraceful practice of impressment. They stand in no need of this ; in no need of board-

ing merchant-ships, tearing away the hands, and thus inflicting great injury on the owner and the merchant; no need of this monstrous act of violating the contracts between all the parties; no need of that, which has always been a disgrace to England, which has always arisen from the same cause; namely, the want of sufficient pay, the want of good and sufficient food and clothing; the want of just and punctual payment of wages and of prize-money; and, above all things, the want of a fair chance in the way of promotion, the want of just rewards of conduct and of valour, of which I shall speak more fully by-and-by.

The seamen of the American navy are not profligate and abandoned persons, sent to sea to be gotten rid of; they are not men running away from the pursuit of justice; they are not creatures picked up where they can be picked up, and frequently condemned to serve on board ship as a punishment for crimes. They are young men well bred up, and of fair prospects in the world; the greater part of them sons of farmers, farming their own land; some the sons of tradesmen of respectable state in life; and very rarely of a dissolute character.

It is not, in the American navy, a difficulty to obtain men; for there are always enough to offer; and the service has to choose among the best, and not to take the refuse of merchant ships. Hence the men are strong and well-behaved; each has a character to sustain as much as if he were still on shore on the spot where he was born. To secure obedience amongst men of this description great severity is not required; and hence it is that English seamen have been found so prone to desert to American ships.

Now, unless we can bring our navy to resemble that of America in this respect, we can never, man for man, and gun for gun, meet that navy, without risk of incurring disgrace. But if we were to make the thing right in all other respects, we should still fail, unless we made a complete change with regard to the principle of *promotion*. We have never been wise in this respect; we have always given a preference to the

aristocracy and its dependents; we have always suffered that villanous thing called *interest* to prevail against merit, be the merit never so great. Instead of the word *interest* we should make use of that of *corruption*. But if we have always been unwise in this respect, what are we now? Till of late years, there were occasionally admirals who had been common sailors, we saw lieutenants and masters and commanders who had been before the mast. But now how is it? Why now there is a naval academy, established on the same principle as the military academy, the expenses, the purposes, and the effects of which, I described to you the other night. Out of this naval academy all future officers of the navy are to come; and who they are that go into that naval academy I need not say, for the famous *interest* is at work here also, and here it must be at work as long as this system shall remain. I remember my Lord Cochrane telling the House of Commons to its face, that a common sailor, however meritorious, however skilful, however brave, never could again be an officer in the navy; and that this was not only unjust, a regulation of great injustice towards the middle and lower class of the people; but that it was also the most unwise that ever was thought of in the world; for that great numbers of the best and most efficient officers had come from before the mast.* This is noto-

* I cannot put upon paper this passage of my speech without observing that I have just read, in the London papers, an account of some *grant* made by that part of our rulers who are called Surveyors of Crown Lands to this really gallant officer, who is now become an EARL. I do hope, from the great respect and great regard which I have always borne and still bear towards him, that his lordship will not by this act, or by any other act of his life, seem to express an acquiescence in the justice of that sentence of infamy that was passed upon him in 1814. For my own part, I have always believed, and still believe most sincerely, that he was wholly innocent of the charge. If he had done the thing which was imputed to him, it would have been no crime, but merely a folly, in sinking himself, for the moment, down to a level with a loanmonger or a stock-jobber. I was perfectly well acquainted with the whole of the transactions at the time; the conviction in my mind was, and still is,

riously the case; this description of men were always held in honour; but never can we, till the system be changed, see one of them again. There are probably two or three thousand midshipmen who served before the close of the late war. Not a man of these, except in virtue of interest, will ever be called into the service again. There are thousands of lieutenants, I believe, in the same situation; all the new officers, as in the case of the army, are taken out of the academy. And, as to the promotion; as to the fairness and impartiality of it, a return, laid before the Parliament a few years ago, showed that there were persons belonging to the aristocratical families, who were become post-captains over the heads of thousands upon thousands of seniors in the service; and that some of these post-captains, amongst whom were the son of CANNING, the son of Lord MELVILLE, the son of Sir JOSEPH YORKE, a son of Lord SPENCER, and others, who were actually in the command of ships, having under them sailing-masters, and lieutenants, *who were serving at sea before these captains were born!* And, is it with stuff like this that we are to fight JONATHAN! That disgraceful war with America was commenced by one of these sprigs of nobility, whose name was DACRE, and who was a relative of the lord of that name. Being a captain of a frigate, and

that he was entirely innocent of the charge. However, if he was innocent, how is he ever to forgive, *until atonement be made to him*; how is he ever to forgive the sentence of infamy passed upon him and his subsequent degradation from the Order of the Bath? If it be lawful for the Surveyors of Crown Lands to make presents of the nation's property, there are very few persons on whom I should like to see a bit of public land bestowed better than this nobleman, if he were in a situation to make me think it consistent with his honour to receive the gift. But, seeing his present situation with regard to this Government, King and all, I must say, that I shall be very much pleased to find that the newspapers have given a wrong information upon the subject. He is one of the men to whom the nation ought to look for great services in the times that are coming; and, again I express my hope that he will neither say nor do anything which shall seem to express an acquiescence in the justice of the treatment which he received in 1814.

being in the West Indies, he was dispatched to the coast of the United States. Recollecting the story of VAN TROMP, he hoisted a broom at his mast-head, thereby notifying his resolution to *sweep the seas* of the ships of the enemy. JONATHAN went out with a frigate, beat him in ten minutes, and took him into port as a prisoner of war, the broom still sticking at the mast-head. A captain, who had come from before the mast, might have been unable to beat the Yankee; but such a captain would have gone to the bottom; or, at least, laid his own body dead upon the deck. He would not have been led in at any rate in this lady-like manner; and, if the nation had lost its ship, it would not have lost its honour.

Now, unless all this can be changed, a reform of the Parliament is totally useless: it can do no good; it will only excite false hopes and groundless expectations. If the people, and especially in these towns in the north, have not a new mind and a new soul upon this occasion; if they do not cast aside all the motives by which electors have been hitherto actuated; if they, not from corrupt motives, but from half-selfish, half-childish considerations, return men to Parliament who are accessible to the blandishments of those whose interest it is that the system should still be supported in its present form and effects, all that the reform will do, is to proclaim to the world that Englishmen richly deserve their degradation and their misery.

If there be that new soul, there will be a total change of the system; and amongst other changes will come that which is expressed in the twelfth proposition; namely, to place the King in a situation becoming his exalted rank, his most important functions, and the greatness of the country of which he is the chief. I propose that the money granted for the use of his Majesty, and for the use of all the members of his family through him, should be at his own absolute disposal; and that he should have the real, and not the nominal, appointment of all his officers and servants of every description. It is

greatly disadvantageous to the King that the nation do not know what part of its resources it is that really goes to his use. More than a million of money is voted yearly for what is called the Civil List; and then the people, looking upon the King as the sole cause of this enormous expenditure, and comparing it with the salary of the President of the United States, conclude that kingly government is essentially dear, and that republican government is essentially cheap; and, no longer ago than yesterday, I read in the *Morning Chronicle*, in a set of remarks on the complaints relative to the weight of the French debt, that the interest of the debt ought to be duly paid; and that if the French could not pay it with a costly kingly government, they ought to *try a republic*, which I thought a rather *ugly hint*! However, ugly as it is, it is a hint which, in conversation, is very often given in England; and it is impossible to disguise the fact, that an opinion of the injurious costliness of kingly government has long been gaining ground in this country: to cherish such an opinion, the mode of stating the accounts of the expenditure is extremely well calculated. The people, therefore, should know the truth; they should know what the King really has for his use; they should know that a very small portion of the money is expended on his account, or from any wish of his; that it is voted for him, but, in fact, taken away and applied to the use of others in the far greater part. If the allowance was fixed, and clearly specified, the people would know what the King really had. It has been the policy of the boroughmongers to keep the King at a distance from the people; to forbid or prevent all approach to him. This has gone on by degrees till at last our right to petition the King is completely taken away. This is attended, as it naturally must be, by great and innumerable evils; and it is certain to produce this evil, namely, that the people will inevitably deem the office and functions of King as being of little use to them.

A remarkable instance of the effect of

preventing petitions from being presented to the King was exhibited in Hampshire in the fall of last year. A considerable number of small farmers and labourers met together in the north of Hampshire, in the centre of a little bunch of parishes, about eight miles from Winchester; they drew up a petition to the King, stating all the grievances that afflicted them, and praying the King to give his assent to a reform of the Parliament, the want of which they deemed the great cause of all those grievances. The petition was signed by about two hundred persons, and JOSEPH MASON, a labourer in the parish of Bullington, undertook to carry the petition to the King, who was then at Brighton, the distance between which and Bullington is about sixty miles. MASON faithfully carried the petition, was kept outside the door while the petition was carried in, and was soon informed by Sir HERBERT TAYLOR that the King would not receive the petition unless it came through a Secretary of State in London. Mason tramped back again with his petition, and of course rendered an account of his mission. Soon after this the rioting began in Hampshire, and this bunch of parishes was more conspicuous than any other part of the county for those acts which finally led to the Special Commission, of which Wilde and Denman were two of the members, at the same time that they were the chief advocates against the accused. At the close of that commission, that county, containing two hundred and ninety-eight parishes, presented the following dreadful list:—

135 transported, mostly for life.

2 hanged, one for being engaged in the riots, and the other for hitting Bingham Baring, without doing him bodily harm.

73 wives deprived of their husbands.

243 children bereft of their fathers.

210 parents to bewail the loss of their sons.

—
663

Making more than two sufferers to every parish in the county. I do not pretend, gentlemen, to believe that the

rejection of the petition at Brighton was at all the cause of these lamentable occurrences ; but I do believe, and most firmly believe, that if the petition had been graciously received, and if only a civil word had been uttered to **JOSEPH MASON**, there would have been no violences in that part of Hampshire. It is surprising with what rapidity intelligence flies from one end to the other of a thinly-settled county. The rejection of this petition was heard of, in every part of Hampshire, in the course of three days ; and, of course, a gracious reception of it would have been heard of in the same space of time ; and it is possible, at any rate, that instead of a county the people of which must be brooding over feelings which must suggest themselves to every intelligent mind, this might have been a county wholly unconscious of any such feelings.

This is an instance, and only one out of ten thousand, of cutting off all direct communication between the King and his people : the measures that I recommend will restore that communication. Soon after I returned from America, in the year 1800, being at Ascot-heath races, what was my astonishment to see the then King having in the race-box two notorious police-officers, one on his right-hand and one on his left, and standing nearer his person than anybody else ! It is useless to comment on such a fact : it speaks for itself ; and no one who has any wish to see the kingly government maintained, can fail to desire to see an end to a system that could possibly render such precautions necessary. I may deceive myself ; I may be a bad judge of the matter ; but, according to my judgment, the way to cause the King to be held in honour by all his subjects, and to receive from them a willing obedience, is to place him in the situation described in the proposition, the measures pointed out in which I have been endeavouring to defend.

But, gentlemen, in order to have the means of defraying the expense of a navy, such as I have described, and to have at the same time a sufficiency to meet the expenses occasioned by the King, the officers of state, the judges

ministers at foreign courts, and some other establishments necessary to the good government of the country, there must be a revenue. The pensions, and other things of that sort, the standing army, and all its monstrous expenses ; the taxing establishments : all these my propositions sweep away. But they leave a powerful navy to be provided for, and also the expenses belonging to the King and his court. They give him the absolute control over his parks, gardens, and palaces ; and in speaking of these latter, one would wonder what he could do with them all ; and I dare say people in general are afraid that they must be rotting and mouldering into decay ; for though an abundance of money is granted for the keeping them up, and keeping them in good order, still, as he never lives at Hampton-court or Kensington, for instance, the walls must become damp, and the place not fit to live in. If you were to go to those palaces you would be most agreeably disappointed ; for they are always full of most excellent company ; and you would see brass-plates on the doors of the suits of apartments, informing you that this lord, that lady, this honourable miss, and that honourable gentleman, were the inhabitants of the place ; and at Kensington-palace you would see, amongst others, the name of that Mr. **CROKER**, who now so boldly arraigns the Ministers for their intention to make a reform of the Parliament ! I dare say, that if it were proposed to put these people out of the palaces, they would insist upon it that they had a " vested " right of possession ; and if the King himself were to think proper to go in to look at the apartments, it would excite surprise in nobody that knows them, if they were to regard him as a trespasser, and ask him what the devil he was doing there. Where there is a *vesting* there can be a *divesting* ; and I should have little hope of a reformed Parliament, that should sit a month without sending these gentry to hire lodgings for themselves, and restoring the King to the possession of his own palaces.*

* There is a personage, particularly dear to the inhabitants of Manchester, whose name is **HENRY ADDINGTON**, and whose title is Lord

To return to the expenses of the country, we must first observe, though it seems to be always overlooked, that the country governs itself, and pays for its own government, wholly independently of the government up at London. This part of the institutions of the country still exists in form at any rate. Each county has a complete government in itself; it has a lord-lieutenant, a sheriff, justices of the peace, and all inferior officers; it has a militia, when the *posse* of the sheriff is found insufficient for the purpose of keeping the peace. It provides for all these by a tax called the county-rate. It has no need of any interference of the Government up in London, except that it wants the King to appoint its sheriff and its justices and its lord-lieutenant; to give his commissions to the officers of its militia, and to send his judges twice a year, to cause justice to be executed, and to decide, in conjunction with the juries, on matters relative to the differences between man and man. The counties pay, and pay well, for the governing of themselves, just as the several States of America do; and this one county of Lancaster pays more for this purpose than any four or five of the American States. When the tax-eaters tell us, therefore, and when good foolish people adopt the tale, that *Government must be supported*, the proper answer is, that the Government is supported in the counties, and in the several cities and towns; but what they mean by Government are, the fundholders, the dead-weight, the pensioners, and sinecure-people, the haunters of the club-houses, and all the swarms of idlers that devour the substance of the nation. The county-rate, that is to say, the money that is raised to support the Government in the county, to keep peace and order, and to cause property to be

protected and justice to be done, is raised in the county; but then it is expended in the county, as it ought to be, and not carried away out of it, to be expended in London, in Paris, or in Rome.

What, then, is required to support the kingly government? It would be quite ample to leave at the sole disposal of the King, about one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year; quite sufficient to allow three hundred thousand pounds more for officers of state, judges, ambassadors, and contingent expenses appertaining to this general government; for as to colonies, it is mere hypocrisy, if not perfidy, to pretend that it can be beneficial to hold a colony that calls upon the nation for one single farthing of expense, beyond that which is incurred by keeping up a navy to protect those colonies against the hostility of foreign states. The whole of the navy, during the last peace, cost little more than a million of pounds sterling a year. Let it now cost three millions and a half, and then it would bring the whole expenditure of the kingdom, exclusive of the government of the counties, down to four millions a year, or to five at the very utmost. I defy any man to point out the necessity of any expenditure beyond this. The whole of the government expenses of the United States; the general government, with its army, navy, ambassadors, custom-house officers, and all put together; and adding thereto the government expenses of the twenty States, of which the UNION now consists: all these put together do not amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year. Why should we want more; and if we do not want more, why should we raise more?

However, I am for making a large provision for the navy, because I would have the sailors well paid, and have them able and faithful. We have now three generals to every regiment of foot and every regiment of horse, and two admirals to every ship of the line. I should be afraid to state this fact, if it did not stand recorded in books published by the Government, or persons acting with the approbation of the Government. The fact is so monstrous, that it seems to call in question, not

Viscount SIDMOUTH; amidst lofty and beautiful trees, and surrounded by herds of fat fallow-deer, lives this noble viscount, in a palace, in the middle of Richmond-park, surrounded with a high wall, ten miles in length. How he came there, not being yet a member of a reformed Parliament, I have no means of discovering. But having a great desire to know how it was, I shall certainly, if I become such member, not fail to ascertain to the greatest nicety.

only the spirit, but also the sanity that permits an abuse so outrageous. If, because we have so long been paying sixty millions a year to the divers sorts of tax-gatherers, you think you cannot be safe in your houses if we pay only four or five millions a year, then indeed you must continue to pay the sixty; but observe, at the same time, that a parliamentary reform is a thing neither wanted nor to be rationally desired. It is for the express purpose of lightening the burdens of the people: it is for the express purpose of making cheap government, and, if it do not answer this purpose, it will be a great deal better for it never to take place.

Now, gentlemen, for the means of raising, in a cheap, easy, and sure manner, these four or five millions a year; for, if the sum be not reduced to that, in time of peace; if a reformed Parliament will not cause it to be reduced to that, it shall be but for a very short time that I will have anything to do with that parliament. These means are, in the first place, custom-house duties; these now amount to about seventeen millions of pounds sterling a year. They might, with great advantage to commerce and manufactures, be reduced to three or four, and still leave sufficient protection to navigation, and to certain manufactures. But I would have a general, uniform, and cheaply-collected tax on real property. I would have all the houses, lands, mines, and other real property, valued; the amount of tax on each parcel of property should be fixed, and be paid quarterly by the person in occupation; and the payment should take place on the same day in every county, and at different places in the county, in order to make the matter as little inconvenient as possible. The payment should be enforced by a process at once speedy and effectual, and the parties liable to pay should bring the money to the appointed place, and not have it demanded of them at their several places of abode. There would be no need of any expense of collection beyond a mere trifle to the person appointed to receive the money from the county; because the county should take care to have the money brought and

paid at the several places appointed for the payment.

Some people will say, that it is unjust to tax real property, and nothing else; while others have said, I dare say, that to take off the tithes, is only giving their amount to the landlords. These are very narrow views taken of the matter. A tax upon land is a tax upon everything which the land produces. If you lay a pound of tax upon a landlord, he lays it on upon the tenant in rent; and the tenant lays it upon his wheat and his meat and other produce. All of us are consumers, according to our several means of consumption. In this the landlord and the farmer would pay their share of the land-tax, which, like every other tax, spreads its influence in the way of privation over the whole community; but a direct tax on real property is the best, because it is so certain in amount and so cheap in the collection. A pound of tax laid upon the landlord of a house is charged by him to his tenant; the tenant, if he be in any business, divides it among his customers; and if he be not in any business, he deducts it in some shape or other from his servants, or from those with whom he is accustomed to deal.

A tax of this sort, like the air, reaches everything; but it is at the same time free from all the vexation, all that annoyance, all that endless torment, and those acts of merciless tyranny, which always did, and always must, grow out of a tax on consumable commodities. It is just the same with regard to tithes. The tithes would not be given to the landlord any more than to the rest of the community; nor are they in their nature at all oppressive any more than rent is. The farmer has two landlords in place of one, that is all; and the taking away of the benefices of the clergy is only, in fact, the putting an end to so many small proprietors of land. But, in the first place, the property belongs to the public and the poor; in the next place, it is consumed by those who do nothing for it. The tithe taken away from the parsons, the benefit is diffused amongst the whole of the community; and this is the ground for taking it away, and not because it is a hinderance

to agriculture. A tax upon real property, at 4 per cent. upon the rental, would yield about four millions a year in Great Britain; and extended to Ireland, it might yield four and a half or five. It would be varied of course, according to the wants of the state; and of these wants the representatives of the people would be the judge.

One conspicuous benefit which must inevitably arise from the change is this: that nine-tenths of the time which is now spent by the Parliament in discussing the details of taxation; and in discussing the merits of petitions, containing complaints on the score of the divers taxes, would all be saved. That enormous volume of laws which each session now produces, equal in bulk to all the statutes of any ten kings before the reign of the House of Hanover, would be reduced to the size of one of those pamphlets which the boroughmongers' Parliament allowed us to publish, at a price not less than sixpence; and the reformed House of Commons, driving Bellamy's boozing-ken from beneath its roof, would have time by daylight soberly to consider the measures necessary to provide for the happiness of the people, to preserve the power and uphold the honour of the kingdom.

A GENERAL FAST.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 26TH JANUARY.

MR. PERCEVAL: I perceive that strangers are in the House.

THE SPEAKER: Strangers must withdraw.

The officers then proceeded to clear the gallery.

MR. HUME: I presume I may move the suspension of the standing order.

THE SPEAKER: Strangers must withdraw.

The gallery was then cleared.

MR. PERCEVAL could speak with more boldness in the absence of the public. He could persuade the members who are all of them baptized, and not allow the public to know the blasphemies that might be spoken in answer to his speech—that the blasphemers, if any in this House, might not be able to give publicity to their blasphemies. That was his excuse for clearing the House of strangers. God was present amongst us, and he would witness all that passed. In the name of God the Highest, he appealed to the House; and as it was written in his Word, that he who rejected him that appeared in the name of God despised him that sent him, he that rejected him (Mr. Perceval) rejected his God, in whose name he appeared. He would risk being

tedious, in order to be understood. He was afraid to read the book he held in his hand (the Bible), but he would read it. No man could deny that the state of the nation was truly deplorable. Nothing had altered his opinion since he last addressed the House on this subject. The nation trembled on the verge of destruction—no man could calculate on subordination in any society—in every district there were disorders. There was also the frightful collision of the two Houses of Parliament. The houses of the nobles and gentry were entered and pillaged—one of the cities plundered and robbed by the mob. Two parties were threatening a conflict so manifest that amidst all these things, everybody of considerate mind should consider their ways and mend them. Shall we not bow down before that God whose hand is on us—consider our ways and go down on our knees to supplicate that mercy which is gone from us? He would read the grounds of a nation's prosperity. This nation stands as Jerusalem for-

ligion, and has reared up the finest system of civil polity that ever existed; and if we be as Jerusalem was, we must suffer equally:—

“Woe unto thee, Chorazin, woe unto thee, Bethsaida; for if the mighty works which were done in you were done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sack-cloth and ashes.”

[He then read a long list of texts of Scripture.] So will it be with England, if we faithfully, humbly, and sincerely repent. I trust I shall be able to set before the nation the truth of its weakness—first, the increase of crime shows the absence of religion and piety; secondly, the oppression of the poor was beyond his conception. He was lost in astonishment. The fact was so great that he could not account for it. The first lived in luxury and plenty; the labourer in a state of actual starvation, and a degree of distress that would harrow up your very souls. He could not point out the causes, but the fact was glaring. He appealed to Mr. Sadler to point out the sufferings of the children of the poor. The heathens made their children pass through the fire to their god Moloch—we make our children pass through misery for our gain. The destruction of Bristol is a sample of God's wrath when abroad in the land. Passing that and the pestilence, the state of the poor is enough to induce this House to address the crown to order a fast. It must not be supposed that he was a fool to call on this House, which he did, as a body, only in love and truth. You sit here (said the honourable Member) infidels—you do not consult your Maker. This House meets here, and talks on public affairs, as if there was no God. Let every man answer for himself. You have no more consideration than if you acknowledged no God. You are all infidels. Look at the public press; the march of intellect, the spirit of the day, is sheer idolatry. You forget God, and think of doing everything by capital, by machinery, by laws, &c.; but you are acting

on a wrong principle. All those acts of ungodliness had been practised by other nations. For example, the French left out that "the King ruled by the grace of God;" also that blasphemy in England, "that all power was from the people"—sheer blasphemy, as all power is from God, and the duty of man is to submit and to obey! See what is going on in France and England. It is blasphemy to attribute power to the people. He defied the noble Lord to point out a word in the Bible—that power was from the people; that slavish bowing to public opinion had robbed the noble Lord of all his honesty and manhood. In the councils of the nation there were slaves to that blasphemy—but power was only from God. He was aware he was speaking loud and with warmth, but not with violence; he was sincere, and was urging these truths in his usual way, when he was under an influence. The motion belonged to each Member individually, as every man had been baptized into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and could not disobey the precepts and laws of their God. They might disregard the laws—father and brother, but would they refuse the precepts of God? "I was taken up," said the honourable Member, "on the death of my father, by the nation, which abundantly provided for me and mine; and it is in gratitude for that kindness that I call on the House to address the crown to issue a proclamation for a fast. It has been done before by Parliament, and I do not admit the objection that this place is not a fit and proper place. Are we not chosen to meet and advise what, as Christians, we ought to advise for the good of the nation? Are we to leave all religion the door of the House, and listen to the wiles of Satan? No. I stated it last year, and I will repeat the character of infidelity that pervades the public mind. At that time there was the blasphemous proposition to admit the Jew into this House. If our Saviour was raised, and is now in heaven, at the head of his Church, are we to admit a Jew to our councils? The *Edinburgh Review*, the fifth sign of the infidelity of the times, defended that. Man is a fool in his heart, and sayeth those things. It was enormous that this body of Christians should say, we are not inclined to consider of God's greatness and mercy; if so ungodly as to entertain the question, what a state was the nation in! The bent of the human mind is now to set aside kings and priests, and to set up the people as the Sovereigns; and I would call on the nation to humiliate themselves, and avert such evils. Let the kings and priests be expelled, and all such nummery be averted, unless you will listen to my voice for a fast and humiliation. If you agree, I will request the House of Lords also to supplicate for a fast, and we all shall then be bound up together in one solemn act. He would not withdraw his motion as he did last year; he would not give way, but would divide the House. He would force the House of Commons to declare

whether they would bend their knee to their God. If they would not, the nation should know their refusal. He would have the whole nation, the Lords, and Commons, to join in act of humiliation. The Ministers had not done it—the House of Commons had put it aside. But by that anointed name by which he acted, he would appeal to them, and it must be done. Moving the previous question would not do; the House must reject the motion. If they did, all Europe would see (said the hon. Member) that ye reject your God's authority. You cannot escape this charge. By the name, and by the blood of that Saviour, I implore you to support this motion. But he had been told formerly, that in this blasphemous and unhallowed atmosphere, he ought not to have used that name. But it is in that blessed name—the name of that living God and Saviour who now sees you and is amongst you—that I alone appeal and act. Christian men should love to see him call on the name of him in whose name you were baptized. Cast not off the reverence due to that name; beware of that infidelity that is creeping on you on both sides of the House, and depriving you of your manhood; for the safety of your own souls I call on you to honour that name. I have done my duty to avert the evils that are coming on Christendom, preceded by the pestilence. Beware of the wrath that went forth on the plain against Sodom and Gomorrah—and those are a type of the judgment that is fast coming upon Christendom. My cry is that God's mercy may be on us if we humble ourselves. Let all the people praise and sing for joy, and the desolating force of God shall pass by. The hon. Member concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to the King, to order a day for a general fast and humiliation.

After some pause the motion was seconded by Mr. Weyland, of Hedon.

Lord ALTHORP stated that this discussion on such a topic was highly inexpedient. That he disclaimed being tinctured with infidelity; but he was of opinion that such discussions did not tend to the honour of religion. The motion was neither desirable nor necessary. He gave Mr. Perceval credit for his good intentions. He meant no disrespect to him by not following him in his argument, and should move the previous question; by which he intended that the House should express its opinion, that questions like the present ought not to be taken up. *It was the intention of the Government to appoint a day of fasting.*

Mr. Goulbourn understood the noble Lord to say, that the object would be accomplished without going to the vote. If the noble Lord did not make such a promise, he hoped the motion would be pressed.

Sir THOMAS BARING would vote for the motion, if a Fast Day were not to be appointed.

Lord ALTHORP: *It is the intention of the Government to appoint a fast day.*

Mr. BRISCOE heard the declaration of the noble Lord with pleasure, and it was to him as

additional reason for affording his support to the present Government.

Mr. GORDON (Dundalk) said it was a question highly fitting to occupy the time of the House of Commons; and that the House of Commons in former times was often occupied with such discussions.

Mr. PERCEVAL, in answer to the Member for Preston, observed, that a fast of hypocrisy was in no way acceptable to Him that judgeth the human heart. But which of the two was more likely to observe the fast of mercy? he who set aside, as unnecessary, all signs of public contrition, or he who, consenting to such public acts, acknowledged the impropriety of ungodliness when going through the fast of humiliation? He would not state what he felt, if he did not say that the tardy consent at length given to the appointment of a day for a general fast showed him with what reluctance the Government at length assented. He thought that this was done more for the sake of getting rid of the question than for any better motive. He believed this from the delay. He saw no reason for delay. The danger of delay was imminent. He still suspected that they never meant to do it. He would not withdraw the motion, but would take the sense of the House upon it, though he did not intend to press it to a division.

It will be observed, that since this debate, the 21st of March has been appointed for a fast-day.

Preston, 8th February, 1832.

I HAVE just (one o'clock, noon) addressed the good people of this town, from that window of the Castle Inn from which I so frequently addressed them during the contest of 1826. I lectured last night and the night before to most numerous audiences, at the *Cock Pit*, a most spacious and convenient place, and very obligingly lent us by the gentleman who rents it from the STANLEYS, who seem to have totally abandoned the town, but who have shown their *kindness* towards it by letting their *great mansion* in the town, to be used as a *barrack*! This is just in character: it is as neat a way of showing their disposition as they could possibly have fallen upon. If my reception at other places has been *gratifying*, it has been *delightful* at Preston. Here all the circumstances were interesting; the past, the present, the future. I nowhere more wished for attention and

numerous auditors, and no-where have had my wishes more completely accomplished.—I am about to start for BLACKBURN, there to lecture this evening.

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

MORGAN, W., Liverpool-street, and Farnham-place, Old Gravel-lane, G. R. Roach, Liverpool-street, and Liverpool, and G. Morgan, Liverpool-street, and Tiverton, Devonshire, merchants.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLFORD, E., Bishopsgate-street Without, upholsterer.

BENNS, H., Norwich, cordwainer.

CARELESS, J. and S., Bristol, bakers.

CAZENOVE, H. and J., Broad-st.-buildings, merchants.

CHAMBERLAIN, J., Aldermanbury, warehouseman.

EASLING, J. C., Chandos-street, Covent-garden, licensed victualler.

HATTERSLEY, S., G., and L., Bradford and Keighley, Yorkshire, machine-makers.

HAYTON, J., Wigton, Cumberland, corn-factor.

LAWTON, J., Saddleworth, Yorkshire, money-scrivener.

LAWTON, W., Birkenhead, Cheshire, lime-burner.

PEARCKES, T., Stanford-bridge, Worcester-shire, grocer.

PESTELL, J., Stotfold, Bedfordshire, miller.

STEAD, W., Shrewsbury, mercer.

THOMAS, N., Manchester, upholsterer.

WILSON, H., Sun-street, woollen-draper.

WILSON, H. B., Lawrence Pountney-hill, boarding-house-keeper.

YOUNG, P., Fenchurch-street, Wapping, and Greenwich, sail-maker.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

JACKSON, W., Maidstone, jeweller.

PURSGLOVE, J., Hurstmonceux, Sussex, common-brewer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

LUCK, T. P., High-st., Southwark, laceman.

SIMISTER, J., Oldham, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDERTON, R., Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, carpenter.

COKER, W. T., Lime-st., hide and skin-broker.

DEWEY, F. W., Huggin-lane, Wood-st., glover.

DUNN, F., Drypool, Yorkshire, miller.

FENTON, P. H., Liverpool, milliner.
 FLOWER, W., Cann, Dorsetsh., coal-merchant.
 HIBBARD, G., Bath, maltster.
 HOUGHTON, Z. B., Liverpool, timber-merch.
 HOWELLS, W., Gellyhave, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.
 JONES, W. M., Mold, Flintshire, maltster.
 KING, B., Charlotte-street, Rathboue-place, lithographic printer.
 KNIGHT, W., St. Neot's, Huntingdons., draper.
 MARKS, J., Foley-place, horse-dealer.
 MATTHIE, W. G. & C. A., Liverpool, merchants.
 PARKINSON, E. C., Green-gates, Eccleshill, Yorkshire, apothecary.
 POYNTON, G. B., Oxford-st., woollen-draper.
 SAVILL, E., Esher, Surrey, miller.
 SMITH, R., late of Salisbury, haberdasher.
 STEPHENS, J., Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, bookseller.
 SWYER, W., Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire, com mon-brewer.
 TURNER, E., Crown-row, Walworth, hosier.
 WEBB, T., and W. Pritchard, Pillgwenilly, Monmouthshire, and Z. Williams, Machen, Monmouthshire, coal-merchants.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HUNTER, D. and W., Portobello, Glasgow, merchants.
 THOM, J., Kildrum, Dumbartonshire, farmer.
 THOM, J., South Mivet, Lanarkshire, farmer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEBRUARY 6.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight have been good, as respects the following articles: English, Irish, and Scotch wheat; English and Scotch barley; English malt and beans; English, Irish, and Scotch oats; and Irish and Scotch flour, and foreign linseed. A great supply of English flour. The supply has been but limited of English peas, as also each kind of foreign corn, and, with the above exception, ~~scarcely~~ from all quarters. The whole week's supply of foreign corn consists of 1,190 qrs. of barley, whilst of foreign flour there has been none.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers, but the ample state of the supply, together with the arrival of accounts of a slackness in demand at Liverpool, and most other of our great provincial corn markets, causing abatements to be expected, and the sellers being unwilling to recede from their last week's position, the trade was throughout very dull. Wheat, barley, oats, and beans, generally speaking, were at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; peas, malt, and flour, at last Monday's quotations. The trade with most kind of seeds is dull, at, if any difference, rather drooping prices. Quotations of rye next to nominal.

Wheat 50s. to 66s.
 Rye 34s. to 38s.
 Barley 23s. to 32s.
 — fine, 34s. to 41s.

Peas, White 34s. to 38s.
 — Boilers 36s. to 40s.
 — Grey 34s. to 38s.
 Beans, Old 34s. to 36s.
 — Tick 33s. to 37s.
 Oats, Potatow 23s. to 28s.
 — Poland 22s. to 25s.
 — Feed 17s. to 22s.
 Flour, per sack 55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 46s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new ... 44s. to 46s.
 Pork, India, new .. 125s. 0d. to 128s.
 Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 89s. to 92s.
 — Cork 91s. to —s.
 — Limerick .. 88s. to 90s.
 — Waterford.. 87s. to 88s.
 — Dublin ... 85s. to 87s.
 Cheese, Cheshire.... 52s. to 63s.
 — Gloucester, Double.. 52s. to 62s.
 — Gloucester, Single.. 48s. to 54s.
 — Edam 47s. to 50s.
 — Gouda 46s. to 50s.
 Hams, Irish..... 62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—February 6.

This day's supply was throughout rather limited; but, owing to the carcass markets being largely supplied, and the weather, from its mildness, unfavourable to slaughtering, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull: with beef and mutton at an advance; veal at a depression of about 2d. per stone: with pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,142; sheep, 18,110; calves, 91; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 10.

The arrivals this week are large, but principally of inferior quality. The best samples fetch the same prices as on Monday; all other sorts are 1s. per quarter cheaper.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

CHOLERA MORBUS, TYPHUS FEVER, &c.

BEAUFOY'S CONCENTRATED DISINFECTING SOLUTIONS OF THE CHLORIDE OF SODA AND OF LIME. Prepared of uniform strength, according to the Formula of M. LABARRAGUE, of Paris.

BEAUFOY & Co., of South Lambeth, London, feel it their duty to caution the Public against the danger of using Chlorides of uncertain and variable strengths and qualities.

The safe and ample directions for using Beaufoy's Chlorides are not applicable to any other Preparations, unless precisely similar to those made in their Laboratory.

The Public safety demands a public declaration that these directions have been copied, and are affixed by the Venders to Chlorides quite different in every essential particular from Beaufoy's preparations.

Beaufoy's genuine Preparations, according to Labarraque's Formula, are easily distinguished by their peculiar label upon the wrapper, which should be examined to see that it has not been opened.

Sold by all respectable Chemists and Druggists, of whom may be had gratis, an account of some of the properties and uses to which these Chlorides have been successfully applied.

Price of the Chloride of Soda, 3s. 6d.—of Lime, 2s. 6d. Quart Bottle included, with directions for dilution and use enclosed within the sealed wrapper.

CAUTION.—Beaufoy's Chlorides are not liable to Stamp Duty. The Venders of Beaufoy's Chlorides are consequently exempt from Stamp-office Informations.

South Lambeth, London, Dec. 13, 1831.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley Colours.....	2	12	0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3	0	0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1	8	0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12	0	
Figured Silk ditto.....	18	0	
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1	10	0
Baragan ditto.....	1	8	0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4	4	0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen equally cheap. The whole made from good, of the finest quality, and the cut and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

On the 31st of March will be published,
No. I., price 2s. 6d., of

TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, for
APRIL, 1832.

To be continued Monthly.

We do not offer to the public a Journal fashioned after the manner of those with which

it is at present familiar. The interests which we intend to advocate, and the objects to the accomplishment of which all our exertions shall be devoted, are of a kind which magazine writers have hitherto, for the most part, neglected or shunned. Drawing-room and holiday literature is well enough in its own place, and we are by no means disposed to quarrel with it. But a change has come over the spirit of the time; mighty questions have been stirred; deep interests have been created; vast masses of men, formerly inert and passive, have suddenly begun to heave to and fro with the force of a newly-inspired animation; old things are passing away;—and while probably on the eve of great events, it has appeared to us not only desirable, but necessary, to provide an organ or vehicle through which the voice of a renovated people may be heard.

With that view TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE is offered to the public. In its scope it will embrace Politics, Literature, Science, Economics, Legislation, and Jurisprudence; in short, every thing connected with, or calculated to advance, the improvement of society. Of Reform it will be the fearless and uncompromising advocate; of abuse, wherever it may lurk, or to whomsoever it may be profitable, the constant and merciless enemy. Some—we ought rather to say much—of the best intellect and learning of the country has been secured for its service; and in the list of its contributors will be found names of the highest distinction in letters. Utility will ever be its first and greatest object, strict impartiality its invariable characteristic, active and searching industry the constant duty of all connected with its management. Of the Literature of the month it will afford a complete and carefully digested picture. Every new book will be reviewed at greater or less length, as its importance may demand. TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE will thus unite the properties of a Review with those of a Magazine, or Repository of useful information and independent discussion; and it will also form a faithful record of every step in that improvement of our institutions which must rapidly follow the Reform in our Parliamentary Representation. But although we have resolved, if possible, to be useful, we have, at the same time, vowed not to be dull. There are no weeping philosophers in our corps. Democritus himself might have joined us, without compromising his character as Abdera. We seek, above all things, to be instructive; but we flatter ourselves we can also impart to our labours a degree of interest sufficient to conciliate even those who read only that they may be amused.

Printed for WILLIAM TAIT, 78, Prince's-street, Edinburgh; to whom communications may be addressed. Orders received by all Booksellers throughout the kingdom.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 75.—No. 8.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO

MR. DENISON,

ONE OF THE MEMBERS FOR THE COUNTY OF
SURREY;

*On the Abolition of the Protestant
Church Establishment in Ireland;
and on the Abolition of Tithes, and a
Resumption of the other Property
(called Church Property) in England.*

Wigan, Lancashire, 13th Feb., 1832,

SIR,

WHEN I was young, I was, in reading the *Lives of Plutarch*, very much impressed with what he said in praise of one of the great men of antiquity, the list of whose numerous great qualities he wound up by saying, that in his enterprises *he always chose the proper time*; and whatever else may be said of my deficiencies, I shall never have imputed to me a neglect with regard to *the time* for doing the things which I have attempted to do. At any rate, this, you and the whole of the county of which you are a member, and of which I am a native, will allow, is the proper time for my addressing the public on this subject; and it will presently appear that it is equally proper that I choose you as the channel for this address.

The recent declaration of my Lord Grey with regard to the refusal of the people of Ireland to pay tithes to the Protestant hierarchy, has greatly alarmed his friends, greatly delighted his enemies, and has filled everybody with wonder. The declaration amounted to this: that if the law as it now stands, be found insufficient to enable

the clergy to enforce the collection of the tithes in Ireland, *he will apply to the Parliament for new laws* to enable them to do it. Let us see, then, to what point the law has already reached. It already, authorises these Irish parsons and lay-impropriators to seize the stock upon a farm, and to sell it, in order to obtain the amount demanded of the tithe-payer. This is a thing wholly unknown to the ancient law of tithes; a thing never dreamt of in France, Italy, or Spain, or in any Catholic country in the world; a thing never dreamt of by those who established the Protestant hierarchy; and a thing which never could have been thought of except by those who have ceased to regard the church as a Christian institution. If forcible entry and seizure can be made for tithes, why not for "EASTER-OFFERINGS?" Nay, why not for christening and burial fees, and for marriage fees? And if this do not amount to my Lord Grey's own description of the tables of the money-changers, whom he said he wished to drive out of the temple, I do not know what does or what can. But this is not enough, it seems; it is not enough to make forcible entry on men's premises and seize their goods; it is not enough that the shepherd of the fold of Christ take away the fleece by force, and apply it, not to the clothing of the naked, but to his own profit and own luxurious enjoyments; this is not enough, it appears, for my Lord Grey, who, if this should fail, expresses his determination to propose that new laws should be passed of a more vigorous and effective description. After seizure of all that a man hath in the way of property, comes seizure of his *person*; after the seizure of the person, comes the punishment of the body, sometimes by imprisonment, sometimes by banishment, sometimes by the taking away of life itself. How far the getting at the fleece may make it necessary for the shepherds to go, is uncertain; but if the words of my Lord Grey be truly reported in the

newspapers, he means to proceed till he has secured them the enjoyment of the fleece.

To hear him and the others who are standing up for what they call the *rights* of the clergy, one would imagine that the people of Ireland were in arms to resist the execution of the law of tithes; and, indeed, the word resistance is constantly applied to their conduct in this case. The true state of the thing is, however, this: that the clergy upon demanding the payment of tithes, are told that the party cannot pay, or will not pay; that the clergy thereupon seize the stock of the party, take it away, and offer it for sale, agreeably to the provisions of this most novel law relative to a Christian church; that the party refusing to pay tithes, or failing to pay tithes, offers no resistance whatsoever to the execution of the law, but suffers his property to be taken away, generally being overawed by the presence of a military or half-military force. What ground of complaint is there, then, against the tithe-payers of Ireland? They suffer the law to take its course, and that course is the taking away of their property, and offering it for sale. But now comes the difficulty of the reverend pastors. They have no difficulty in the seizure, or in the offering of the thing seized for sale; but *nobody will buy the thing offered for sale!* And what is the cause of this? A "*conspiracy*" has been talked of; and if there were a conspiracy capable of proof, there stands the law, with its sharp iron claws, at all times ready to tear the conspirators to pieces. It is a conspiracy such as men enter into when they rush out of a playhouse that is said to be on fire. It resembles a conspiracy to entertain a desire to preserve life by avoiding the effects of famine or of pestilence. Self-interest, a love of gain, a desire to add to one's property; these are feelings arising out of the universal desire for self-preservation. The stock seized by the reverend pastors and tendered for sale, doubtless, in charity, humility, and mercy, must present, in the several parishes, advantageous bargains to purchasers; and,

therefore, no such purchasers appearing, it must be true that it is the general conviction of the people of the country that it is wrong for any man to participate in the purchase. In short, there is no conspiracy whatever, any more than there can be said to exist a conspiracy against crime of any sort. All men, generally speaking, are against crimes, moral or legal: all men do their best to repress crimes: all men shun crime or the imputation of crime, or the community would be at an end: and if the feeling with regard to tithes and Easter-offerings be equally prevalent, how can any part of the community be accused of a conspiracy? It may indeed be said, that the whole of the community have a feeling hostile to the law; but it is a thing impossible that the law should, under such circumstances, be enforced. It may be a question whether the community be wise or foolish in their hostility to the law; but there can be no question that, under such circumstances, the wise part for the Government to act would be at once to repeal the law. I have been labouring for many years to cause this law to be repealed *in time*. So early as the year 1805 (as any one may see by reference to the *Register*) I predicted that the whole of the church of England must be abolished, unless it were then speedily reformed. I lived in Hampshire at the time; I witnessed the monstrous abuses in the church; I used to go to my own parish church, and see a congregation of three or four persons in the afternoon, while the Methodist meeting-house was crammed to suffocation. I was extremely anxious for the well-being of the church and the clergy; but the act of 1803, which totally put an end to the duty of residence, and enabled the parsons to be renting-farmers and cattle-jobbers, made me look into the affair of pluralities and non-residence; made me write against both, and convinced me that the church must come down, unless an end were put to them. I witnessed the unsparing squandering of livings amongst the relations of the bishop; I witnessed the worse than uselessness of the dean and

chapter; I had to feel the persecuting politics of the parsons, and I had to bear my share of their oppression and their insolence. Still, for a long while, I did not wish for the overthrow of the establishment, and I took the part of nobody that treated it with contempt. But when another 300 millions had been added to the debt, and when I saw that peace was to bring no peace; when I saw that the army was to be still as large as in time of war; and especially when I saw thousands of the military heroes take holy orders, get themselves inducted into livings, and still receive military and naval half-pay; after so much had been bestowed upon the church in all sorts of ways; and after pluralities and non-residence had become more general and more odious than ever; then I was convinced that the church could not stand in its present form, and with its present possessions. By this time I had acquired a full knowledge of the origin of the church and of the origin of its property. I saw that the latter *belonged to the public*; and I saw that the public must take this property and apply it to new purposes, or that, at last, the taxes would finally drive the people to effect by a convulsive movement that which I wish to see effected by law, and in the most peaceable manner.

Towards this end, things have been gradually drawing ever since the close of the war. Ninety-nine hundredths of the people have been, from that time, looking to the tithes as a *resource*. Until 1824 very few persons, comparatively, found themselves furnished with any *argument* for making this resource available; but in that year came out the "*Pigs MEAT*," as Dr. Black called it; and immediately the whole nation seemed to become enlightened and delighted. Never did a drove of pigs come galloping to the trough with more eagerness, upon hearing the rattles of the dairy-maid's pail; and there, at this moment, are all the London "*best possible public instructors*," as BROUGHAM VAUX called them, actually at the trough shouldering one another, and squeaking and crying; lest they should lose their share of the

wash. In the country we call the stoutest and most resolute hog the "*head hog at trough*." Until the other day, when I saw a newspaper at Bolton, I thought that Dr. Black himself stood in this envied station; but I then perceived that a couple of broad-sheeted females had actually ousted the Doctor, and had got their snouts eye-deep in the swill; I mean ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT, the two she-proprietors of the bloody old *Times*, which acted so fine a part in the affair of Thomas Goodman, and in the rest of the materials of the Whig prosecution. When we say "*head-hog at trough*," we make no distinction as to hes or shes: to the stoutest and most resolute of the really swinish multitude, we give this denomination; and if the *History of the Protestant Reformation* really be "*Pig's MEAT*," as Dr. Black called it, these two females are certainly head-hogs at trough; for, as I am now going to show you, Sir, they make a great deal more free with the *History of the Protestant Reformation*, than any of the rest of the herd of BROUGHAM VAUX, who, I dare say, (considering his recent very positive and *equally wise* assertions relative to the rights of the clergy,) thinks the whole herd possessed of a devil, and wishes to see them driven headlong into the sea. However, Sir, it is not the plagiarism of these stupid automatons that is of any consequence in itself; it is not what is said or done by the dirty-faced, gin-drinking vagabonds that scribble full the columns of the *broad-sheet*; it is not what is said by the bloody old *Times*, by the see-saw *Herald*, by that leaky thing called the *Tap-tub*, by that hall of horse-dung which calls itself the *Globe*, and the principal owner of which is that modest gentleman, Colonel Torrens, who thought, it seems, that the everlastingly toiling bees of Bolton stood in need of a tax-eater, to help them to get rid of their burdens; nay, it is of little consequence what is said out of the *Pig's MEAT* by Dr. Black himself: the important thing for you to consider, and particularly for my Lord GREY to consider, is what an indication these pla-

giarisms form of the *state of the public mind as to this great matter*. It is not what these people say; but what they hear the public say, that is the matter of importance. I beseech my Lord Grey to reflect that these people do not write for the purpose of instructing, of informing, or even of amusing, their readers. They write for the purpose of selling what they write; and experience has taught the whole tribe that every individual will like that paper best which contains matter most consonant with his own way of thinking, and especially with his own wishes. There are some papers, indeed, which are *bribed*; and getting their pay in that way, they care nothing about the tastes or wishes of their readers. Now and then one falls into the hands of a man of integrity, who sends forth his own opinions regardless of those of others; but such men are rare, and, as Dr. Black knows, often thought troublesome. Of all the London broad-sheets, however, none is so perfectly a trading concern as the bloody old *Times*: it never moves without first ascertaining if it be possible, whether the movement will be attended with gain or with loss; and it invariably acts as dictated to by its own immediate and pecuniary interest. Just as completely as a calico-printer acts in the choosing of his colours and the quality of his cloth. As the fellow who first advertised Wellington-boots did it for the purpose of causing the boots to sell more than they would have sold without that name, so the articles in this paper are written with a view of causing the paper to be sold more than it would be without the matter contained in those articles.

This being the case; these papers putting forth, not the thoughts of the writers, but the thoughts and wishes of the people, I beg you, Sir, and more particularly beg my Lord GREY, to read with attention the following extract from the *Times* newspaper of the 9th instant. I beg his Lordship not to toss up his head and laugh at it. It is not ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT that speak here: his Lordship will here behold the universal wishes of John Bull fully and clearly expressed: expressed,

indeed, in my words, but through the broad-sheet of these my two obedient and obliging hand-maidens.

"It is to be apprehended that if Lord Grey should not think proper to explain more distinctly than he has yet done, his intentions, *as a Minister*, with regard to Ireland,—we mean, more particularly, in relation to the church,—his Lordship will have to charge himself with something at least approaching to an indiscretion. The plain meaning of his words on Tuesday evening was, that he would enforce the law for the collection of tithe in Ireland. Was it not so? If his Lordship answers in the affirmative, he prepares for himself an enterprise the most abortive in its execution, and in its final results the most fearful, *that ever blind man undertook* when he walked over the edge of a precipice. It is impossible to make the Irish Catholics pay tithe at the existing rate to any (even a Catholic) clergy, or *any tithe to Protestant clergy*. And we rejoice that it is impossible, because it is unjust. Let not Lord Grey threaten the wild experiment of going to law with 6,000,000 of men, by seizing their goods and chattels; or of going to war with them in a foul cause, by attempting, on the recommendation of such a statesman as Lord Ellenborough, to *imprison their persons* for arrears of tithe. Let him not, we implore Lord Grey, and if he will not listen to us, we implore the more enlightened of his colleagues not to commit the peace and existence of the realm upon a question so utterly hopeless. Does he flatter himself that in the present temper of Englishmen, *this nation will consent to make war upon Ireland for the sake of her 1,600, or 1,800 churchmen, and her 22 bishops?* It is no entertainment for such an hour as this, to fight against principles with parchments. When the church of Ireland exclaims, 'Will you rob me of my property?' she is answered, 'Why have you abused your trust?' Why have you diverted from uses ecclesiastical to uses personal—from the poor to the

"*pluralist*—those ample revenues which originally were designed for distribution between the 'Bishop, the fabric of the church, the poor, and the clergy?' Two of these claimants, indeed, have been provided for,—the bishop and the rector have swallowed up all. But the 'fabric of the church' is kept from dilapidation by interminable taxes upon the very poor themselves, from whom *their rightful portion* of the church revenues has been wrested! This can never stand. We have long ago declared, and are daily more persuaded, that *composition will no longer do*,—that *commutation will not do*,—that any effort by mere violence, to coerce the Irish nation into a payment of tithe, must bring at once the state itself into a desperate and fatal collision with the people. There is no discredit in capitulating betimes with necessity; but there is little honour in provoking an enemy by whom the battle has, morally speaking, been already won. The members of the tithe committee must feel much embarrassed by the conversation in the House of Lords on Tuesday. If Government or Lord Grey should, from the outset, have prearranged the policy to be adopted, and if that policy be the absolute maintenance of tithe, *cui bono* the ceremony of a committee?"

Here you see, Sir, not only my opinions, not only my doctrines, not only my arguments and my projects, but my very words; and this too, let it be observed, in a paper which has been most foully calumniating me for thirty years, and never more foully than because I put forth the very opinions and the very arguments that this paper itself now puts forth. Nay, at this very time, and perhaps in the very same number of the paper, it is uttering some calumny or other against me. ANNA BRONIE is the widow of a parson. The proprietors and writers also have a deep interest in the continuance of the church establishment. Judge you, then, how clear their conviction must be, that nearly the whole of the people who are in a situation of life to purchase dear newspapers,

wish for the adoption of the measures which I have so long been recommending. With very few exceptions, the whole of the "race that write" have a mortal hatred towards me; would do anything short of loss of bread, rather than contribute towards the increase of my political fame. They, who never pray for any other object, are upon their knees morning and night, imploring the devil to prevent my predictions from being verified, and my projects from succeeding: all the whole tribe, broad-sheet, narrow-sheet, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, flying bulletins; no matter of what religion, or of what degree of infidelity, here they all unite heart and hand: and yet, and I beg my Lord GREY to observe it, they are all now pushing at the trough, and striving for the reputation of having the greatest share of the swill.

Now, I beg you, Sir, towards whom I am so far from bearing any disrespect, that I wish to see you again a member of our county; I beg you not to disregard this decided indication of the public mind; for it is my firm conviction that if you be not ready to pledge yourself to propose or support a measure for the abolition of tithes, you will never again be returned for the county of Surrey. However, leaving that matter for the present, and supposing, as I suppose, you to be actuated by motives much more laudable than the motive of desiring merely to be a member of Parliament, let me endeavour to draw your attention to the subject of the hierarchy in Ireland in the first place; and then to the state of England with regard to matters connected with the church.

You will recollect, perhaps, the petition which you presented to the House of Commons in 1829, signed by me, and merely praying that the Protestant church establishment in Ireland might be by law "*repealed, abrogated, abolished, and rendered for ever after prostrate and of no effect.*" This prayer I supported by a statement of facts and of arguments; when you received this petition you informed me that you did not agree either in the principles or the prayer of it, and that,

therefore, you could not support it. In answer, I told you that I was sorry that you did not agree with me in opinion, but that I should be quite satisfied with its being presented by you, leaving you at perfect liberty to express your dissent from its contents. You did present it in a very proper manner, expressing your dissent, according to your intimation, from me. I then told you, at the time when I published the petition, that the time was not distant when you would change your opinion; and I believe that that time is close at hand, if it have not already arrived.

I will presently insert this memorable petition. It is a *showing of cause* in behalf of oppressed and insulted Ireland. It is the ground, as lawyers would call it, for a rule to show cause why the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland should not be abolished; and, up to this day, no man has ever answered the grounds which I laid for the rule. I wish to call your attention to the circumstances under which this petition was presented. The *Emancipation Bill* had just been passed: its advocates, who formed a very great majority of both Houses of Parliament, insisted that the passing of that measure would *tend to the security of the Protestant establishment in Ireland*. This was asserted over and over again by all the speakers in favour of the measure; and *PEEL'S BILL*—*PEEL'S* justification with his constituents, the University of Oxford, was that this measure, so far from being injurious to the Protestant establishment in Ireland, *was necessary to the security of that establishment!* Was this man the greatest fool or the greatest hypocrite that ever opened a pair of lips? Neither, you will say; for hundreds of others said the same thing; and, upon this ground amongst others, that bill was passed.

Now, Sir, I have nothing to gain by the Government acting wisely in the present crisis: if it were to act with the wisdom and the energy of Solon, joined to the valour and promptitude of Cæsar, it would not thereby put a single penny into my pocket. If it tear Ireland to pieces, it will not thereby tear a pig or a bunch of carrots from me. As affect-

ing my reputation for talent and knowledge, it would do more for me by its folly than by its wisdom. If I preferred my own fame, and even my own probable greatness, to the good and honour and happiness of my country, I should pray for my advice to be rejected. I wish it not to be rejected. I wish, of course, to be known to have been right; but I most anxiously desire that the country may be saved from the perils with which it is surrounded; and it is with the hope of giving effect to that desire that I now beg you once more to read my petition of 1829. If upon reading that petition over again, you should imbibe the conviction that you were in error when you expressed your dissent from its contents, that will be a great thing accomplished. The Government cannot disregard such an opinion in a man like you. It is impossible but others should join you in the efforts which that change of opinion would prescribe. By possibility you yourself, then, might be the cause of snatching out of the hands of the Ministers the dreadful scourge which they appear to be preparing for Ireland. I here stop, hoping that you will do me the honour again to read this petition with attention, and the further honour of reading the remarks which I shall have to subjoin to it, and which are called for by the awful circumstances of the present hour.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

THE PETITION OF WILLIAM COBBETT, OF BARNES, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your Honourable House, that the Protestant Church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your Honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland. That, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was, by law, made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ire-

land; that a Protestant clergy were made to supplant the Clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the Mass abolished, and the Protestant Table and Common Prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were so clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these the tithes and other Church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatizing from their religion, that they shunned as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three of these all upon the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confis-

cated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have startled with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that in spite of these acts of fining, confiscating, plundering, racking, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the Church as by law established; that, in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ireland, though their country was frequently almost literally strewn with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and the bowel-ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousand of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new Church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient Church; and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit, and still exhibits, the strange sight of an enormously rich established Church nearly without flocks, and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes the churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your petitioner can form an idea of no being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror; and, therefore, he is confident, that your Honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the ben

spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the Church of Ireland to a Protestant Clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that too of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds; that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the Church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value; and that your humble petitioner is sure that your Honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your Honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants too, would have given these immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for, that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division, and to perpetuate all the passions hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of Church Protestants than, as your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing, there were a hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the Church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her Common Prayer and Communion; that it is an undoubted fact, that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one Church-Protestant to every six

Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and while these churches are empty, or at best echo to the solitary voice of the stipeudiary agent of the opulent and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled, either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground and in the open air.

That, if your Honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing, apparently, with your approbation), it would be presumption, indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish Church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that therefore each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 parsons; that of the 3,403 parishes there are only 139 that have parsonage-houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residence of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the Church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Irish Church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes, fourteen who are, by blood or marriage, related to Peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioner to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and the livings; and that therefore the Irish Church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That, though this must, as your petitioner

presumes your Honourable House will believe be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself; that to expect, in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness; that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish Church revenues, is to be added the cost and all the other evils arising from the keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and sometimes, mounted police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland, were it not for the existence of the Church Establishment, which the Catholics and Dissenters, who form six parts out of seven of the people, must naturally, and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that, therefore, while the Irish Church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the discounts, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief he founds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 649 monasteries and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor and repaired the church out of the tithes; that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, so many points whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief; and that it had (greater than all the rest) *unity* of faith, glory to God with *one* voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

That, alas! your humble petitioner need not tell your Honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever; and that, as long as this hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated vigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your Honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant Church now established by law in Ireland; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that Church; that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as, in your wisdom, you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Barn-Elm, April 20, 1829.

WM. COBBETT.

Is it possible for any man to read the statement of the facts contained in this petition, without thinking with indignation and horror of the conduct of those who are now calling for the *blood* (for that is the *end* of it) of those who refuse to pay tithes in Ireland? Call as long as they will, however; blood or blood not, those tithes will, I verily believe, not be collected another year either in *England* or Ireland. It is I that proceed to work in the *proper manner*; namely, I *propose to the people to pray for an abolition of tithes*. Men may pray, surely! I show *how the tithes came*; how they were applied till *this church* came; how they are *applied now*; and what *the law* ought to do respecting them. I recommend all to be done *by law*; but if the law do not come to our relief in this matter, then I say that *reform will be a despicable farce*.

But it is in *England* that the Irish tithe-payers have now to look for

friends, and not, as formerly, for *subjugating foes*! Every ill that Ireland has had to endure, has arisen from there always having been in *England* a disposition to *keep the Irish down*. This disposition exists, I thank God, no longer; and as to tithes, *the cause is a common one*. The Irish are only *taking the lead*; and, at this point, this making both countries cordially join in this matter, I have long been labouring.

I wish, in this number of the *Register*, to bring together as much fact and argument as I can, relative to this great subject, on which, at last, *the great struggle will turn*. I will, therefore, insert below the petition which I presented at PENENDEN HEATH, in October, 1828. The *TORIES* carried a petition against reform, because the *WHIGS* proposed *EMANCIPATION, and nothing else*. I presented, at the same meeting, the petition which I shall presently insert. I read it to the meeting, and sent it to the sheriff to be read and put by him, which that impudent vagabond refused to do. I told Mr. Sheil, who was present at that meeting, and who spoke there, that he spoke in vain; for that the people of England cared not a straw about Catholic Emancipation; but cared a great deal about the abolition of tithes. In my petition, therefore, I introduced matter which, if the people of Kent could have heard it read, they would have agreed to unanimously. This petition contained the whole case of both England and Ireland; and for this very reason the sheriff would not put it to the meeting. However, it did not prevent its effects; and those effects, Sir, will now communicate themselves to your mind, if you read the petition attentively, and have a mind ever again to be a member for Surrey.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the people of Kent in County Meeting convened on Penenden Heath, this 24th day of October, 1828,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners called together by the High Sheriff of the county for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of pe-

titioning Parliament to adopt such measures as are best calculated to support the Protestant Establishment in Church and State; and being of opinion that neither Church nor State stands at this time in estimation as high as that in which they might stand, hope that your Honourable House will not deem them presumptuous if they beg leave to be permitted to point out to your Honourable House the measures which they deem best calculated to ensure the important object propounded to them by the High Sheriff.

That, with regard to the Church establishment, your humble petitioners perceive a great and growing lukewarmness towards it, an unpopularity approaching towards loathing and hatred, and a rapid and constantly increasing decline in the numbers of its flocks, whilst those of the Catholics, and of every description of Dissenter, are increasing in a like proportion: a fact which clearly shows that the Church owes no part of its decline to a want of religious feeling amongst the people.

That your humble petitioners are convinced that this lukewarmness, unpopularity, and disgust, have arisen, not so much from any general and rooted dislike to the doctrines and ritual of the establishment, as from the conduct of a considerable part of its Clergy, and more especially from the flagrant misapplication of its immense temporalities.

That, with respect to the conduct of the Clergy, your humble petitioners, while they would fain obliterate from their own memory, as well as from that of all mankind, many deeds, from the punishment due to which the dignified parties have been shamefully screened, cannot disguise from themselves, and will not disguise from your Honourable House, that the beneficed Clergy, in general, have become lax in their manners and their morals, given in an immoderate degree to luxurious enjoyment, habitually spending their time in places of fashionable, not to say criminal, resort, and, as if this island were a sphere too limited as a scope for dissipation, quitting the kingdom in great numbers, thus drawing from their parishes (more than one-half of which they hold in pluralities), a great part of their substance to be expended upon their own pleasures, while the Cure of the parishes is left to stipendiaries, who, from the miserable pittance they receive, are wholly unable to perform even the smallest part of those duties of charity and hospitality, to ensure the constant performance of which, as well as for the teaching of the doctrines of religion, the revenues of the Church were granted.

That it is well known to your Honourable House that all the temporal possessions of the Church, whether tithes, glebes, college lands, abbey lands, or, of what description soever, were founded on the basis of *charity*, and were granted, not to the Clergy for their own use, but *in trust* for the good of the na-

tion at large, and, especially, for the relief and the comfort of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger; and that it is also well known to your Honourable House, that in Catholic times, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates, and no paupers, and that the poor were relieved, the strangers assisted, and the churches built and repaired out of the tithes and other revenues of the Church; and that it is further well known to your Honourable House, and but too well known to your humble petitioners, that the tithes, and the rest of the revenues of the Church, have, by degrees, been entirely alienated from their original purposes—that the Clergy now take the whole to themselves—and that the poor are relieved, the wandering stranger assisted, and the churches built and repaired out of the taxes raised on your humble petitioners—which taxes, for the whole of England and Wales, amount annually to nearly eight millions sterling, of which, at the date of the last return, four hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and fifty-one pounds, fell annually upon the county of Kent.

That your humble petitioners, sufficiently sore at reflecting upon these well known facts, hardly know how to restrain their feelings, when they look at the present state of this their own country, so highly favoured by nature, once so renowned for its good living, its freedom, and its happiness—but now so depressed and pauperized by the heavy hand of taxation, and especially by the unmitigated and increasing exactions of the Clergy; that, yet, even these they might bear with some degree of patience, if a due performance of religious duties were the consequence; but when they see that the tithes of the four hundred and twenty-seven parishes of their county—in the hands of less than two hundred Rectors and Vicars, many of whom have Prebends and other benefices in addition; when they see that eighty-seven of the parishes have no parsonage houses that the luxurious and haughty incumbents think good enough for them to reside in; when they see that there are seventy-five parishes which have no parsonage-houses at all; when they see that there are thirteen parishes which have absolutely no churches; when they behold this scene of abandonment, dilapidation, and devastation, and reflect, that at the same time, even in the parishes which have no churches, the tithes are exacted to the last blade of grass; and that there are forty-four parishes, each having less than one hundred people, and yet having tithes exacted from them with the utmost rigour: while your humble petitioners behold all this, and see themselves taxed at the same time, for the purpose of building new churches to be put into the hands and to add to the revenues of these same Clergy—when they thus behold and thus reflect, they do, they confess, feel their

bosoms swell with feelings, from an expression of which, they are restrained only because they can find no words commensurate with the nature and character of the case.

That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to affect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated, exist in a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 Rectors and Vicars, even the livings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each Parson has on an average, the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 which have parsonage-houses, and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that in the 3,403 parishes there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things, the Church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six churchmen in a parish, and that, in others there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the most rigorous manner, to a Clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names; are harassed by the tithe-proctors and by processes issued frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to the last potatoe, and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people are, at times, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and by feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge and Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in the time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover

no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects in this horrible state of subjection, oppression, and degradation.

That your humble petitioners, reserving, for the present, the prayer which they have to offer to your Honourable House, relative to a remedy for the enormous abuses in the Church, proceed now to state to your Honourable House, that it is their decided opinion that the dangers which menace the State, arise solely from a want of reform in your Honourable House, and that to this source also they directly trace the above-mentioned conduct of the Clergy, and the gross misapplication of the temporalities of the Church.

That your Honourable House have now upon your table a petition, which you received from the hands of Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) in the year 1793; that in that petition it was asserted, that peers and other great men, only 154 in number, returned at *their own pleasure, a decided majority of your Honourable House*, at the bar of which House the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of their assertions; that your Honourable House received the petition, denied not the facts, but permitted not the petitioners to be heard at your bar; and that your humble petitioners, in this County Meeting assembled, deem it to be perfectly notorious, that the state of the representation has not improved since the time when the aforesaid petition was presented to your Honourable House.

That your humble petitioners would be filled with surprise and wonder at finding that they have to pay taxes to support hundreds upon hundreds of pensioned and sinecurist Lords, ladies, and children, male and female, without it being, in many cases, even pretended that they, or that any one belonging to them, have ever rendered any service to the country; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that while the nation has only 16 Foreign Ministers in employ, it has actually to pay 57 Foreign Ministers, and to pay altogether a sum which they believe to surpass that which is paid for the same purpose by all the other nations in the whole world; your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay one Field Marshal or one General for every 163 private soldiers in the army, including non-commissioned officers, five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and one commissioned officer to every four private men; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay two Admirals for every one of the ships of the line, one Admiral for every 140 sailors, and one commissioned officer, exclusive of Midshipmen, for every five sailors; that they would be still more, if possible, surprised to find, that a million and a half of money has been voted out of the taxes for the relief of the poor Clergy of the

Church of England, especially when they looked at the above-mentioned monstrous pluralities, and knew that many of the Bishops have lately died, leaving from two to four hundred thousand pounds each in personal property for the aggrandisement of their families; that the surprise of your petitioners would surpass all power of utterance in finding, that military and naval half-pay had been given, out of the taxes, to men, who were, at the same time, receiving tithes and other emoluments, as Clergymen of the Established Church; that, in short, the least incredible of these things would appear to your humble petitioners sufficient to astonish an indignant world; but that, when your petitioners reflect on the averment of the petition of 1703, that a decided majority of your Honourable House was returned by 154 persons, partly Peers and partly great Commoners, and when they further reflect that your Honourable House is the sole imposer and the sole guardian and the sole distributor of the public money; when they thus reflect, and forget not that, in the year 1808, a return laid before your Honourable House stated, that your Honourable Members yourselves received amongst you 178,994*l.* a year out of the public money; when your humble petitioners thus reflect, all ground of surprise vanishes at once, and the only question with your anxious and humble petitioners is, how long they, and their country, are doomed yet to behold this state of things?

That your humble petitioners, convinced that there can be no peaceable termination to their sufferings and the disgrace of their country, until this mighty cause of mischief be removed, most humbly and most earnestly pray, that, as the best, and, indeed, the only means of supporting, for any length of time, the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, your Honourable House will, first, pass an Act to make a Radical Reform in your Honourable House, and that you will, next, pass an Act totally abolishing all clerical tithes both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the Church revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the Clergy the use of the churches, the parsonage houses, and the glebes, and, if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the Priests and Ministers of our Roman Catholic and Dissenting fellow-subjects.

And your humble Petitioners will ever pray.

All that I shall add here is the expression of a hope that Lord Grey will well consider the contents of this petition, before he attempt to act upon the advice of the lofty Signor Ellenborough, in getting a new law passed, for *attach-*

ing the bodies of those Catholics who refuse to pay tithes, and to give Easter-offerings to a clergy who represent the Catholic religion as idolatrous and damnable. During the debate, in which the lofty Signor gave his advice, and a report of which will be found in another part of the *Register*, PLUNKET, as the Irish reporters call him, observed that the refusal to pay tithes in Ireland arose from ignorance and want of education in the people. This very same PLUNKET, in the year 1819, justified the Six Acts upon the ground that the people were now become too *enlightened*; that they read too much to be suffered to enjoy the liberty of the press, which they had enjoyed up to that time, so that this PLUNKET has always a justification for everything, either in the people's enlightened state, or in their state of ignorance.

Here I conclude my remarks upon this subject for the present; but, in the articles which I shall insert below, you will find even more powerful reasons than those which I have stated, for changing your opinion upon this subject, and strongly recommending you to read these articles at present,

I remain, Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE FOR ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

I HAVE this day (14th Feb.) received the first number of this work, which ought to be read, and which will, in a short time, be read by every well-educated man in England and Ireland who cares anything at all about the fate of this kingdom. The contents of the first number are as follows:—

Art. 1.—Title and design of this publication, with a sketch of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of Church Reform; and the views and intentions of the Church Reformers.—Tithes before the Reformation.—Effects of the Reformation on Church property.—Abuses in the Church generally.—State of the Reform question in Ireland.—Committees on Tithes in Ireland.

—Plans of the English Church Reformers:—What is to be done with impropriate tithes.

Art. 2.—Property in Tithes.—A Legal Argument, showing that Tithes are the Property of the Public and of the Poor. By WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

Art. 3.—Welsh Curates and Irish Curates.

Art. 4.—State of the Church in the Isle of Ely.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT.

England.

Public meeting at Leeds, and resolutions respecting the Irish poor and tithes.

Camberwell New Church job.

More Bishops in India.

Ireland.

Tithe battle at Knocktopher.

Petition from the Political Union of Ireland for the total and instant abolition of Tithes and Church-rates.

Irish tithe-proctors and process-servers.

Subscription for the relief of the Protestant Clergy.

Miscellaneous intelligence relative to the state of public feeling in Ireland.

Speeches at the Irish National Political Union. Parliamentary Intelligence.

The first article it is of great importance that every one should read. It is a brief, but a very clear account, not only of the origin of tithes and of other church-property, but of the application of them, and of the grounds of the opposition to their collection which at present exists. It will be read by every Englishman and every Irishman with the greatest satisfaction; and so far am I from thinking it necessary to apologize for its length, that I am sure my readers will receive it as one of the most valuable services ever rendered them by this book of mine, during the thirty years that it has been published.

ART. 1.—*Title and design of this publication; with a sketch of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of Church reform, and the views, intentions, and plans of the Church reformers.*

This being, as the reader will perceive, the first number of the CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE, it may be naturally expected that we should give some account of the title and object of the work. With respect to the title, it will perhaps be objected, that it is too general in its signification to be affixed to a publica-

tion, which, it will be seen, is intended to be devoted to the consideration of the question of church reform in regard to temporal matters only; but as it is notorious that this is the sole object of the great body of church reformers, and that they are commonly known by that appellation, and that no disposition has been manifested by any considerable portion of the public to interfere with the spiritual doctrines of the church, we entertain very little apprehension that the title which we have chosen will create any misconception as to the real nature and object of this work. And we take this opportunity of stating, that we shall always use the terms church reform and ecclesiastical reform in the limited sense to which we have just alluded, that is to say, with reference to the temporalities of the church only.

The next duty imposed upon us is, to explain the design of this publication; and this we shall do as plainly and as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit; for upon this point we think that the work should in a great measure speak for itself. The title that we have selected, and what we have already stated on that subject, have rendered it almost unnecessary for us to declare that it is our intention to support the cause of ecclesiastical reform; but as there are ecclesiastical reformers of all sorts and degrees, and even the bishops themselves profess to be church reformers, we feel that the public have a right to expect from us a more explicit declaration of our opinions. We have no disposition to maintain any reserve upon this head; but we think that the nature of our undertaking requires that we should, in the first place, give a short sketch of the principal abuses which now prevail in the church establishment, and also take a general historical survey of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of church reform, and the views and intentions of the church reformers. For this purpose it will be necessary to go back to the time of the Reformation.

Before the Reformation, the possessions of the church consisted, as they now do, principally of lands and tithes.

With respect to the lands, they consisted, first, of the lands belonging to the secular clergy, viz., bishops, deans, prebendaries, parsons, and vicars, including the ancient glebe lands of the parish churches, that is to say, the glebe lands with which the churches were endowed at their first foundation. These glebe lands, at the time of which we are now speaking, were not wholly in the possession of the parochial clergy; a very considerable proportion of them was in the possession of the abbots and priors of religious houses, to which they had been from time to time appropriated as parcel of the parsonages to which they were annexed. They consisted, secondly, of the lands belonging to the religious houses, hospitals, chantries, free chapels, &c., which, as it is well known, were very numerous both in England and Ireland. The lands of the religious houses, or monasteries, as they were commonly called, very far exceeded in quantity and value all the other ecclesiastical possessions which we have just enumerated.

With respect to the tithes, which form the most important branch of our present inquiry, the greater part of them was, at the time of the Reformation, in the possession of the secular incumbents of parish churches, that is to say, of parsons and vicars having cure of souls; but a very large part of them had been appropriated to monasteries, in the manner which we have already mentioned with reference to glebe lands. For on these occasions the monasteries usually reserved the most valuable tithes, and left the remainder, together with a portion of the glebe, to the vicars, or deputies whom they appointed to perform the spiritual duties in their stead. This was the origin of vicarages, and of what are now called appropriate and impropriate rectories and tithes. The number of parsonages thus appropriated was 4,845.* But besides these appro-

* These parsonages, where they are in the hands of spiritual persons and corporations, are still called appropriations; where they are in the possession of laymen, they are termed impropriations: there are in England at the present day more than 1,000 of the former, and about 3,845 of the latter.

priate tithes, the monasteries were also in possession of certain small parcels of tithes, which were granted to them before tithes were made payable to parish priests by the general law of the land. These are now called portions of tithes. We have no exact account of the quantity of land which belonged to the religious houses, nor of the value of their possessions generally; which was no doubt considerably underrated in the ecclesiastical survey made in 26 Henry VIII. But it has been said by historical writers of good repute; although there is perhaps some exaggeration in the statement, that it amounted to a third part of the rental of the whole kingdom of England; their possessions were proportionably large in Ireland.

The enormous wealth of the secular and regular clergy of England and Ireland before the Reformation, has been constantly urged by Protestant historians and writers, as a reproach upon the Roman Catholic church, and they have spoken in terms of unqualified approbation of the measures by which the regular clergy, that is, the religious houses, were stripped of their possessions, in the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed, on barely looking at the amount of their revenues, the imagination is shocked, and our indignation is excited, at finding it so vastly disproportionate to the religious wants of the inhabitants of the two kingdoms; but upon inquiring into the real nature and character of the establishment, to the support of which those revenues were appropriated, we shall very soon discover that it was very far from deserving all the odium that has been so unsparingly cast upon it.

Notwithstanding so much has been written within the last few years to remove the popular prejudices on this head, it is still a very common error to suppose that the revenues of the Roman Catholic church were applied solely to the support of the secular clergy and monks, and the maintenance of divine worship, and the other ceremonial duties of religion. The truth is, that all the possessions of the church, of whatever nature or kind, were originally and essentially eleemosynary as well as reli-

gious; that is to say, the possessors were bound by the tenure or condition by which they held them to give alms to the poor. With respect to the purposes for which the lands and tenements of the monasteries were given to them, we need only cite the statute of 35 Edward I., in which it is expressly recited that they were given to the intent "that sick and feeble men might be maintained, hospitality, alms-giving, and other charitable deeds might be done." As to the tithes, they were not only generally consecrated to the same pious and charitable purposes, but a specific proportion of them, namely, one-third part, was assigned for the relief of the poor, and was received by the clergy as mere trustees for that particular purpose. In short, it is a fact which cannot be disputed, that up to the time of the Reformation, the poor were for the most part maintained by the parochial clergy and the religious houses. We shall presently see how completely this distribution of the revenues of the church was changed by the Reformation, and how powerfully that change has operated, even at this distance of time, in producing a state of things which seems to portend a second reformation of the temporal establishment of the church, perhaps, more sweeping than the first.

The Reformation produced several very important changes in the temporal affairs of the church,—first, in respect to the regular clergy, it swept away all the manors, lands, impropriate parsonages, tithes, and other possessions of the religious houses, which were transferred to the crown and its grantees, who consisted principally of the aristocracy and ecclesiastical corporations; secondly, in regard to the secular clergy, their possessions were, it is true, left untouched, but they were enabled to marry, which, it will be seen, occasioned a very great alteration in the application of their revenues; and, thirdly, it produced a close and mercenary alliance, or rather, an indenture of temporal interests between the church and the state, which has subsisted down to the present time. These were the principal causes of that perversion of tithes and other

ecclesiastical possessions from their original and legitimate purposes, which is now become the subject of universal complaint, and indeed forms the main object of our present inquiry.

It is worthy of observation that the statute of 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, which dissolved all monasteries which did not possess more than 200*l.* per annum, imposed upon the grantees of the crown the obligation of maintaining hospitality in the houses and precincts of such monasteries, and that this duty is also expressly recognised in many of the grants of Hen. VIII., but no similar provision is to be found in the statute of 31 Hen. VIII. relating to the greater monasteries; but as the duty or trust was not abrogated by those statutes, it cannot be doubted but that the possessions of the religious houses passed to the grantees subject to that general eleemosynary trust; and that, as to the tithes, they continued liable to the additional specific trust which has been already mentioned. It is, however, certain that all these trusts and duties were, shortly after the Reformation, wholly neglected, not only by the lay and ecclesiastical possessors of abbey lands and tithes, but also by the parochial clergy. It is more than probable that the laity were the first delinquents; and it is easy to perceive how their example must have operated upon the clergy, who, it must be remembered, were now permitted to marry. We are no advocates for the celibacy of the ministers of religion, but it would argue a very imperfect knowledge of the weaknesses of humanity if we were to attempt to deny that the claims of wives and children must, in very many instances, have proved too powerful for the faithful discharge of those fiduciary duties, which, by their original institution, and by a perfectly consistent policy, were intended to be performed by an unmarried priesthood. But we are not to suppose that it was the mere force of the example set by the lay proprietors of abbey lands and tithes, which influenced the conduct of the Protestant clergy; it was the certainty of impunity afforded by the circumstance, that a

large and powerful body of the laity, and of the aristocracy in particular, were participators in the spoil.

The poor being thus deprived of the public provision assigned for their relief out of the tithes and other ecclesiastical possessions, were left to depend wholly upon private charity; but this proving insufficient for their support, although it was encouraged by several acts which were passed for promoting the collection of voluntary alms, it became absolutely necessary, not only for the sake of humanity, but for the public safety, to resort to a compulsory legislative enactment. The course which justice would have prescribed on this occasion would have been, to restore and enforce the system which prevailed before the Reformation; and this measure would undoubtedly have been adopted, if the question had concerned ecclesiastical persons only; but the crown and the aristocracy were now interested in opposing it; and therefore, instead of assessing the church and abbey lands and tithes to the relief of the poor, the legislature passed the statute of 43 Eliz., which is the foundation of the present system of poor-laws, and which, as is well known, makes no distinction between ecclesiastical and lay property. But, still, this statute did not release the church and abbey lands and tithes from the obligation of relieving the poor, to which they were liable by their original institution.

We have thought it right to make this statement relative to the ancient mode of maintaining the poor, because it is now become a matter of great public interest, and because, by a just and signal retribution, the burden of the poor-rates, which was cast upon the laity in the manner already mentioned, is now urged, on the ground of justice as well as expediency, as one of the strongest objections to the continuance of the tithe system.

The next subject that we are called upon to notice, is that which we have just alluded to, namely, the tithes. It would require a volume to describe the various evils, abuses, and pernicious consequences of this system; and a

considerable portion of this publication will necessarily be devoted to its consideration; we shall therefore for the present content ourselves with remarking, that it is considered by all church reformers as the greatest and most intolerable of all the grievances of the church establishment, and, as Lord Lyndhurst has observed, is constantly placed by them in the front of the battle. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning, that the odium against tithes has been very materially increased of late years by the greediness and rapacity of the tithe-owners, both lay and ecclesiastical; by their invasions and encroachments upon rights which were sanctioned by immemorial usage and enjoyment; and the unjust and partial decisions of the courts of law and equity, and more especially the Court of Exchequer. We shall hereafter produce instances of the truth of what we now assert.

With respect to the other abuses of the ecclesiastical establishment in England and Ireland, we shall barely enumerate them, as we fear we have already exceeded the just limits of this article. The enormous revenues of the church, its useless and expensive dignities, sinecures, and pluralities, the clerical magistracy, the political subserviency of the clergy, and the ecclesiastical courts; these have all contributed to raise the tempest of ecclesiastical reform, which has been for some time gathering from every quarter, and now seems ready to burst upon the temporalities of the church. It is, however, impossible to allude to the political conduct of the clergy without calling to mind that they have always been the stanch and zealous supporters of that horrible and grinding system of taxation, the burden of which has been one of the principal causes of the present outcry against tithes, and which, by producing a state of things that renders it absolutely necessary that some part of the burden must be thrown off, has, independently of all other reasons, rendered the destruction of tithes inevitable at no very distant period. Nor can we pass over in silence the parliamentary conduct of the bishops

upon the three most important questions which have agitated the public mind for many years past, namely, the proceedings against the late Queen Caroline, the Catholic emancipation, and above all the late Parliamentary Reform Bill; for it is certain, that the course pursued by them on those occasions has tended very materially to produce the conviction, which is now become almost universal, that it is absolutely necessary to exclude the clergy from the exercise of every species of temporal power and authority.

It now becomes necessary to make some observations upon the present state of the church-reform question. The expression of public opinion in favour of ecclesiastical reform has been, for some time past, so strong and unequivocal, that it is unnecessary, in this place, to say much on that head; but it has hitherto made little or no progress in the legislature, nor in truth is it to be expected that any substantial reformation of ecclesiastical abuses will be accomplished, or even attempted, during the existence of the present House of Commons; but it is almost certain that it will be one of the first questions which will occupy the attention of the reformed Parliament; indeed, it is manifest from the signs of the times, that it is a measure which cannot be much longer delayed. The burst of tumultuous acclamation with which every denunciation of the abuses of the church, and particularly tithes, is invariably received at public meetings, the resolutions of political unions, the numerous books, pamphlets, and tracts, which are constantly issuing from the London and provincial presses, relative to ecclesiastical reform, and the able, zealous, and determined manner in which it has been commented upon and supported by the leading journals and other publications of the day; all these things, even without the warning given to the bishops by the Prime Minister are indications not to be mistaken but by those who are wilfully blind, that the time is arrived when it is become absolutely necessary for the clergy "to set their house in order."

In making these allusions to the present state of public opinion, we have treated it with reference to England only; we must now turn our attention to Ireland. We are, however, anxious that it should be clearly understood that we have separated the consideration of this subject, as it regards England and Ireland, not because we are so ignorant as to imagine that the general question of church reform is not substantially the same in both countries; but because, owing to political and local causes, which we shall not here attempt to describe, popular opinion has, in Ireland, assumed, to say the least, a more unequivocal and determined aspect. The wrongs of Ireland are a subject which has exhausted all the powers of eloquence; but no language can describe the calamities which ages of civil misrule, and ecclesiastical tyranny and oppression, have brought upon that unhappy country. It is therefore no wonder that, in Ireland, church reform is no longer merely a matter of opinion and discussion, but of *action*; in Kilkenney, Carlow, Queen's County, and a great part of Wicklow, and in Wexford, Tipperary, King's County, Longford, and Westmeath, there has for some time past existed a general and systematic opposition to the payment of tithes; and the Protestant clergy have, in many instances, been reduced to absolute poverty. Mr. Stanley says,—

"Cattle had been seized in default of payment, and the plan was resorted to of confining them within doors in the day time, and letting them out during a short period of the night. If they were sent to graze in the day, scouts and signals intimated the approach of the officers of the laws, and they were driven off; when seized, no opposition was offered to the laws; they were impounded and brought to sale. No man, however, would expose himself to the odium of becoming a purchaser, and the tithe-collector was obliged to purchase them himself. They were taken to a distant market: no man would provide them provender, or give them a night's shelter. They were escorted by the

"police to the sea-shore, for the purpose of being sold in the markets of this country; but resolutions had been entered into even in this country, that no man would buy Irish cattle, branded and brought to sale for the payment of tithes."

But this is not all, not to mention minor disturbances, the interference of the armed police in enforcing the demands of clergymen, Protestant, Christian clergymen!! has led to the most horrible scenes of violence and bloodshed. At Newtownbarry, and more recently at Knocktopher,* fresh victims have been added to the long and sanguinary list of twenty-six thousand human beings who, within the previous thirty years, had been sacrificed to the enforcement of the tithe system.†

The cry of universal horror and indignation which followed the massacre of Newtownbarry, which at once revealed to the people of England the real cause of the complaints of the Irish people, and of their systematic opposition to the payment of tithes, as well as the utter inefficiency of the tithe composition act, appears to have forced upon the Government the conviction that, to use an expression which is now become perfectly familiar to our ears, "Something must be done," which, by the way, in its popular acceptation, signifies everything that is necessary to be done, and without governments, means just as much as they find that the people are determined to extort from them. In pursuance of the recommendation contained in the King's speech at the opening of the present session, committees of the Lords and Commons have been appointed to "examine into the payment of tithes in Ireland and the laws relating thereto." We do not pre-

* An account of this sanguinary conflict is given in our Retrospect.

† Mr. B. Osborne, at the great aggregate meeting of the county of Wexford, held July 30th 1831, said, "I have taken the laborious trouble to search accurately the files of some Irish Journals, and I have found that no less than six-and-twenty thousand persons have been butchered, in twenties and tens, during the last thirty years, in the enforcement of this system."

tend to be acquainted with the intentions of the Government, but if we may judge from the speeches of Lord Melbourne and Mr. Stanley, the result of the deliberations of the committees will be anything but satisfactory to the people of Ireland. No reduction of the burden of the tithes appears to be contemplated; the shape of the thing is to be altered, but its weight is not to be diminished. According to Mr. Stanley's argument, it is the mode, and not the amount of the payment, that constitutes the grievance of the Irish tithe system. Mr. Stanley, however, ought to be well aware, that the Irish tithe-payer does not merely complain of the fashion of his chains, but of their weight and pressure, which are grinding him to the earth. Mr. Stanley is therefore in favour of a land commutation; this, to be sure, is foolish enough; but Lord Melbourne, with the scene at Newtownbarry fresh in his recollection, actually suggests to the committee, "whether it would not be *wise* to make the "composition act compulsory throughout the kingdom." This is not the time, if our limits would permit, to discuss the propositions which we have just mentioned, but with regard to that of Mr. Stanley, we cannot refrain from making a few observations upon it. Ireland contains about 18,000,000 English acres of land, of which, after deducting the church and tithe free lands, and impropriate tithes, 14,000,000 acres at least are subject to ecclesiastical tithes. Now, supposing the commutation in land to be allotted in the proportion commonly adopted in tithe commutation acts in England, the Irish clergy would be entitled to a seventh part, viz., 2,000,000 acres of the titheable lands. This, added to the 1,000,000 acres now in ecclesiastical hands, would appropriate 3,000,000 acres, or one-sixth of the whole soil of Ireland, to the support of a temporal establishment of a religion which, taken at the highest, is professed by only a fourteenth part of the whole community. It is almost needless to ask, whether this be a plan likely to remove the complaints of the Irish peo-

ple; and whether, in particular, the Catholics and Presbyterians are prepared to give up a seventh part of their lands to the support of the clergy of a church with which, to use the mildest expression, they hold no communion; for after all that has been written and said about the vexation of tithes, we are convinced that this is felt to be one of the greatest grievances of the tithe system, both in England and Ireland. In short, it is a question which, in our opinion, can be satisfactorily settled only by a reformed Parliament. We are too well acquainted with the present state of Ireland not to be fully aware of the danger of delay; but as we think that ineffectual measures will merely tend to aggravate the evil, we venture to suggest, that the safest, and indeed the only course which the present Parliament can pursue, will be to pass a short act to suspend all further payment of tithes in Ireland, until the question can be finally disposed of by a House of Commons composed of the real representatives of the people.

With respect to the views and intentions of the church reformers, which are the next subject of consideration, we have already stated that there are church reformers of all sorts and degrees: but, without pretending to be perfectly accurate on this head, we think that the great mass of church reformers may be divided into the three following classes. First, those who propose no other measure of reform than what they are pleased to call an amelioration of the tithe system, that is, either to pass a compulsory or voluntary tithe composition act, or to give a perpetual rent charge or a part of the land itself, by way of commutation, in lieu of tithes in kind. A bill for facilitating compositions for tithes has been several times brought into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the provisions of the bill, and the quarter in which it originated, prove, beyond all doubt, that it was brought forward for the double purpose of stifling the cry for ecclesiastical reform, and increasing the revenues of the clergy. Indeed, this seems to be the real object

of all the various composition and commutation projects which have been lately laid before the Parliament. This sort of tithe reform, which is however scarcely worthy of that name, has, we believe, very few advocates except amongst the lay and clerical aristocracy, the beneficed clergy, and others who are directly or indirectly interested in tithes. With respect to the Archbishop's bill in particular, it is easy to imagine the feeling with which the clergy must regard a measure which would at once augment their incomes, and relieve them from the trouble, expense, and odium, of collecting tithes in kind. Upon the whole, it is quite certain that the composition and commutation scheme will not be abandoned without great reluctance by the aristocracy and clergy; we shall therefore defer our observations upon it until it is again brought before the legislature. In the meantime, we cannot help remarking, that although the outcry against tithes owes its origin in a great measure to the vexatious character of the tithe system, and this was at first the only grievance complained of by the tithe-payers in their petitions to Parliament, it is now almost lost, or, as lawyers would say, merged, in the general complaint against the intolerable burden of tithes, and their perversion from the charitable purposes for which they were originally instituted. The second class of church reformers comprises those who propose that all tithes belonging to ecclesiastical benefices shall be sold, and the produce of the sale applied to the discharge of the national debt; and that the parochial clergy shall receive stipends from the state in proportion to their services. With respect to this last proposition concerning tithes, we cannot refrain from observing, that the political economists, by whom it is principally supported, seem to have wholly overlooked, or at all events have not sufficiently considered, a question which we apprehend will raise a very serious if not an insuperable objection to their project, that is, whether it will satisfy the parties who are most interested in reform-

ing the tithe-system, namely the tithe-payers, under which name we include the consumers as well as growers of titheable produce, which, it is well known, comprises everything that is necessary for the food of man. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the tithe-payers, who it must be remembered are the aggrieved and complaining parties, will be satisfied with any measures which would merely occasion an alteration in the mode of paying tithes, or of the persons to whom they are to be paid, without any diminution of the burden. It is, we think, the height of absurdity to imagine that the tithe-payers, who are the authors and principal agitators of the question of tithe reform, and who alone possess the power of carrying any effectual measure of reform, have been labouring to pull down one tyrant, merely for the sake of setting up another.

The third class of church reformers consists of those who support the three following propositions: 1. To sell the ecclesiastical estates and property of every description now possessed by the bishops, for the use of the public; and to assign to them out of the general revenues of the state, a provision suitable to the episcopal character and functions; and also to deprive them of their seats in the House of Lords; and to render the clergy in general incapable of holding the office of justice of the peace, or exercising any temporal power or authority whatever of a public nature; and in particular to suppress all the ecclesiastical courts. 2. To abolish all deans and chapters, and other unnecessary dignitaries of the church establishment; and to sell all their estates, and apply the produce of the sale to the service of the public. 3. To abolish tithes of every description; and to sell all the lands now possessed by the parochial clergy except the ancient glebes; to permit the incumbents of benefices to retain the churches, the parsonage and vicarage houses, and the ancient glebes; and for the rest, to leave them to the voluntary contributions of their congregations. This third class, of which we are now speak-

ing, comprises, we have good reason to believe, a very great majority of the people of England, and is daily increasing in numbers. It should, however, be observed, that there are many persons belonging to this class who, although they agree in the justice and propriety, and indeed the necessity of abolishing tithes, are nevertheless in some difficulty in regard to what is to be done with the tithes which are in the possession of the lay-impropriators who they think are entitled to receive a compensation for that part of the tithes which they do not hold in their capacity of trustees, that is to say, one-third part.

With respect to our own opinions on the subject of ecclesiastical reform, we think fit to avow them openly, not from any vain notion of their importance, but from a desire that there shall be no room for any misconception as to the character and object of this publication. We have, then, no difficulty in declaring that we concur in the three propositions maintained by the third class of church reformers. With respect to the lay-impropriators, we are not prepared to agree with those who think them entitled to a compensation for tithes to the extent which we have already specified. We should entertain very little doubt as to the reasonableness of their claim to that extent, indeed we should at once come to a conclusion in their favour, if we could be brought to consider them as being, what they now represent themselves to be, mere laymen, and *bond fide* purchasers of *lay* property for a valuable consideration. But it appears to us that they are neither fish nor flesh, or rather, they are like the bat in the fable, sometimes bird, sometimes beast, as best suits their purposes. Their ecclesiastical character and privileges, which it must not be forgotten are of a public nature, have been used by them as weapons for the perpetration of the grossest acts of injustice. Availing themselves of the benefit of the ecclesiastical maxim of *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesiæ*, which they have enforced even with more severity and greediness than their purely spiritual brethren, they have

in numerous instances overturned exemptions from tithes and moduses, which had been quietly enjoyed for centuries, and by these means have enormously increased the value of their tithes. In their ecclesiastical character they have long been, to adopt the expression of Lord King, the arch-disturbers and spoliators of vested interests and inheritances, and therefore they must not expect to be permitted to drop their ecclesiastical cassock all at once, and to stand before the public as mere laymen, claiming protection for "*vested lay interests*," because it happens to be convenient for them to do so at the present moment. We content ourselves with throwing out these hints for the present, because we are only giving a general outline of the question of church reform; it will hereafter be our duty to examine the rights of lay-impropriators in all their bearings.

With respect to the objects of the church reformers of Ireland, we pass over, for the present, Mr. O'Connell's project to abolish tithes as the incumbents die off, and the resolutions of the Irish political union, as fit subjects for separate discussion; and shall only state our conviction that nothing less than a very great reduction of the revenues of the Protestant hierarchy and a total abolition of tithes will, or ought, to satisfy the Irish people. These measures are, in our opinion, absolutely necessary to prevent a constant repetition of the dreadful scene of Newtownbarry and Knocktopher,—scenes which, however they may be lamented, cannot be wondered at.

It is now time we conclude this article; but before we do so, we are desirous, with all possible deference to the judgment of the advocates for church reform in England and Ireland, to impress upon their minds the policy, and indeed the necessity, of establishing an immediate and close union between the church reformers of the two kingdoms; they are engaged in the same cause; and the people of Ireland are, in truth, now contending, not for their own rights only, but also for those of the people of England. Circumstances alone have

placed the Irish people in the front of the battle. There can be no doubt but that the united efforts of the church reformers of England and Ireland, if properly directed to the concentration of public opinion, and the collecting and diffusing of information relative to the abuses of the church, and promoting petitions to the legislature, would give such a stimulus and weight to the cause of church reform, as would very speedily produce a peaceable settlement of that question to the entire satisfaction of the people of both countries.

A few words more respecting ourselves : we are members of the church of England, and as we sincerely wish to reform, and not to destroy it, we shall not be diverted from our endeavours to promote the cause of ecclesiastical reform, by the imputations of irreligion, infidelity, and atheism, which the clergy are accustomed to cast upon every one who proposes any reform in the church established, and which, we are well aware, are bestowed much more liberally upon those who, like ourselves, propose merely to interfere with their temporal possessions, than upon those who impugn the spiritual doctrines of the church, or even Christianity itself. We should not, however, do justice to ourselves if we were not to state our belief that the measures of temporal reform, of which we have declared ourselves the advocates, will not only not prove injurious to the church, properly so called, but are absolutely necessary to preserve it from destruction. We would sacrifice a considerable part of the temporal wealth of the church in order that its spiritual and essential parts may remain unimpaired ;

Immedicabile vulnus

Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.

In this respect we differ widely from the clergy and the other self-styled defenders of the church, who, by their obstinate resistance to reform, have plainly shown that they would rather expose the whole establishment to destruction, than give up what, at best, is a mere appendage to the church, and is now become a scandal and a reproach to it. At all events, we are convinced that

although the measures of reform which we support *may*, the want of such reform *must*, inevitably destroy both the temporal and spiritual establishment of the church.

From this same Magazine I will now take two short articles, either of which is quite sufficient to induce an honest Member of Parliament to take an oath never to shave or to wash himself until he had seen these abominations put an end to by law. The first article is entitled "*Welsh Curates and Irish Curates*," and is in the following words :

THE poverty of the Welsh curates has long been notorious, and indeed proverbial. The following description of the condition of one of that unfortunate class of persons is taken from a pamphlet entitled "Church Regeneration and University Reform, by Morgan Jones, Esq."

"There is in North Wales a clergyman of the establishment who actually receives no more than the sum above specified (10*l.* or 15*l.*) per annum. He has a wife and six children. In the day-time he contrives to scrape together a few pence, by conducting a boat, in which passengers cross a river ; he is the barber in the village, shaves for a penny every Saturday night ; and five evenings of the week he teaches the children of the poor villagers reading and writing, for which he receives a small acknowledgment. When will this scandal to the church be blotted out ? O ye ecclesiastical potentates, for one moment lay aside your silken attributes, stop your position at the foot of Snowden, and visit a poor afflicted brother. A Welsh curate seldom tastes animal food. His means will scarcely furnish his table with a meagre allowance of bread and potatoes."

With great deference to Mr. Jones, we think that it is not necessary that their Lordships should be put to the trouble and the expense, which they can so ill afford, of travelling as far as Wales,

Unless they prefer going in "search of the picturesque," we recommend them to pay a visit to the curate of Lakenheath, in Suffolk, whose case has been recently laid before the public, and at the same time to take an account of the ecclesiastical possessions in that parish. They manage these things much better in Ireland. In that land of ecclesiastical abundance, the hierarchy and the government do not suffer the curates to languish upon stipends insufficient to procure them the necessities of life; such, at least, is the conclusion which we have ventured to draw from the following specimen of Irish curates. The honourable Charles le Poer Trench is curate of Monasterboice, in the diocese of Armagh, but the stipend being, we presume, insufficient for his decent maintenance, he has also been made—Archdeacon of Ardagh (patron, the archbishop).

Vicar-General of Tuam (patron, the archbishop).

Vicar-General of Clonfert (patron, the bishop).

Prebendary of Faldown, Diocese of Tuam (patron, the archbishop).

Rector and vicar of Athenry, Abbert, and Dunmacloughy; in the Diocese of Tuam (patron, the archbishop and the crown alternately).

Rector and vicar of Dunleer, Moylary, Dysart, Hippock, and Druncar; in the Diocese of Armagh (patron, the King).

An ancient author, Xenophon we think (for it is long since we left school), informs us that in Persia it was the custom to assign certain tracts of land to the defraying of the expenses of the wardrobe of the queen, and that each of such districts was called by the name of some particular article of her dress; thus, for example, one estate was called "the Queen's girdle." Now, as the clergy have always been emulous of regal state, witness the palaces and thrones of the bishops, we think that there can be no great impropriety in supposing that the various preferments of the curate of Monasterboice have been bestowed upon him for a similar purpose, and might be distinguished by appropriate names,

after the Persian fashion. Accordingly, Ardagh might be called his "Shovel hat;" Tuam, his "Wig;" Clonfert, his "Cassock;" Faldown, &c. &c., his "Wine-cellar," &c. &c., and Monasterboice, his "Snuff-box." But, to be serious, before we conclude, we cannot help expressing our admiration of these splendid acts of charity and liberality towards a curate; there can be no doubt that when they come to be sufficiently known, they will go a long way towards removing the odium that has been cast upon the hierarchy of Ireland.

So that this fellow, who is the *curate* of one place, is an archdeacon, is a vicar-general in two several dioceses, is a prebendary in another diocese, is a rector and vicar of eight parishes besides; but then, observe, this fellow belongs to the family of Clancarty, the brother-in-law of Castlereagh and of Londonderry.

The other short article from the Magazine is entitled "State of the Church in the Isle of Ely." Ely is the see of a bishop, and this island, abounding in churches, corresponding in magnificence with the beautiful cathedral in that town; and being besides perhaps the very richest spot in all England, in proportion to its extent, this Isle of Ely and this cathedral establishment are, by the clergy, treated in the manner which the reader will perceive from the following article.

State of the Church in the Isle of Ely.

The following letter from a correspondent, exhibits in a very striking point of view three of the most crying abuses of the church,—useless and burdensome dignitaries and offices, non-residence of the clergy, and the enormous value of church benefices; and therefore we make no apology for inserting it. It is an epitome of the ecclesiastical state of the whole kingdom. Our correspondent has, however, we perceive, omitted the minor canons of the cathedral of Ely, and has not stated how many pluralists are included in the list of incumbents. We have

endeavoured to supply this deficiency in regard to the chapter of Ely, by an additional statement, showing the total value of their respective preferments.

(To the Editor of the Church Reformers' Magazine.)

SIR,—I beg leave to send you the following statement of the condition of the established church in the Isle of Ely. You will find that throughout that opulent,

extensive, and populous district, there is in reality but *one resident incumbent*: for the incumbents of the two small vicarages of Whittlesey can only be considered, as far as regards the keeping of hospitality, as curates to the lay impropiators. There may perhaps be some trifling inaccuracies in the statement, but the annual incomes of the several livings are very far from being exaggerated.

Names.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
Dr. B. E. Sparke.	Bishopric of Ely.	£. 12,000	Resides for about a month at Ely occasionally.
J. Wood.	Deanery of Ely (<i>Mastership of a College, and a Rectory, total value £.3650 per annum</i>).	1600	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
G. Jenyns.	Prebend ditto (<i>two Vicarages, £.1950 per annum</i>).	800	Ditto.
H. Fardell.	Prebend ditto (<i>three Rectories and a Vicarage, £.2900 per annum</i>).	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal house.
E. Parke.	Prebend ditto.	800	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
W. W. Childers.	Prebend ditto (<i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, £.1400 per annum</i>).	800	Ditto.
G. O. Cambridge.	Prebend ditto (<i>Archdeaconry and two Rectories, £.3100 per annum</i>).	800	Ditto.
H. T. Dimpier.	Prebend ditto (<i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, £.1800 per annum</i>).	800	Ditto.
J. H. Sparke.	Prebend ditto (<i>Chancellorship and three Rectories, £.3100 per annum</i>).	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal-house.
E. B. Sparke.	Prebend ditto (<i>two Rectories and a Vicarage, £.1900 per annum</i>).	800	Ditto.
— Cambridge.	Elm R., a sinecure.	2000	Non-resident.
J. Jackson.	Elm V.	800	Ditto.
W. G. Townley.	Upwell, Outwell, Welney R.	3000	Ditto.
E. Peak.	Manea-cum-Coveney.	800	Ditto.
The Prebendaries of Ely take the great tithes of these 7 places.	Stuntney. Chettisham. Ely, St. Mary. Ely, Trinity. Thetford. Witchford. Witcham.		There are no resident incumbents or curates in these places.

Names.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
— Sparke.	Littleport.	1200	Non-resident.
H. Baber.	Streatham.	1200	Ditto.
H. Law.	Downham.	1200	Ditto.
Mr. Serj. Pell (<i>Lay Impropiator</i>).	Wilburton.	800	A resident curate.
J. Blick.	Wentworth.	400	Non-resident.
E. Leathes.	Sutton-cum-Mepal.	1500	Ditto.
A. Peyton.	Doddington, March, Wimbington, Benwick.	8000	Ditto.
— <i>Chatfield.</i>	<i>Chatters.</i>	1200	<i>Resident.</i>
— Sparke.	Wisbeach.	3000	Non-resident.
H. Sparke.	Leverington.	1000	Ditto.
F. Cook.	Whittlesey, St. Mary.	—	Resident.
—	Ditto St. Andrew.	—	Ditto.
Archdeacon of Ely.	Haddenham.	400	Non-resident.

I presume the above list will require little comment. A society ought to be immediately formed to collect information respecting the amount and application of the revenues of the church; unless indeed the Government would (as they ought to do) issue a commission for that purpose, which must be done sooner or later.

I am, &c.

ELIENSIS.

Now, readers, will a reform of the Parliament be worth one single straw, if enormities like this be suffered to exist for one day after that Parliament shall meet: if one single day shall be suffered to pass without steps being taken, preparatory to a general measure for wiping off from the nation the deep stain of suffering this disgraceful thing to exist? For my part, I would scorn to call myself the representative of any town or any county that would not pledge itself to stand by me, to the last extremity, while I endeavoured to sweep away this intolerable mass of abuses.

To gentlemen in Ireland, I beg leave to observe, that, if they wish the thing

to be done effectually and quietly, they must have the hearty concurrence and co-operation of the people of England. I beg the gentlemen of Ireland to look attentively at the third paragraph from the end of the above-inserted address of the editor of the Magazine. He there invites them to co-operation. He there tells them that the people of England are looking up to them, as in the front of the battle. This useful co-operation cannot be carried on more effectually than by correspondence with the editor. The Magazine is published by Mr. EFFINGHAM WILSON, of the Royal Exchange, London. I perceive that it is advertised as being sold by Mr. Wakeman, No. 9, Dolier-street, Dublin. Now it would be of the greatest possible utility if gentlemen in Ireland would make communications to the editor, through his publisher Mr. Wilson, respecting particular instances of tithe oppression in Ireland, and of church monopoly. The names of the parties should be given, and the communication should be signed by the name of the writer. It would be useful to com-

municate as soon as possible to the editor respecting the extent of the refusal to pay tithes in Ireland, and respecting the manner of proceeding in the business from the beginning to the end. Mr. Stanley's account of the manner of scoring and driving off the cattle, of preventing their march about the country; of guarding them to the shore by police, in order to send them to England for sale; of the resolutions entered into in this country not to buy Irish cattle brought over for sale for the payment of tithes: Mr. Stanley was very obliging in giving us this information, of which the editor of the Magazine has taken care to avail himself. This fellow Stanley began his political career by eulogising parsons and tithes; and he will see the latter totally disappear before he has proceeded in his career much farther. In conclusion I venture to say, that no publication that we have seen come the press in my time, has contained so much really useful information as we are likely to get through the channel of this Magazine. This will be a book of really "*useful knowledge*," which is the title that BROUGHAM-VAUX gives to the rubbishy Scotch stuff that he is putting forth, and which is sometimes sent *gratis* about the country, under treasury franks, and of course postage free, while I am compelled to pay fourpence for a stamp, in order that my writings may go by the post.

DEBATE OF TITHES.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

HOUSE OF LORDS, 7, Feb. 1832.

Earl GREY rose to present several petitions to their lordships. The first was from Stonehouse, praying that the Reform Bill might pass into a law; the second was from Waterford, praying for additional members to Ireland; the third was from Castlebar, with a similar prayer, and in particular demanding that Mayo should have an increase of members; the fourth was from silk-manufacturers at Macclesfield, praying for further protection for the silk-throwster; the fifth was from Yeovil, praying for protection to the glove-manufacture; the last was from the inhabitants of a parish in Ireland, praying for the abolition of the church-rates and vestry-cess, the abolition of tithes, and

the appropriation of the church lands to the support of the poor. With respect to this petition, there was nothing improper in the wording of it, and in presenting it, he conceived that he was only performing a ministerial duty; and it was not on that account to be supposed that he approved of the measures prayed for, or that, if they were proposed by others, that he would give them his most determined opposition. Under the circumstances of the case and the time, he had thought it of urgency to bring forward a proposition to improve the condition of the clergy of Ireland; but at the same time, he had never for one moment thought of looking at any measure but one which would secure the clergy of Ireland in their just rights, and remove the complaints caused by the present system. He admitted that he had looked with no satisfaction at the misrepresentation which had got abroad; and he thought it necessary to state, that while in Ireland a combination to resist the payment of tithes was continued, and while it continued to spread, he felt it was absolutely necessary, *before anything else*, that the legislative authority and the laws should be vindicated, and that *measures should be adopted* to secure the successful exertion of the power placed in the hands of the Government. That power certainly should be and had been exerted to secure the rights of the clergy; and if it were found insufficient, he had no hesitation in saying, that he would propose to their lordships to give further powers to the Government, if that were rendered necessary, to suppress the resistance.

The Earl of WICKLOW expressed his satisfaction at hearing the declaration of the noble Earl, and regretted that a similar one had not been made before. If such a declaration had fallen from the noble Earl, or from any other member of the administration, before the proposal of forming a committee had been submitted to Parliament, that would have made the Irish, he believed, more contented than at present with tithes, and would have prevented much mischief. He believed that the proposition for appointing the committee, unaccompanied by such a declaration, had produced a great deal of evil which the committee would never remedy. He doubted whether the strongest exertions of the Government would get the better of this mischief.

Earl GREY was certainly pleased that the noble Earl was satisfied with what he had done, but he regretted that the noble Earl should have found fault with what he had omitted. From the opinions which he had always held, and which he had always expressed, he could have no suspicion that any person would ever attribute the present evils to him. (Hear, hear.) He had no reason to believe that such an imputation could be thrown upon his Majesty's Government. (Hear.) If he had then supposed such a de-

claration necessary, he would have made it ; but on every occasion that he had spoken on the subject, he had, on the part of his Majesty's Government, expressed a determination to enforce the law ; and Ministers had not thought that any further expression of their opinions was necessary. (Hear, hear, hear.) Certainly the powers entrusted to Government would be fully employed ; but he must say, that pains had been taken to propagate in Ireland false opinions concerning the intention of his Majesty's Government. He thought that the manner in which the Government had exercised the power entrusted to it, was a sufficient answer to these imputations, and that there was no occasion for the Government, when it could refer to its acts, to make use of many expressions. He certainly had thought those facts sufficient ; but as the misrepresentation continued, he felt disposed to avail himself of the opportunity more emphatically, but not more sincerely, than on former occasions, to state that it was the resolution of the Government to employ all the authority with which the law invested it, and exert all its power to maintain the just rights of the clergy. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ELLENBOROUGH referred to the papers submitted to the Lords' Committee and laid on the table of the House, and said, if the noble Earl had laid those papers on the table when the motion was made for appointing a committee, the noble Earl would then certainly have made the declaration he had now made. As early as last November it was stated to the people of Ireland that the Government was not favourable to the tithe system, and that it would not prevent the spoliation of the clergy. The noble Earl was aware that the whole people were aroused by the expectation of the measures of the Government, and that as long as that expectation continued, not knowing what might ultimately be the arrangement, the rights of the clergy were necessarily suspended. All the evils which were described in the papers laid on the table, must necessarily be increased. While there were any doubts existing as to what were to be the relations between the tithe-receiver and the tithe-payer, it was impossible to expect that the clergy would expose themselves to danger by exercising their rights, and impossible to expect that the tithe-payers would continue to pay that of which they expected at no distant day to be relieved. Since the appointment of the committee it had been stated, as he expected, that all the evils of the system had not only continued but increased, and had extended to other counties and other parts of the country in which previously no profession of resistance had been made. Under the present circumstances, the Government certainly ought to lose no time in coming forward, as the noble Earl had done, to vindicate the authority of the law and maintain the rights of

the clergy. Unless that were done, and done rigorously and speedily, the resolution to resist the payment of tithes would be extended, and the payment altogether resisted. It was impossible that this evil could continue without leading to other dangers. That must be the case in all countries, and particularly in Ireland, where the people were accustomed to think that all rights were only concessions to force ; and this state of things could not continue in Ireland without endangering rent. Whatever proposition the Government might have to make, it ought to lose no time, and the noble Earl should enforce the law for the maintenance of the rights of the clergy. He would venture to suggest that it was most desirable that an investigation should immediately take place into the state of the existing laws as to enforcing the rights of the clergy, what remedies were provided for them, and if it were necessary to make any further provision. He was not aware if this had been done. He thought it was most desirable that the clergy should be enabled by some *speedy and cheap* process to *attach not only the property but the persons of the tithe payers*, and to recover his dues. As the law now stood, there was no power of breaking up the combinations, and nothing could effect that but a *cheap and speedy method of attaching the person*. He would venture likewise to suggest, that if the law was not at present sufficient, some *strong measure should be passed* to enable the Government to prosecute any individuals araying themselves against the payment of tithes. It was not only *illegal to resist tithes*—and for that certainly the parties might be prosecuted—but there should be likewise a power of proceeding against those *who advised such a measure* ; for such advice, whether illegal or not, must tend to subvert the tithe system. These were matters which he thought worthy of consideration, and which implied that *some new law* was necessary. It was necessary to strengthen the hands of the owners of tithes, the hands of the clergy, and the hands of the Government, in order to enable them to make head against the combination.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE : After what the noble Baron had stated as to the proceedings of the committee, he thought it as well to state, for the satisfaction of the noble Baron, that Dr. Halloran had given it in evidence before the committee, that every application which had been made to the Irish Government for assistance to support the rights of the clergy had been most promptly and efficaciously granted. It was fully proved by the evidence before the committee, given by persons of various descriptions, and more or less interested in obtaining their legal dues—it was fully proved by the evidence that not a single instance had occurred of any application having been made to the Irish Government, that assistance was not immediately granted. It was not necessary for him to

add anything after this practical demonstration of the Irish Government, and after the declaration of his noble friend, to prove that the Government had made arrangements to repress infractions of the law, and that there was no foundation, in fact, for the assertion that the Government was indifferent to the subject. It was not, however, to be concealed that those who had an interest in tithes, or at least a concurrent interest—it was certain that persons in Ireland had countenanced and confirmed the belief that Government looked with indifference at the infraction of the law. Only this day evidence had been laid before the committee, that to these reports was to be attributed the fact, that the resistance to the payment of tithes was extending to a part of the country in which it was unknown at the time of the appointment of the committee. People had been willing in those places to pay their tithes, looking to the results of the committee as likely to relieve them from the evils of the system. The subjects alluded to by the noble Baron had already engaged the attention of the committee; all the members of it were anxious to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion, and lay the result of their inquiries before their Lordships.

Lord CLONCUNRY saw that the expectations of the people of Ireland—of justice being done to them by the Committee—had already been of great service in keeping the people of Ireland from having recourse to violence. If the people understood that they might look for redress to the legislature, they would rely on it, but the people would persist in their opposition if they were told that their just rights were not to be attended to.

Lord WYNFORD was understood to say that great exertions were made by the Committee to get at the bottom of the mischief. The existing state of the law had been inquired into, and he could say that it was the same as in England, except that the clergy of Ireland had an additional remedy. He did not agree with the noble Baron who spoke last as to the cause of the mischief. It arose in a great measure, he believed, from the misconduct of the Catholic clergy. It began, he believed, in what he might call the province of Dr. Doyle, who, in his pastoral letters, had declared to the Catholic clergy that those who paid tithes were not fit for the rites of religion here, nor happiness hereafter. He was satisfied, and it was due to his Majesty's Ministers to state, that every effort was made by the committee to get at the foundation of the evil and provide an adequate remedy.

Lord PLUNKETT was not unwilling to trouble their Lordships with a few observations. He was satisfied at perceiving that there was a strong disposition in their Lordships to enter into the question, and promote the measures of Ministers, who thought that they

might give considerable relief to the people, while they expressed their determination to uphold the rights and interests of the clergy. His noble friend, who had introduced the petition, had not thought it necessary, on the occasion of moving for the appointment of the committee, to repeat the declarations he had uniformly made, of his determination to stand by the interest of the church. Often had he heard his noble friend declare this sentiment in his speeches; and he could not agree with those who said that his noble friend had not given many proofs of his determination to stand by the rights of the church. He would observe, that from the nature of the Government, it was absurd to suppose that the Government could ever entertain any intentions unfavourable to tithes. The notion that it was, had not proceeded from the silence of his noble friend, but from injudicious observations which had been put forth in different quarters (hear, hear)! He was not surprised that the lowest classes of the people should entertain a notion that the Government was willing to sacrifice the rights of the church from any notice being taken of the subject. He was not surprised that they credited every report; but *he could find much excuse for them in their ignorance and want of education.* Their expectations were, at the same time, encouraged by persons higher in rank—by persons connected with the clergy—who had led the people, by their assertions, to believe that the Government was opposed to tithes. He regretted very much that persons of high rank and high in place should lend their names to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. It was not to be supposed that those who deprecated his Majesty's Government could really believe that the Government would not support the Protestants of Ireland (hear, hear). Nothing more unwarrantable was ever inferred, if that conclusion was drawn from the appointment of the committee (hear)! Nothing more dangerous, nothing more mischievous, was ever propagated; and it had not one fact to support it (hear, hear)! It was truly said that in many places the people had resisted the payment of tithes, and there were found persons who said that it was the interest of the Government not to support the clergy. Such expressions used against the Government went a long way in some people's minds to warrant suspicion. It was not only the interest of this Government, *but it was the interest of every Government to support and protect the rights of the church.* Persons who said that the Government was not favourable to the Protestants propagated slander (hear, hear). With respect to the Government with which he was connected, he could say, that it evinced in its acts that it was *determined to support the just rights of the clergy.* Protection had been offered to them, and assistance to maintain their legal rights. He thought it necessary to say so much to con-

vince their lordships that it was the determination of the Government of Ireland to stand by the rights of the church.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH referred to a circumstance which occurred on the 8th of January, when an individual exhorted a congregation *not to pay tithes, and to allow neither a distress or distraint for them. That was, he concluded, clearly illegal*, and he desired to know if the King's Government had instituted any inquiries to ascertain whether any legal evidence of this conduct could be procured, and if it could, had it instituted a prosecution?

Viscount MELBOURNE replied, that he could not answer as to this particular case, but *he knew that in similar cases inquiries had been instituted, and prosecutions contemplated.*

Petitions laid on the table.

Lord CLONCURRY presented several petitions from different places in Ireland against the tithe system, which were all referred to the committee sitting to inquire into tithes in Ireland.

BURDETT

BECOME AN ARISTOCRAT.

(*From the Chronicle.*)

At the National Political Union, on Thursday night, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT seemed to consider some of the statements in the Report read that night as aspersions cast on the aristocracy. We have had an opportunity of perusing that document, and we do not think it states more with regard to the body in question than is borne out by fact.

In the account of the circumstances leading to the formation of the Union, the writer mentions—

“1. The determination with which the aristocracy clung to the power which they possess, and which they have so shamefully abused; the powerlessness of Ministers singlehanded against this obstinate body, which originally called the National Political Union into existence. It was clear, after the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords, that the aristocracy would not spontaneously renounce their power: it was equally clear that the Ministers, who felt themselves so weak as to be obliged to conciliate and bow down before a portion of that body, were not strong enough, unaided, to support the claims of the people. In order to afford them the assistance they needed—in order to give a definite form to the public opinion—to create an organ through which that opinion could be efficiently transmitted, the plan of a National Political Union was entertained. The object was to put the wishes of the people at large in organised

array; to give them by union so imposing an appearance, that denial of their demands should be hopeless and direct oppression dangerous.

“At this time also there was yet another circumstance inducing the necessity for a means by which the people might express their wishes. The cry of a re-action in the popular opinion was raised by the enemies of reform. These infatuated opponents of good government had mistaken, or pretended to mistake, the silent and dangerous dissatisfaction of the people for an apathy towards reform. The gloom that was gradually settling upon the public mind, preparing men for the worst, making them to expect and fitting them to encounter all the perils of a violent struggle for good government—this gloomy despair was believed, or pretended to be believed, a quiet acquiescence in the will of the aristocracy; and the most dangerous crisis which has occurred for many years in the history of this country was treated with careless contempt by the headlong and reckless enemies of the people. In order to correct this dangerous mistake on the part of the aristocracy, in order to quiet the alarms and strengthen the purposes of the well-meaning but timid friends of reform, in order efficiently to direct the energies of the ardent and determined, some means for the immediate expression of the popular wishes, in a calm, legal, yet effective manner, was absolutely requisite. To this purpose, a union of all classes interested in good government was proposed, and immediate measures taken to carry this proposal into effect.

“DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.—Great and manifold difficulties had to be encountered before the object desired could be obtained. It is of the utmost importance that these difficulties should be fairly stated—should be thoroughly understood. These very obstacles being among the most pernicious of the evils created by a mischievous government.

“Unfortunately, the classes which had to be united, viz. the middle and working classes, stood opposed to one another in a distressing and dangerous hostility. Large numbers of the middle classes had hitherto, from various causes, been either the tame followers or the active supporters of the aristocracy. By the aristocracy themselves, and the writers whom the aristocracy had won by favour or hired by money for the purpose, the middle classes had been too generally taught to believe the working classes lovers of riot, confusion, and spoliation; they were led to fancy them men rendered desperate by poverty, seeking for change in order to grow rich by plunder; they were thus, on the one hand, set against the working classes; while on the other, they were impelled towards the aristocracy by those habits of crawling subservience to all above, and arrogant assump-

tion to all whom they deemed below, which all aristocracies have too successfully inculcated. Thus fear of evil from the working classes, hope of distinction, favour, and reward from the aristocracy, had hitherto rendered the middle classes averse to any union with that part of the people whose interests in fact were and are identical with their own."

Sir FRANCIS said—

"He dissented from the aspersions cast on the aristocracy, and considered it as essentially necessary to have such a body of men in society as it is to have the cathedral of St. Paul complete in all its parts. Degrees were necessary to society. He certainly did not wish to confound the higher or aristocratic orders of society with the oligarchy of the country, or the boroughmongering faction that holds in tyrant chains the liberty of the people."

At the Crown-and-Anchor, in 1818, this fellow, in alluding to something that I had said about him, and especially at a prediction of mine, that he would become one of the most stinking of all aristocrats before he died; upon that occasion he said that he might, for anything that he knew, become an oyster before he died; but, at any rate no one could say that he was not a consistent politician! Under this fellow's own hand, with his name at the bottom of it, we have assertions made by him, upon several occasions, that it was "THE GREAT FAMILIES" that enslaved and beggared the nation; and upon one occasion we have, under his own hand, an assertion that the country never would be better off until the leaves were torn out of the ACCURSED RED BOOK; and that book contains a list of the royal family and of all the peers. Oh! but it is the oligarchy and the boroughmongers that he dislikes, and not the high aristocracy! Indeed! And who are the high aristocracy then, if they be not the "great families?" And who are the boroughmongers except it be Dukes and Marquises, and Earls, and Viscounts, and Barons? What this shuffling shoyhoy will come to at last it is difficult to say; but it is evident that he is at present a mere tool in the hands of the aristocracy for nullifying the spirit and rendering ridiculous the proceedings of this political union in London, which, by-the-by, is laughed at

from one end of the country to the other; and chiefly because it has this battered sham-patriot at its head.

ROTTEN BOROUGH OF WESTMINSTER.

THE following article from the *Morning Chronicle* is a puff, written I dare say by Hobhouse himself, the making of whom Secretary of War and a Privy Councillor, is quite sufficient to enable us to judge of the character of this Ministry. This man has been bred amongst the public money, and it would take fire and sword to drive him out of it. However, we shall have the parliamentary reform in one way or another, and then I shall take the liberty to inquire whether we may not be permitted to look into the accounts of those who have been receiving public money. A public accountant is an indelible character. I cannot help hoping that the nation must still be rich if everything be well looked into; and I certainly should not be disposed to overlook the sums which have been given to Lady Juliana, and to the commissioner of the debts of the nabob of Arcot. There was, it seems, no more to do at the re-election of this man amongst the sordid, besotted, and corrupt wretches of the wen, than there would have been at the appointing of a constable. It was not *market-day* at Covent-garden, so that there were no rotten turnips or cabbages to spare, to be flung at his head, as there were in 1830.

"The appointment of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE as successor to Sir HENRY PARNELL seems to be generally viewed with satisfaction. Notwithstanding the innuendoes of some of our contemporaries, the *Court Circular* confirms our statement that the retirement of Mr. TENNYSON from office was totally unconnected with political motives, as he was yesterday sworn in as a Privy Councillor. This honourable recognition of his services is totally inconsistent with the Tory surmise, that differences with the Government had caused his secession. At the same time, this, in other respects, gratuitous

"admission by the King of so deeply-pledged and active a reformer into his Privy Council, furnishes a conclusive answer to those who are daily insinuating that his Majesty is now inclined to retreat from the course upon which he had entered."

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

JONES, P., Folkestone, Kent, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BYRON, J. S., Boston, Lincolnshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

DAVIS, D. D., Fitzroy-square, boarding-house-keeper.

DAVIS, J., Burton-on-the-Hill, Gloucestershire, auctioneer.

GALE, J., Manchester, carver.

GRANT, D., late of Kensington, builder.

HANNUM, S., Oxford, carpenter.

JACKSON, J., Rochester, brush-maker.

JEWSBURY, J. C., Canterbury, linen-draper.

JONES, T., Kidderminster, druggist.

LONGWORTH, R., Upper Rawcliffe-with-Tarnicar, Lancashire, rush-dealer.

MONTAGUE, J., Charlotte-street, Bedford-square, jeweller.

MORGAN, W., G. R. Roach, and G. Morgan, Liverpool-street, merchants.

POOLE, J., Worcester, comb-manufacturer.

TAYLOR, T., Clifford-st., Bond-st., man's mercer.

WARNER, J., Manchester, warehouseman.

YOUATT, W., Nassau-street, Middlesex-hospital, druggist.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

DE METZ, A. L., Walter's-buildings, Holloway, bill-broker.

MACKAY, J., Broad-st., insurance-broker.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMITAGE, J., and J. Greenwood, Clayton and Swamp, Yorkshire, stuff-manufacturers.

AUST, D., Walcot, Somersetshire, builder.

BREARLEY, J., Brimrod, Lancashire, woolen-manufacturer.

BURGESS, C. M., Toxteth-park, Lancashire, builder.

CLAYTON, T. sen., Chorlton-row, Lancashire, cheese-factor.

COTTLE, T., Salisbury-street, Bermondsey, dealer in marine stores.

FOULKES, J., Mold, Flintshire, wine-dealer.

GASCOYNE, R., Richmond, Surrey, tailor.

GILBERT, J. jun., Coventry, coach-proprietor.

HALLIWELL, R. O., Whitechapel-road, oil-man.

HAMILTON, R., Fountain-court, Bishopsgate-street, wine-merchant.

KEER, G. B. sen., Framlington, Suffolk, common-brewer.

KNOX, P., Maidstone, grocer.

MAUGHAM, W. T., King-street, Covent-garden, hatter.

MOTTERSHEAD, S., Manchester, cotton-spinner.

NEWMAN, J., South-st., Chelsea, victualler.

PARKER, G., Deritend, Warwickshire, factor.

SIDFORD, R. B., Wilton, Wiltshire, baker.

TAYLOR, A., Royton, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

WISEMAN, I., Norwich, silkman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEBRUARY 13.—Our supplies have been, since this day se'nnight, of wheat from all quarters, as also English, Irish, and Scotch barley, and Irish malt, moderately good; of English malt, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, and English and Irish flour, great; of Scotch and foreign flour, and Scotch malt, with beans and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was rather numerously attended both by London and country buyers, but owing to the abundance of the supply causing these to press for abatements, whilst the sellers were firm to their last week's position, the trade was throughout very dull: with most kinds of oats at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per qr.: with wheat, barley, malt, peas, beans, and flour, at last Monday's prices. In rye, bran, or Indian corn, but little, if anything, doing.

Wheat	58s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	23s. to 32s.
— fine	34s. to 41s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatow	23s. to 26s.
— Poland	21s. to 24s.
— Feed	17s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.

— Sides, new ... 46s. to 48s.

Pork, India, new .. 127s. 0d. to 128s.

Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.

— Carlow 80s. to 86s.

— Cork 82s. to 84s.

— Limerick .. 83s. to 84s.

— Waterford.. 76s. to 82s.

— Dublin ... 80s. to —s.

Cheese, Cheshire.... 54s. to 84s.
 ——— Gloucester, Double... 52s. to 66s.
 ——— Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 54s.
 ——— Edam 47½. to 50s.
 ——— Gouda 46s. to 50s.
 Hams, Irish..... 62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—February 13.

This day's supply of beasts, calves, and porkers, was rather limited, but fully equal to the demand; of sheep, moderately good. The trade was throughout very dull: with beef at an advance of about 2d. per stone: mutton, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,480; sheep, 19,030; calves, 85; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 17.

The arrivals this week are again large, the market is dull, and the prices one or two shillings per quarter lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		82½	82½	82½	82½	82½	82

THE LANCET,

EDITED BY MR. WAKLEY.

Diseases of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Swine, and Dogs.

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Not less than Two MILLIONS OF SHEEP were sacrificed to the disease called "THE Rot" in England during the last year!

Without saying one word of the IMMENSE Losses which annually occur in this country among HORSES and CATTLE, there is proof enough that a most disastrous ignorance of the true principles of Veterinary Medicine prevails in one of the first breeding countries in Europe.

It is high time, then, that the vivid lights of science should be thrown around the almost invariably fatal diseases of our Domestic Animals, and that ignorance of the proper Treatment of those Diseases should no longer exist.

It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that the EDITOR of THE LANCET announces that he has concluded arrangements for publishing this UNIQUE COURSE OF LECTURES, now delivering to the Veterinary Students in the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, to which Institution Mr. YOUATT has been appointed a Lecturer by the Noblemen and Gentlemen who constitute the Council.

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THE LANCET

(Third Edition)

ON THE CHOLERA.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RAVAGES,

OF THE

BLUE CHOLERA OF INDIA,

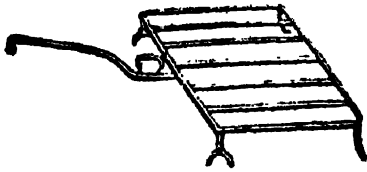
From its first irruption in 1817, to its appearance in England and Scotland, brought down to February 1832; embracing a minute account of its symptoms, pathology, and treatment; the controversy regarding its mode of propagation, and the sanitary measures calculated to prevent its increase; with a Plate and a Map. Price 1s. 6d.

Re-published from the "LANCET," of November 19th, 1831, and February 4th, 1832.

THE LANCET (Price 8d.) is published every Friday afternoon, by G. L. HUTCHINSON, at the Office, 210, Strand, London, in time for the evening mails which reach the country on Saturday morning; and orders given for its regular delivery to any Bookseller or News-agent in town or country, will be punctually attended to.

*Lancet and Ballot Office, 210, Strand,
 December, 1831.*

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



"CHOLERA MORBUS."

Huddersfield, 19th Feb. 1832

I AM ashamed to put the words upon paper: I do not believe that there is any disease in the country which has not been in it from the time that it first became inhabited: I do not believe one single word of all the statements of those doctors who contend that this disease is infectious: I believe that this disease *may* be more common than at most former periods of our history, because it generally proceeds from poverty and filth; and because the people are poorer and more filthy than they ever were before. This being my firm conviction, I should not have given the subject one inch of room in my work had I not deemed it right to do it, in order that our children may have an idea, or something like it, of the sort of *Government* under which we are living; or, rather, of the sort of *confusion* in which the affairs of this great country now are!

For this reason, and for no other, I shall insert one day's London-Nonsense on "the Cholera," taking it just as it lies before me in the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper of the 18th instant. But I should put upon record, that a *Act* has *actually been passed*, giving *most extensive powers* to the PRIVY COUNCIL, for the alleged purpose of preventing, or checking, this disease! Powers wholly unknown to *English law*! I do not see *any limit* to these powers; and if that Council were to order all my goods and books to be burnt, in order to prevent them from carrying about "*the Cho-*

lera," I do not see any remedy that I should have. We shall *see the Act* one of these days; and a precious document, I am sure, we shall find it.

It is curious to see how this great vessel is rocking to and fro, and how, at every lurch, the poor and oppressed part of the people *gain something*! The RICH are now raising money, nay, *the law* is about to make them pay money, to supply the means of giving proper food, raiment, bedding, medicines, and fuel, to THE POOR! And, besides these, to make them pay for *cleansing* the habitations of those who are unable to do it themselves! Why was not this done *before*? Because, before, *the rich were in no danger* from contagion existing amongst the poor! If the wretched state of the poor demand this *now*, it demanded it before "*the Cholera*" was heard of; but the *danger to themselves* has now awakened their compassion. The chopsticks in Norfolk call the *blankets*, the *brad*, the *largesses* of various sorts, which they are receiving, and have been receiving, since the fires raged, "*scare-blankets*," &c. With what reason I do not know; but the largesses to the poor, which are now bestowed, are certainly *scare-benefactions*. And here we have a *literal* verification, a *practical* verification, of my long-expressed and earnestly-inculcated opinion; namely, that there cannot, for any long time, be ease, tranquillity, or even *personal safety*, to the rich, amidst a miserable and half-starving people. "Out of evil comes good;" and even if I believed in the contagiousness of this disease, I should say it was a *good thing*, seeing that its *effects* are so good. I believe that the sufferings of the poor will be less, and their deaths less, this winter, than in any winter for many years last past; because, and only because, the disease that is now said to exist, is thought to be *catching*! If the disease were the king's-evil, or anything not catching, the base MALTHUSIAN crew would leave them to "the hand of

nature;" but, as it may spread from those who work to raise the taxes, to those who eat them, the case is very different. The tax-eaters now find that those who do the work are human beings; but those who are now bestirring themselves in the *cleansing* work, may be well assured that those whom they assist know how to reason as to motives.

With one part of the following account I am very much pleased. It will be seen, that in my ward, in London, the *parochial schools have been dissolved*, lest "*the cholera*" should get into them; and, of course, the school in *Bolt-court*, which used to stun me and my customers with singing *God save the King*, the *Apostles Creed*, and *Pence-Table!* The reader thinks I am joking: I am not; and I intended to indite the nuisance as soon as I got back to London. Thank you, "*cholera*," for relieving me from this plague; you are much more effectual than the law, and much swifter in your movements. This eternal curse is gone, at any rate: I shall hear no more *clapping of hands and shouting* for the purpose of *enlightening* the minds of the "*rising generation*." What a blessing it will be, if all these crowds of little creatures should be dispersed in this way!

Though I deem the whole affair as a mere hobgoblin, it will, if it be kept up with a tolerable supply of "*new cases*" and of "*deaths*," for three months, have, at the end of that time, produced a great and most salutary effect. One of the very greatest curses of this kingdom is the *swollen size of the Wen*; and the *very greatest danger* which the country has to apprehend, is the difficulty in *dispersing the swelling*. I have seen a *way through* every difficulty but this. The *Wen* must be dispersed, mind that: that is as sure as that the sun gives light: and who is to say that "*the cholera*" is not to be the main instrument in the necessary work? One thing is, to *prevent further swelling*; and this "*the cholera*" will, if it bring a due supply of "*new cases*" and of "*deaths*," duly seasoned with *alarming* paragraphs, certainly effect. For the *Wen* (I do not

mean the *city*) is peopled wholly with *idlers*, and with persons to *feed and clothe and amuse* them. The idlers will hardly come to the *Wen* to face "*the cholera*," and then those who feed and clothe and amuse them will not come. The schools will not receive their supply of country scholars, and the people who have children in the *Wen* will withdraw them from it.

The next effect will be that of *driving idlers away*, together with the crowds who work in one way or another to keep them in idleness. A judicious supply of *alarming paragraphs* would empty the squares in a month! The club-houses, or hells, would stick longer; but they would be emptied in another month. If the diabolical contents got to Bath, Cheltenham, Brighton, &c., a wise Minister would follow them thither with scare-paragraphs; and by the end of August, he would have the whole of the whiskered tribe lying about the lanes, feeding upon nice sweet blackberries of their own picking. Aye, and many a thousand of he and she tax-eaters would be hop-picking, in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, before the end of September: for as to *pensions, dividends, and half-pay*, they would all be frightened away by "*the cholera*;" and by the month of October, the grass would be a foot high in "*REGENT-STREET*" and that of *St. James*. I saw it *very fine*, growing in the streets of Philadelphia, in November, 1793.

To effect all these mighty purposes "*the cholera*" need not be *real*, mind! It would be as effectual, and even *more* effectual, if it existed *only* in the imagination. Only let the *broad-sheet*; only let Vaux Brougham's "*best possible public instructor*," work the matter well, and I will engage, that, in a month, or, at most, in three months, the *Wen* shall be as completely evacuated as ever human body was by the real *cholera morbus*. The only persons entitled to much compassion in such dispersion, would be the *tradesmen* of the *Wen*, who have *property*; and they ought to think of the matter *by times*. They will, let things take what course they may, be greatly affected by the

scaring effects of this disease. While there are propositions for *suspending the proceedings in courts of justice*, it is hard to see how the Privy Council can permit assemblages at the *play-houses*, at *balls*, at *routs*, and the like. And, as to the assemblages at St. STEPHEN'S, and especially at BELLAMY'S, in what places is "*the cholera*" more likely to be an intruder, since it is said to delight to work on *matter* which needs no minute description from my pen, even if the description were inviting both to the eye and to the nose. There is, however, a remedy at hand *here*; for these assemblages can *remove* to YORK, or to SALISBURY. Oh, God! and are we to owe this blessed change to "*the cholera*?"

This, however, will work the *tradesmen*, who will soon feel "*the cholera*" in their pockets; for, the landlord and the tax-gatherer will keep coming, and the *rate-collector* will come for cholera-rate in addition to all the rest, while the customers (and especially the *paying ones*) will be gone! The situation of Wen-tradesmen is already bad enough. The chopsticks are keeping back the supplies that the landlords, parsons, and bull-frogs, used to bring up to the Wen. Some of the Wen-tradesmen must give way, at any rate; but "*the cholera*" well kept up, will break up the whole affair in a few months. No effects are so swift as those of *flight*. Men lose all consideration for ulterior consequences; they look only at the present danger; they act on the impulse of the moment; and, if the alarm become great and general, every vehicle and every horse will be impressed into the service; and the roads from the Wen will, in all directions, resemble the scenes produced by the near approach of a barbarous enemy and his irresistible army. And, again I say, that, to cause all this, an imaginary may be just as effectual as real pestilence.

The following is the report of cholera cases received yesterday:

CENTRAL BOARD OF HEALTH, COUNCIL OFFICE, WHITEHALL, FEBRUARY 17. 1832.

LONDON, TEN O'CLOCK A. M.

Lincolne, Feb. 16.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 0; died, 0; remaining 1. Total cases from commencement of disease, 4; deaths, 3.

Afloat on the River, Feb. 16.—Remaining at last report, 2; new cases, 0; died, 0; recovered, 0; remaining, 2. Total cases from commencement of disease, 2; deaths, 0.

Lambeth, Feb. 16.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 0; died, 0; recovered, 0; remaining, 1. Total cases from commencement of disease, 2; deaths, 1.

Southwark, Feb. 16.—Remaining at last report, 9; new cases, 9; died, 2; recovered, 2; remaining, 9. Total cases from commencement of disease, 18; deaths, 6.

THREE O'CLOCK, P. M.

Lincolne, Feb. 17.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 1; died, 1; recovered, 1; remaining, 0. Total cases from commencement of disease 5; deaths, 4.

Afloat on the River, Feb. 17.—Remaining at last report, 2; new cases, 0; died, 0; recovered, 0; remaining, 2. Total cases from commencement of disease, 2; deaths, 0.

Lambeth Feb. 17.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 0; died, 1; recovered 0; remaining, 0. Total cases from commencement of disease, 2; deaths, 2.

Southwark, Feb. 17.—Remaining at last report, 9; new cases, 0; died, 1; recovered, 1; remaining 7. Total cases from commencement of disease, 18; deaths, 7.

Newcastle, Feb. 15.—Remaining at last report, 5; new cases, 6; died, 0; recovered, 5; remaining 6. Total cases from commencement of disease, 213; deaths, 265.

North Shields, Merton Township, and Preston, Feb. 15.—Remaining at last report, 61; new cases, 7; died, 2; recovered, 0; remaining, 66. Total cases from commencement of disease, 287; deaths, 75.

Hellon, &c., Feb. 15.—Remaining at last report, 22; new cases, 13; died, 1; recovered, 8; remaining, 26. Total cases from commencement of disease, 428; deaths, 83.

Haddington, &c., N. B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 10; new cases, 2; died, 0; recovered, 2; remaining, 10. Total cases from commencement of disease, 124; deaths, 57.

Tranent N. B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 71; new cases, 4; died, 5; recovered, 11; remaining, 59. Total cases from commencement of disease, 265; deaths, 73.

Preston Pans, Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 21; new cases, 4; died 0; recovered, 11; remaining, 17. Total cases from commencement of disease, 102; deaths, 18.

North Berwick, Feb. 13.—Remaining at last report, 3; new cases, 0; died, 0; recovered, 0.

covered, 0; remaining, 3. Total cases from commencement of disease, 16; deaths, 7.

Musselburgh, N.B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 65; new cases, 7; died 3; recovered, 19; remaining, 50. Total cases from commencement of disease, 423; died, 185.

Hawick, Feb. 14 and 15.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 0; died, 0; recovered, 1; remaining, 0. Total cases from commencement of disease, 17; deaths, 4.

Kirkintilloch, N.B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 3; new cases, 2; died, 1; recovered 1; remaining, 3. Total cases from commencement of disease, 72; deaths, 26.

Glasgow and suburbs, Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 1; new cases, 2; died, 2; recovered, 0; remaining, 1. Total cases from commencement of disease, 5; deaths, 4.

Coal Bridge, N.B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 0; new cases, 5; died, 3; recovered, 0; remaining, 2. Total cases from commencement of disease, 5; deaths, 3.

Mary Hill, N.B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 4; new cases, 4; died, 0; recovered, 0; remaining, 8. Total cases from commencement of disease and deaths—not stated.

Paisley, N.B., Feb. 14.—Remaining at last report, 0; new cases, 2; died, 2; recovered, 0; remaining, 0. Total cases from commencement of disease, 2; died, 2.

TOTALS.

Cases remaining at last report..	283
New cases.....	69
Died.....	21
Recovered.....	58
Remaining.....	261

	Cases.	Deaths.
From the commencement of disease.....	2,719	846
From places where the disease has ceased, and from which no returns have been this day received.....	1,842	521

Grand Total. 4,561 .. 1,367
(Signed) Wm. MACLEAN, Sec.

"Council Office, Feb. 17.

"The rumour of a gentleman having been attacked with spasmodic cholera at one of the hotels in Albemarle-street, has no foundation. Having been deputed by the Central Board to inquire into its truth, I am instructed to give, for the satisfaction of the proprietor and the public, an unqualified contradiction to the report.

JAMES EVANS, Surgeon."

UNION HALL.—CHOLERA.—Yesterday, Dr. White, Physician to the Surrey Dispensary (next door to the office), appeared before the magistrates, and said that a man labouring under symptoms of the cholera was then in a hackney-coach at the door of the Dispensary,

which, however, could not take him in, as the institution was only founded for giving medical advice and dispensing medicines gratis to the poor.—A Mr. Harle, who accompanied the patient, said, that as he was passing along Pitfield-street, Shoreditch, that morning about eleven, he saw a man suddenly attacked with violent sickness, accompanied with cramp. He was taken into a chemist's shop, where he was somewhat relieved by brandy and opium. He was then placed in a hackney-coach, and carried to Bartholomew's Hospital. On arriving there, the authorities refused to admit the patient. He was then driven to Abchurch-lane; but the Lord Mayor expressed his regret that his mansion was not ready, and advised him to go to the Surrey Dispensary. The patient had been bled in the coach to the extent of eighteen ounces, which gave him some relief. He appeared to be about forty, and a mechanic. He was lying along the seat of the vehicle, and every now and then exhibited agony apparently from spasms in his lower extremities.—An officer was sent to Guy's Hospital to ascertain if accommodation could be afforded there, and an answer was returned in the negative. The poor man had now been two hours and a half in the coach. Admission was also refused to the workhouse of St. George. After a further delay, the patient was admitted into a house opposite Bethlem Hospital, St. George's-fields, which has been recently fitted up for cholera cases.

Another new case occurred yesterday at Limehouse. A woman named Connolly, about forty years of age, who resided in White's-rents, was conveyed to an apartment in the rear of the workhouse yard, at half-past one this morning, and died at a quarter to four. A number of men were engaged several hours this morning in working the parish engine, and washing the dwellings, &c., in White's-rents. It is about 100 yards to the eastward of Nightingale-lane, between Ropemaker's-fields and Fore-street, a confined dirty alley; here it is where the deceased woman Ferguson resided. The case is pronounced decidedly cholera.

On Thursday morning the following notice, issued by the Central Board of Health, was extensively posted over the metropolis:—

"Cholera Districts.—Looseness of bowels is the beginning of cholera; thousands of lives may be saved by attending in time to this, a complaint which should on no account be neglected by either old or young. In places where the disease prevails, when cramps in the legs, arms, or belly are felt, with looseness or sickness at the stomach, when medical assistance is not at hand, three tea spoon-ful of mustard-powder, in half a pint of warm water, or the same quantity of warm water with as much common salt as it would melt, should be taken as a vomit, and after the stomach has been cleared out with more warm water, 25 drops of laudanum should be taken in a small

glass of any agreeable drink. Heated plates, or platters, to be applied to the belly and pit of the stomach. As persons run considerable risk of being infected by visiting those suffering from this disease, in crowded rooms, it is most earnestly recommended that only such a number of persons as are sufficient to take care of the sick be admitted into the room.

“W. MACLEAN, Sec.

“Central Board of Health,
Council-Office, Whitehall.”

FARRINGTON-WITHOUT. — Last night a meeting was held in the parish church of St. Sepulchre, of the Common Council, clergy, and medical practitioners of the ward of Farringdon-Without; Mr. B. Lord, Common Councilman, in the chair. The chairman stated that the object of the meeting was to take into consideration the most effectual measures to be adopted in consequence of the alarming disease which had visited the metropolis. Several gentlemen, professional and otherwise, addressed the meeting; and the principal topic was that of the *proposed dissolution of the parochial schools*. It appeared that an order had been sent to the school of that parish, in consequence of which the children had been sent home. This measure appeared inimical to the views of many present, who considered that the children, being thrown into the streets, would not only contract immoral habits, but be much more liable to become victims to the cholera than if allowed to congregate as usual. At all events, supposing that the order was persisted in, they thought that they ought to be mustered every day, so that practitioners might ascertain the state of their health, and what was really of paramount importance, to see that they were kept in a state of cleanliness. — The Rev. Mr. Nott, the vicar, hoped that gentlemen would raise a fund for the purpose of *cleansing and white-washing the residences of those who were incapable of doing it themselves*. He said he would put down £100 towards such a purpose. (Loud applause.) Mr. Figgins was friendly to the proposition, but remarked, that in some of the houses he had visited he found the inmates *enjoying good health*, living in the midst of dirt and filth, and *notwithstanding* it was a fact recorded in history, that during the plague of London, the cat-gut spinners, &c., who lived in and about Cowcross, generally escaped the contagion. (Laughter.)

Mr. Edwards, overseer, complained of a demand made by the marshalsmen, of 2s. for the delivery of a summons connected with the poor-rates. Some time since he paid 41 12s. for 46 summonses, and he found upon inquiry that the beadle snatched the spoil; he was sure that if the claim was legit the marshalsmen would not give up half. Mr. Figgins said, of all the useless men to be met with in the city of London, the marshalsmen were the most useless. — Thanks having been voted to the

Chairman, the meeting adjourned until Saturday.

The members of the City Board of Health held a meeting yesterday evening. Several bankers of Lombard-street, and others who have houses in the vicinity of the old Post-Office, object to the premises lately occupied by Sir F. Freeling, being prepared as a hospital for the reception of persons attacked by the cholera. At the meeting held yesterday evening, parties attended on behalf of those opposed to the measure, to state their grounds of objection. Mr. Pearson contended that it was of the highest importance that places should be provided in the city, where immediate assistance could be afforded to persons who were attacked. He said there were many persons engaged in the banking houses and merchants' offices who lived some distance from town. If one of them were suddenly attacked, would those who opposed the establishment of hospitals take the patient into their house? The subject remains for future consideration.

Government have placed at the disposal of the City Board of Health a large number of iron bedsteads and bed-clothes, which will be distributed in those places where hospitals are to be prepared. The Board have had submitted to them plans for carriages to convey the sick to the hospitals with all possible speed. The obtaining a plot of ground to bury persons who may die of the disease has also been under consideration, as well as many other plans for affording relief to the poor. Representations were made of the injurious effects likely to result from the crowded state of the Court of Requests on Court days for hearing summonses, the parties attending the Court being generally those of the lowest class. Measures to prevent any evil consequences in this respect are to be considered.

In the ward of Bishopsgate a meeting of the subscribers to the schools was held on Wednesday, when it was unanimously resolved to postpone the dispersion of the children; and, at the suggestion of the Dean of Hereford, the Rector, the treasurer has since had an interview with the official authorities at Whitehall, who consider the measure recommended by the City Board of Health at present premature, and that it will be sufficient time, at all events, to carry it into effect should the disease unhappily make its appearance in the district.

The reports of yesterday respecting cholera, in all those parts of the metropolis which it has invaded, are very favourable: We have seen the six cases which are now under treatment in the parish of St. Olaves, and we are happy to say that the alarming symptoms which certainly were manifested in these cases have entirely disappeared, and the patients merely labour under a slight fever. The patient who died on Wednesday was an Irishman, whose friends peremptorily refused to allow him to be examined. The Central Board of Health has requested of those sur-

geons who have cases of cholera under their care to consider the inspection of the body after death as an essential part of their reports; and it is to be hoped that *the Government will secure to the medical gentlemen the facility of making this inspection.*

The following placard was posted about Lambeth yesterday:—

"CHOLERA HUMBUG!—Inhabitants of Lambeth, be not imposed upon by the villainously false report that the Asiatic Cholera has reached London. A set of half-starved doctors, apothecaries' clerks, and jobbers in the parish funds, have endeavoured to frighten the nation into a lavish expenditure; with the Government they have succeeded in carrying a bill which will afford fine pickings. A ruinous system of taxation, starvation, and intemperance, has been long carried on; it has now arrived at its acme, and disease is the natural result."

Some alarm was created in Liverpool, on Tuesday and Wednesday, by a report that several cases of malignant cholera had broken out in that town. It was found, however, on inquiry, that the cases were *English cholera.*

In every county, city, or town, which cholera has as yet visited, the extent of its ravages has been uniformly in an inverse ratio to the general health of the inhabitants.

Several cases prevailed to an alarming extent in the autumn and spring of 1817 and 1830, about Wapping and Ratcliffe, and spread with such frightful rapidity, that many persons died daily. Patients broken down by dissipation and mental distress, and especially enfeebled living women, old people, and children, were carried off by its force, within twenty-four hours, vomiting; relaxation of bowels being always attendant symptoms.

There is one point relative to the cholera which seems to puzzle the contagionists. This disease is Indian, where it has long been indigenous. We of this country, and especially of this metropolis, are in constant intercourse with India, ships from whence are arriving in numbers almost every week; yet, though *Lascars* on board some of these vessels have been known to die of Asiatic cholera between Madeira and England, no instance of the disease having been thus imported has been known to occur.—*Morning Paper.*

LANGPORT.—The typhus fever is now so very prevalent in the neighbourhood of this town, that some excitement has been occasioned in consequence, particularly at Curry Rivel, where many persons have been victims to the disease.—*Sherborne Journal.*

The typhus fever and measles are very prevalent in Wakefield and the adjacent villages. The fever ward at the Dispensary has been, for some weeks, quite full, and in several families there have been cases which, on this account, could not be removed. The apothecary at the Dispensary fell a victim to the fever a short time back.

It is believed by many medical men, that in

numerous instances the typhus fever, which has been prevalent for some months in various parts of the country, has been common in close neighbourhoods and other unhealthy situations annually, but having been unnoticed by official medical reports, it passed off without exciting any public alarm.

QUARANTINE.—The Dutch Government have classed Glasgow, together with Edinburgh and Leith, among the infected places, with respect to quarantine in Holland, by which vessels from these places will be subject to forty days' quarantine on arriving in the Netherlands ports.

It appears that the only precaution taken at Standgate Creek, or in English quarantine generally, is to impound the disease. Detention during ten days of the ship and crew, and fumigation, are the specifics. On the liberation of the ship, it is assumed that the crew are in perfect health; but what has been done to expurgate their bedding, clothing, and susceptible goods? Exposure to the air, and the supposed and now doubtful disinfection—such as chlorine and chlorides—are the only precautionary measures.

IRISH LAMB.

Huddersfield, 18th Feb., 1832.

Just before I left Manchester this morning, Mr. Jounson took me to see one of the *flesh-markets*, when, to my great surprise, I saw a *house-lamb*, the most beautiful, by very far, that I had ever seen in my whole life, though I have always been a connoisseur in house-lamb, and always, when I have had the means, been what they call a *maker of house-lamb*. This lamb, which was whole, and had, as the fashion is, the skin upon the back, did not weigh, with the four trotters cut off, *more than seven pounds a quarter at most*, was as fat as, and had kidneys equal in proportion to those of, any *Leicester sheep* that I ever saw in my life! The butcher said that the *fore quarters* would weigh *about eight pounds*: "about eight" means "seven," in such a case. I am sure the lamb did not weigh seven pounds a quarter, and I verily believe that the two kidneys weighed a pound. The flesh was as white as any veal that ever was seen. I have seen thousands and thousands of house-lamb: I go to the London markets on purpose to see them both alive

and dead. I took infinite pains to learn this MASTERWORK of husbandry: I had house-lamb at Botley, at Barn-Elm, and have some now at Kensington: and I never have seen a lamb anything approaching to an equality with this one. The butcher asked 14s. a quarter for the lamb, and told me that it came FROM IRELAND! I examined the head of the lamb, and its mouth. It was not of a horned breed, and it was scarcely two months old. I should be very much obliged to some Irish farmer to give me an account of the manner and plan of raising these lambs, and particularly of the sort of ewes employed for the purpose.

The pains taken by us in England to get this house-lamb are very great. It is very well known that it is not fashionable to eat grass-lamb in London till Easter. So that, until that season, no lamb is seen in the common markets. But the house-lamb is quite another thing: it is sheep-veal, and it begins to come to market in January. To have this lamb, the large horned ewes of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire are always made use of. They lamb in October and November, and their lambs are fit to kill at eight or ten weeks old, if they be well managed. The whole of the annual supply of these ewes is brought, on the 9th of October, to a little village in the north of Hampshire, called APPLESHAW, whither the dealers and farmers go from all parts of the country. The house-lamb is made in Surrey, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire, and, perhaps, some in Essex and Kent. The ewes are put into a pasture, near a yard, until they have lambed; and, when the lambs are about ten days old, they are shut up in a warm house, and the mothers are brought in to let them suck several times in the day, and are suffered to remain with them in the night. When the lambs get to be a month old or so, they are fed with fine meal of some sort, to help fatten them; but the great reliance is on the milk, just as in the case of calves. And the great thing, in this interesting business, is to make the ewes give a great deal of milk, and to effect this, people resort to

all sorts of means. The time of year is such as to afford no grass. Therefore, turnips, grains, malt-dust, meal, and, in short, every thing likely to promote milk, is resorted to. I have fed my ewes, this year, with the very best of hay, fine savoy cabbages, mangle wurzle cut fine, and Cobbett's-corn, and sometimes with fresh grains into the bargain. I had six quarters of lamb sent down for the DINNER AT MANCHESTER, on the 30th of January. It was fine lamb, but it was precisely thirteen weeks old; it weighed, perhaps, nine pounds a quarter, or more; but it was not so fat, nor anything like it, nor was it so white, as this Irish lamb, which, I am sure, was not more than ten weeks old.

It is possible that this lamb came out of season by some accident, and was fed by hand, with new milk from the cow, in which way lambs may be made very fat and perfectly white; and I have often thought that this would be the cheapest way of making house-lamb. If this lamb were made in this way there is nothing to learn from it: but, if it be at all the practice to make house-lamb in Ireland, I should very much like to know something about it, and especially about the sort of ewes made use of for the purpose; for this lamb was of a hornless breed, and our house-lamb are always made from horned ewes, as above-mentioned. There are persons who say that they do not like house-lamb; that it has no taste; that they do not like lamb till about Easter. The same persons do not like chicken in asparagus time, and for much about the same reason. If it be bad taste to like house-lamb, it is a very old taste, at any rate; for we read of it in the accounts of banquets and feasts in the reign of Edward the First.

But not only this beautiful lamb, but a great part of the other meat in this market of Manchester, came from Ireland. What a sight to be beheld by me, who had been well informed, that, of the immense sum of money annually expended in relief to the poor in this great town, more than one-half was expended to relieve Irish people; that of the public charities, they have more than

two-thirds; and that so great is their reluctance to be sent to their native country, that many of them endure the *treadmill* in the House of Correction as incorrigible vagabonds, *rather than sign a pass which would send them back to their native shore!* I state these as undeniable facts. And is it not then time, that something were done to change the state of Ireland? Ought not something to be done to prevent that country from being the terror of its natives? From sending forth its people to be the scourge of other countries and the disgrace of the name of their own? And whence come all these evils? From this: that there is no law to compel the owners of the land to give to those who labour, *their due share of the produce*. Things were fast approaching to the same point in England. STURGES BOURNE'S horrible bills had very nearly made *potatoes* the sole food of the English labourer: *very nearly*; but at last, the MEN OF KENT, to their everlasting honour, inscribed on their banners, "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES;" and then the dream of MALTHUS vanished! And then all the schemes of all the *poor-law schemes* were blown to air. We must now see *justice* done to the Irish; we must see, that, at last, they have *a country*, which at present, they have not. *All England* seems to be of one mind as to this matter; and the hard-hearted non-resident tyrants must give way. We all understand now, how the Irish came to be so miserable and so "*rebellious*." It is impossible to cheat us any longer, and justice to ill-treated Ireland *must come*.

RICH AND POOR.

LAW-REFORMING COMMISSION'S DIS- REGARD OF THE PROPERTY-RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

January 17th, 1832.

SIR,

I KNOW nothing which more strongly shows the want of a reform in Parliament, than the tricks which are now in

the course of being played with the property-rights of the people.

Ever since the time of Henry the Eighth, in general cases a man has had a chance of recovering an estate to which he might be entitled, for a period of sixty years from the commencement of the wrongful possession. It is now proposed to enact, and the bill has been twice read, that it shall not be lawful to claim an estate after the expiration of *twenty* years from the commencement of the wrongful possession.

Now, the difference in the circumstances of a poor man and those of his wealthy relation, generally causes the family of the one to be unknown to that of the other in two or three generations, particularly when one family has been forced, or the other allured, to settle in distant parts of the country; it must consequently often happen that the *twenty* years will have expired before the poor man will get any knowledge of his right. But even suppose a poor man to become aware of his right before the expiration of the twenty years, it will be out of his power, in numberless cases, as the poorer classes of this country are now circumstanced, to find money enough to obtain the evidence of pedigree, and other information requisite to the effectual prosecution of his claim in a court of law. What lawyer has not known several instances where claimants could not find money conveniently to pay the postage even of a single letter? Persons in low circumstances are obliged constantly to put off the prosecution of their claims to estates to which they believe themselves entitled; but in yielding to this necessity, they cheer themselves with a hope that their situation in life will mend, so as to enable them to follow up their rights.

Considering these things, how hard will it be to make the expiration of *twenty* years from the commencement of the wrongful possession a bar to a claim of land! it will be *barring* the poor of their property-rights with a vengeance. The proposers of this alteration in the law, which is called an *amendment*, certainly know what its operation will be; and I would give those classes which

will be most grievously affected by its operation, a word of warning.

The rich man is generally either on terms of intercourse or correspondence with his wealthy relatives; and if not on such terms, is enabled to keep his eye on such relatives and their concerns, and generally doing so, will escape damage from this alteration in the law; and if he can get possession of an estate, on the death of a person whose heir is not at hand, he may derive some advantage from the alteration: to him, indeed, on the whole, the thing really is an *amendment*.

It is true, indeed, that, in some cases, the lapse of twenty years from the commencement of wrongful possession, and in some other cases where the wrongful possessor has taken the active means of levying a fine, the lapse of five years from the time of levying the fine has long been a bar to a claim of land; it is true also, that the judges have done every thing they could to discountenance those proceedings by which, in other cases previously alluded to, estates were recoverable for a period of sixty years, by refusing to allow the plaintiff to amend in case any slip were made in such proceedings. But all this was, and is, so much injustice bearing most hardly upon the middle and lower classes of society; and was it not the business of law reform to enlarge such unjustly-contracted property-rights, and to expedite and improve, or to make fully available, such difficult and obstructed remedies? The fact is, the people have been grossly deluded by the name of law reform, and for this delusion they have already paid nearly 100,000*l.* out of pocket. But the law wants reforming! Yes; but the people must *have a hand in it or an eye towards it*; and if they do not, they may be assured that the interests of the great body of them will suffer. And is there to be no period of limitation to a claim of land? Yes; there should be. Then will not the disabilities of poverty always operate to the disadvantage of the poor, and to the advantage of the rich? Yes; but the longer the period, the smaller the relative advantages and disadvantages; the shorter, the greater:

twenty years is much too short; looking at the exigences of one-half of the nation at the present day, one cannot think sixty years too long: but let the people look to the matter; they must not expect lawyers to settle it rightly for them. The lawyers who compose the Real Property Law Commission have a notion, that if A honestly buy of B an estate which is in right the property of C, A ought to be protected against the claim of C; and hence comes this *twenty-year* proposition: now, though most other lawyers have got hold of the same notion, it is difficult to discover any justice in it. It is hard, certainly, for A to lose his money; but it is equally hard for C to lose the estate; and unless right and law be dead letters, they ought to gain the estate for C.

If, Sir, you should think that the matters above treated on are of public concern, you will have the goodness to insert this letter in your *Register*, and to endeavour to draw public attention to it; and in that case, I will, in another letter, point out the Law-reforming Commission's further attempts to invade the property and rights of the weak and helpless.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
C—B—S.

To Wm. Cobbett, Esq.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Huddersfield,

Showeth,

That by the bill now before your honourable House, it appears that one member is allotted to the township of Huddersfield, which contains upwards of 19,000 souls; that your petitioners know that it must be the intention and most anxious wish of your honourable House that the power of choosing the said member should be, in reality, as

well as in name, in the electors; that, however, if the right of voting in Huddersfield be confined to the township, as it is in the bill as it now stands, this cannot be the case; for that almost the whole of the ground in the township is the property of one man; that the buildings of every description are held of him either on rack-rent or on leases of different sorts; that the sudden increase of population and trade, and the consequent eagerness to build, have induced numerous persons to forego the usual security taken in building on other men's land; so that, as your humble petitioners verily believe, there never was a body of voters in any borough in the kingdom, who held their property by a tenure so frail as the electors of Huddersfield, and who were so absolutely dependent on any patron as they will be, if the limits of the borough be not extended beyond those of the township.

That your humble petitioners are anxious to express their sincere belief, that the present proprietor of the township would not attempt to undue use of his power; but besides the change which the possession of power is ever apt to make in the same person, and besides the certainty that the present proprietor must have a successor, your humble petitioners are sure that your honourable House will perceive, that to leave the people of Huddersfield to a dependance on the chance of personal character in a patron, would, in the first place, be to act in open hostility to your own avowed just and benevolent intention; and, in the next place, to expose them to all those corruptions, animosities, and outrages, to relieve the country from the injuries and the disgrace of which, your honourable House has so long and so laudably been labouring.

That, therefore, your humble petitioners pray that your honourable House will be pleased to extend the limits of the borough to the whole of the parish of Huddersfield, which contains upwards of 31,000 souls, or make such extension of the franchise as shall seem meet; and that your petitioners hope

that it will not appear unreasonable to your honourable House, if they confidently expect, that, upon due reflection on the greatness of the trade of Huddersfield, and its immediate vicinity, your honourable House will allot two members to the borough, when so extended.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

AMUSING TRIAL!

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of the 10th of February, 1832.)

COURT OF EXCHEQUER, FEB. 9.

[Sittings at Nisi Prius, before the Lord Chief Baron LYNCHURST and a Special Jury.]

HUNT v. LAWSON.—Mr. Hunt, immediately after the Lord Chief Baron had taken his seat, rose and addressed the court nearly as follows:—

My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury,—In appearing before you here this day, I feel it my duty—a duty which I owe to the court and the bar—to apologise for appearing before you in person to conduct my own case. This is an action brought by me against the printer of the *Times*, but the real defendant, is the proprietor of the paper, a rich and powerful person. I am aware that there are gentlemen at the bar much more qualified to conduct the case than I am, but in the present state of the public press, I feel that I should be imposing a very odious office upon any gentleman of the bar who might have undertaken to conduct this cause, although I feel satisfied, that had any gentleman of the bar undertaken the office, however odious to his feelings, that he would have done his duty to his client. I feel awkward at taking any step which may appear to be interfering with the liberty of the public press. I have no assistance, because I understand that it is contrary to the etiquette of the bar for any professional gentleman to act under any person who pursues his own cause. This, Gentlemen of the Jury, is an action brought by me, Henry Hunt, against John Joseph Lawson, the printer of the *Times*; he is the nominal defendant, but the real defendant is Mr. Walter. I don't wish to violate the rules of the court; I will therefore say, that the action is against the proprietor of the *Times*—a paper which brings in the immense sum of 30,000*l.* per annum. It has been my misfortune to have been what is called a public man for 25 years. I have stood forward for the vindication of the rights and privileges of the people; I should apologise for speaking of myself, but my character, trade, and almost my very life, are at stake. I have long been,

and ever shall be, the advocate of the public press. If the press of the country be conducted on fair and honourable principles, it would be a great blessing; but if it overstep the bounds of truth, it become at once the greatest curse that could be inflicted upon the country. Gentlemen, I feel it necessary to give you a brief outline of my political life. Mr. Hunt then went at considerable length into his conduct relative to his political life, and proceeded to read the following paragraph:—

"The recreant Hunt has been burnt in effigy on the famous field of Peterloo, where he has appeared so often. There were more persons to be seen dancing about the ashes than ever attended him on the most popular occasions."

This appeared in the *Sun*, which paper, however, on its being discovered that the report was utterly destitute of truth, inserted a contradiction. The second libel was nearly as follows:—"It is true that Hunt paid a visit here (Manchester). His object in coming appears to be a mystery, unless the account be true that, as Mr. O Connell says, which is, that he has been bought in the lump." This, Gentlemen, continued Mr. Hunt, from a man, too, who I know was then in treaty with the Government to put down agitation in Ireland, if he could get a place. I should not attend to such tumperry if it had rested there, but it went forth to the public and after such unfounded statements had been read by so many thousands of people it was impossible to remove the false impression from their minds.

Mr. Hunt was interrupted by Mr. PLATT, who submitted to his Lordship, that the matter offered by Mr. Hunt was irrelevant.

Mr. Hunt, however, persevered, and read a petition which he had presented to the Prince Regent, for the purpose of showing that he was not the traitor, the recreant, the villain which he had been called by the press. Gentlemen, it was said that the libels are merely political squibs; but were those attacks on the bishops in the House of Lords, telling them to put their house in order? Were these mere squibs, things which they followed up until the bishop's palace was burnt at Bristol? All the calamities which took place in that unfortunate city, were owing to nothing but the licentious press. The reporters, Gentlemen, make most of the speeches in the House of Commons. I have been called a villain by them. I can account very well how that was. Something was said in the House which was not distinctly heard; then one reporter asked another what it was, and he was told that it was the word "villain." He then put down, "Hunt was a villain." This goes the round of the press, and by and-by an article appears, taking it for granted, and enlarges upon it. Gentlemen, the reports in the papers are no more like what is said in the House than these

libels are the truth. The reporters make up the speeches. They take a word here and there, and reason upon them; besides which, they are the most abusive, vulgar fellows you can imagine. Their language is disgusting, which, bad as it is, they often put into the paper. (A laugh.) The exclamations of "hear, hear," and "oh, oh," they generally make out of their own heads. These are the persons connected with the press—the fourth state of the realm—that has bullied the House of Commons—that has bullied the House of Lords—that has bullied the Ministers, and the Bishops, and even the King himself; and it is against this powerful and dangerous engine, Gentlemen, that I call upon you earnestly and seriously to make a stand. You are in the gap, and I do not doubt that you will stand firm. No man will be safe if the press is allowed to vitify a man's character at pleasure. Mr. Hunt called earnestly for the jury to give him a verdict to put a stop to such proceedings, as he assured them that by these falsehoods in the *Times*, he was completely ruined—his trade was gone—his men not go through the streets; besides, it was useless, the people said, "*It will have none of you; look at the Times;*" and had it not been for the police, he apprehended that the consequences would have been serious.

Mr. Tomlin was called from the Stamp-office, to prove that the defendant was the printer and publisher of the *Times*, which was admitted.

Benjamin Turner produced copies of the *Times* newspaper, from the Stamp office, of the 26th of April, 2d of May, and 5th of May, in the year 1831.

Mr. Bryant deposed that he advised Mr. Hunt's family to leave the house, in consequence of the mob which had assembled there.

Sir J. SCARLETT objected to this evidence, as it did not relate to the matter on the record.

Mr. Turner, a housekeeper at Manchester, was there on the 22d of April. There was a great number of persons assembled, with a band of music, and a rejoicing that the King had dissolved the Parliament. There was a procession. They passed over Peterfield, called "Peterloo." The band played "See the conquering Hero comes," and when they came to where the hustings stood on August 16, 1831, they played the "Dead March in Saul." There was no effigy burnt on the 22d of April. This witness stated that he had attended the court yesterday, but was arrested by the constable of Salford, and kept in prison all last night. He could not tell where the prison was, but it was a very uncomfortable place. He had seen the libel in the *Sun* newspaper.

Cross-examined by Sir J. SCARLETT: He had attended at a committee on the 26th of January. He made a speech there; there were about 10,000 people present.

By Mr. HUNT: He could not tell whether he was in custody on that account.

Sir J. SCARLETT: Are you a householder?

Witness: Yes, Sir.

Sir J. SCARLETT: Are you a ten pounder? (A laugh.)

Witness: No, Sir; not yet. I pay about 6l. when I can.

Mt. HUNT: The learned Counsel wishes to know whether you get anything by reform.

Witness: No, Sir.

Sir J. SCARLETT: Why you attended a meeting on a Sunday. What was it for?

Witness: To obtain a reprieve for the unfortunate men at Bristol.

Mr. HUNT: Did you never hear of the meeting of the Privy Council on a Sunday?

Witness: Yes; there was one last Sunday, I know.

Mr. HUNT: I am sure your object was quite as good as theirs. (A laugh.)

John Bradley, a silk-weaver, and occasionally a bill-sticker, was with the procession, rejoicing at the dissolution of Parliament. There were no effigies burnt, nor any language disrespectful to Mr. Hunt used. He never stuck up any bills with "legal murder" upon them. He said those bills related to the execution at Bristol. The meeting was for the purpose of addressing the King on the subject. There was no drunkenness.

Mr. HUNT said, that he had several other witnesses to call to prove the same fact, but he would not trouble the court unnecessarily. He therefore closed the case.

Sir JAMES SCARLETT rose to address the jury on the part of the defendant, but from the crowded state of the court, and the little accommodation for reporters, together with the low tone of voice in which the learned Counsel spoke, it was impossible to catch the commencement of his speech. When his voice became audible, we understood him to be remarking upon the length in which Mr. Hunt had addressed the jury, whose speech, he said, consisted of an irrelevant description of his long political life, the state of the country, the loss of trade, and the riot at his house, entirely of a personal nature, which was followed by a great deal of declamation against the *Times* newspaper, and calling upon the jury to punish the proprietors of that paper—not so much for injury done to himself as to the country at large. The learned Counsel then alluded to the complaint which Mr. Hunt had made, with respect to the impossibility of employing any gentleman at the bar to conduct his case, on the ground that he would have failed through fear; he had never heard of a barrister being afraid to conduct a case in such a manner as to do ample justice to his client. Nor was there any gentleman at the bar; he felt assured, who would object to undertake such a cause. He had never heard it contended, that a complaint made against the proprietors of a newspaper for personal libels, was an attack

upon the liberty of the press generally. Mr. Hunt had, however, an advantage in conducting his own case, because he was allowed by the court to go into matter which was totally unconnected with the immediate question before the court—an indulgence which would not be extended to any gentleman of the bar. Mr. Hunt had said, that the *Times* had bullied the King, the Lords, and the Commons, with impunity. Now, if the King, the Lords, and the Commons, could put up with it, he would ask them why could not Mr. Hunt bear it? The *Times* did not represent Mr. Hunt as a recreant, a turncoat, and a villain. It merely stated that the mob had called him by these names. It was impossible for the reporters to give a full and faithful report of what took place. If Mr. Hunt recovered 1,000l. from all the papers he had brought actions against, it would make up for his losses in trade. Could it be a libel to say in the newspaper that a mob called a man names. A mob would do this sometimes to their best friend. Was it a libel to say that a certain person had his windows broken by a mob? Was one *iota* detracted from the glory of the Duke of Wellington by the way the mob acted towards him? The very nature of a mob was changeable. A mob was mistaken for the people, but they were quite distinct from them. The paper did not state that any man of property or character had called the hon. gentleman these names. Mr. Hunt did not complain of any other part of the paragraph so much as the word "recreant" having been applied to him. The word recreant merely meant, as he considered, a person who changed his opinion upon any subject, and not dastardly or cowardly. He contended that the mere statement of Mr. Hunt having been burnt in effigy was no libel, neither was the word "recreant" in the sense in which it was employed in the article in question. Again, Mr. Hunt was called "*the Preston Cock*." Was this a libel? It merely meant that Mr. Hunt was the successful candidate. What imputation was it upon Mr. Hunt to say that he worked by mob? It was a very different thing to say that a man was a turncoat and a villain and to say that at a meeting where his name was mentioned, the mob applied these epithets to him. The imputation merely was, that Mr. Hunt had changed his opinion of the Reform Bill. Who had not changed his opinion? An hon. Friend of his told him, that when it was first introduced into the House, it made his blood run cold, but that since that time he had voted for it. This was no imputation whatever upon Mr. Hunt's character. He expressed his opinion that the bill did not please a certain class of persons, and they differed from him in opinion, and at a public meeting applied the epithet recreant to him. It did not at all attack his honour or his credit, and he contended that nothing in the article in question could be

considered as a libel. Mr. Hunt ought to have proved something like malice on the part of the *Times*. He had done no such thing, but in his speech had stated what other newspapers had said against him, in order to draw down upon the *Times* heavier punishment. There was not a person from the first Minister of the country down to the lowest person in office, of whom worse things were not said every day in the news papers. All men and all parties had been attacked during the progress of the measure of reform, and it was during the excitement caused by the Reform Bill, and while it was at its height, that a mob called Mr. Hunt a recreant.

The JUDGE proceeded at half-past one o'clock to sum up the whole of the evidence. He proceeded at some length to descant upon the meaning of the word "recreant," and told the jury, if they did not think it was used in an odious sense it was no libel. He (the learned Judge) did not himself think it was used in an odious sense. This was, however, a question for the jury. It was no libellous to say that a person had changed his opinion; but it would be, if any improper motive were to be attributed for the change. It was for the jury to say whether the articles were calculated to do Mr. Hunt the injury upon which he expatiated at such length; and if they thought they were calculated to have this effect, then to award such compensation as they thought would recompense him.

The jury then wished to see the libels, and after having read them and deliberated for a short time, returned a verdict for the plaintiff—*Damages, Fifty Pounds.*

NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.

God knows, it is wanted, whether in the literal or figurative sense! But not to cost us money: not a bigger *Bel-lamy's*, to cost the people money. There is another place wanted; and why not take that great heap of buildings down at Pimlico, which has cost the nation more than a million of sovereigns? Why not take that? What is that to be done with? Are not the palaces at St. James's, Kensington, Kew, Hampton-court, and Windsor, *palaces enough*? The "reformed Parliament" will be a beautiful affair indeed, if it give money to finish the *lump at Pimlico*. I merely put the following upon record for future comment.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Colonel TRENCH rose, pursuant to notice, to move for a committee to consider what improvements it was expedient to make in the House of Commons, and the buildings attached to it, for the purpose of rendering it more commodious, and facilitating the discharge of public business. Every one was aware, the hon. Member observed, that for some time past there was a full attendance of the members of that House, and that attendance, he believed it would be admitted, was not likely to be diminished. It was of great importance, therefore, that the building in which the debates took place should be more commodious. At the present moment, when the capital was visited by a pestilential disease which had scourged so many parts of Europe, it might be worth while for hon. Members to consider whether their close attendance in that House might not render them more susceptible to disease. The House was aware that the subject had been already referred to a select committee, of which, amongst others, the hon. Member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume), now unfortunately absent, was a member. The hon. Member for Middlesex, though so great a friend to economy, was of opinion that, instead of attempting any alterations in the present House of Commons, it would be better to erect a new and splendid House of Commons, to which the present building might be attached, as a library or lobby. The expense of such an erection had not been accurately defined; but it was only fair to the hon. Member for Middlesex to state that a great proportion of the committee concurred in his view of the subject, and accordingly agreed to three resolutions, which were subsequently reported to the House. In the first resolution the committee expressed their opinion that the present House of Commons did not afford adequate accommodation for the present number of Members. The second resolution was to the effect that, in the opinion of the committee, no alteration or improvement could be made in the present building, so as to afford adequate accommodation to the members. Under those circumstances, the committee felt that they had no alternative but to recommend the erection of a new House of Commons; but they resolved not to go further without referring again to the House. Notwithstanding this report, he (Colonel Trench) was of opinion that the House might be greatly improved by taking in the lobby. After recapitulating the objections to the present building, arising from its want of capacity, the prevalence of hot currents of air, and the narrowness of the seats, the hon. Member described the results which would follow from his plan, which, he said, would afford additional accommodation for a hundred members, and concluded by

moving for a committee to consider whether this plan would not be a beneficial alteration.

Mr. WARBURTON observed, that he had not been a member of the committee, but in the absence of his hon. Friend (the Member for Middlesex), he hoped he might be allowed to state that he understood his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume) wished only for a convenient room, fit for such an assembly as the House of Commons, but nothing magnificent had entered into his contemplation. (Hear and laughter.) What was desired was a circular room, for it was impossible to make a convenient room, for purposes of discussion, out of the present oblong room, which the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Trench) wanted to make more oblong by taking in the lobby. In an oblong room some of the members must necessarily be at a great distance from the Speaker, and it was impossible to keep an assembly orderly and attentive on all occasions in such a building. (A laugh.) As to the plan of the hon. and gallant Member, it had already had a trial before the committee, and there was no reason why it should have a second trial. (Hear, hear.) If the House concurred with the committee, let it decide that the present building was not proper, and refer it to the proper department of the Government to take measures for providing better accommodation; but he must object to the appointment of a committee merely to consider the hon. Member's own plan.

Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY was a member of the committee, and was of opinion that the alteration proposed by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Trench), would cost more than building a new House, and would not be satisfactory in the end. (Hear, hear.) This, he believed, was the opinion of the architects who had been consulted. The only question, then, was, whether it was expedient to build a new House, or whether hon. Members would continue to put up with the inconveniences of the old building? (Hear, hear.) He hoped the House would not grant the committee, as he did not see that it could lead to any good result: he should rather recommend to pause until they were prepared to decide on the practicability and expediency of erecting a new House of Commons. (Hear, hear.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that when the last committee was appointed he had not held out any hopes of being able to concur in their report, if they recommended any very extensive alterations, and still less if they proposed building a new House of Commons. His opinions having undergone no change on this subject, he could not say he approved of the motion for a new committee; but yet, as he knew that the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Trench) had taken great pains, and was very sanguine on the subject, and as further inquiry might be useful, he did not like to reject his motion

altogether. At the same time, he was not sure that, even if the committee reported in favour of the hon. Gentleman's plan, that report would influence the House.

Sir R. PERL wished the question had been distinctly put whether Members would submit to the inconveniences which at present existed, or resolve that a new House of Commons should be erected. Had that question been brought before the House, he did not hesitate to declare that he should vote against the proposal for building a new House. As to the minor proposal—the plan for improving the House, as stated by the hon. and gallant Gent.—as it had not been recommended to the last committee to which it was submitted, he could see no advantage in submitting it to another committee. In his opinion the usual attendance of Members was not so great as to call for any great extension of the present House; and the erection of an enormous building, in which not more than half the members would be assembled five nights out of the six, would be found a great practical inconvenience. He confessed too that he was attached in some degree to the present building, from the associations with which it was connected. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel TRENCH felt that, after the expression of opinion which the House had heard on this subject, he should not be justified in pressing his motion. (Hear.) He had all due reverence for the walls within which he spoke, but it could not be denied that the house was both inconvenient and unwholesome. He was still not without hopes that these evils would be remedied. The right hon. Gentleman in the chair had, on a former occasion, beneficially exercised his judgment and discretion in some improvements which had been effected at comparatively inconsiderable cost, and he hoped that by the same means some alterations might be effected which would be found advantageous. The hon. Gent. then withdrew his motion.

IRISH TITHES.

Dewsbury, 20th Feb. 1832.

Oh, Oh! It is coming, is it! I begin by inserting *two debates*, one in the *father place*, on the 14th, and one in the *Lords* on the 17th, of February. I do beseech every reader to read *every word of them*; for every word will have to be referred to long after this. Here we have the beginning of that *great change* which the country *must* have, and speedily too, in one shape or another.

DEBATE IN T'OTHER PLACE.

14th February, 1832.

Mr. LAMBERT presented a petition from New Ross and eight other parishes in the county of Wexford, praying for the abolition of tithes in Ireland. The honourable Member admitted that it would be a great injustice to many men, who had for years done their duty well and faithfully, to deprive them of their incomes; but it had become absolutely necessary to modify a system which was unjust in principle and tyrannical in practice.

Mr. CAREW was prepared to make any sacrifice to produce a change in the present system.

Mr. WALKER said he had been requested by the petitioners to support the prayer of those petitions; they pray for an abolition, or else an application of tithes to the support of the poor; for an abolition of church rates, a general reduction of the establishment, and its immense revenues. He concurred in the justice of this prayer, and the policy of granting it; and until a satisfactory settlement of this question takes place—and he meant not satisfactory to the clergy, but satisfactory to the laity—tranquillity would never be established in Ireland, nor would she cease to be

what she has been for centuries, a source of trouble, of weakness, and of expense to England, when under a kinder and a wiser Government she would have been a powerful and a wealthy ally. He much regretted the sentiments alleged to have been expressed by two noble Lords belonging to the Government, for if it was true that Lord Grey had threatened to deluge Ireland once more with blood, it was withering to the hopes of every Irishman here who has hitherto supported the present Government, and has already caused much mischief in Ireland; but he would caution this Government, or any other, who should draw the sword in that country, and especially to support a system they themselves confessed to be unjust, that though the bayonets might have their victims, the pikes would have victims also, and it would not be the blood of the tithe-resisters that would alone be shed; but the threat of force was absurd, for whatever the contemplated punishment might be, he defied it to

posing a Minister weak or rash enough, or, he would add, wicked enough to attempt it, where are the prisons to confine, or the fleets to carry into exile, or the executioners sufficiently numerous or hardened to put to death nine millions of people? It was untrue to attribute the opposition to tithes to Catholics alone; it is, and always has been, opposed by every sect in Ireland, and he firmly believed, if it were not for the unhappy state of party now in that country, there would not be a layman in it found to take the part of tithes. It has been proposed by some to give more power to the clergy to enable them to collect this tax; but it was the extraordinary powers already vested in the church, and the atrocious

manner in which it has been too frequently abused, that has assisted to make this tax as odious as it is; and an increase of this power, so far from rendering the payment secure, would make it more obnoxious. To show what power the clergy now had, and how that power may be turned into an engine of oppression, he begged the attention of the House to the following statement, which occurred to his own knowledge, within the district from whence those petitions came:—A farmer, belonging to the parish of Enniscorthy, was cited to the Ecclesiastical Court of Ferns (the Judge himself a clergyman) for subtraction of tithe. The farmer appeared, the case was called on, and the suit discussed; but to the farmer's astonishment, though he was the victor, he was condemned by this religious Judge to pay the costs of the suit, and was told that his refusal to comply, would increase the costs 10s. for a motion; the farmer consequently did pay his parson the costs and got a receipt; on the following month the farmer received a second citation for the same tithe, and the being then but one proctor belonging to the Court of Ferns, and who had been engaged by the clergyman against him, he, at considerable expense, procured the attendance of a proctor from the Court of Kilkenny; when the case was called on, the Judge refused to allow the farmer's proctor to give his assistance unless he consented to become a proctor of the Court of Ferns, and pay the admittance fee to the Registrar; the poor farmer had to comply and pay the fee for him; this proctor then referred the Judge to the statute, which alone gives him jurisdiction in such tithe cases, and which enacts that no second citation shall issue for the same tithe, and claimed a dismissal and costs in favour of his client; the Judge admitted the statute, and called on the defendant to prove his defence, who then handed to the Judge the receipt he had formerly received from the clergyman. The Judge, without reading it, twisted it up, and threw it with violence in the proctor's face, asking, "How he dared to give the Judge of a Court of Law an unstamped document?" and refused to receive it in proof. The farmer then referred to the clergyman himself, who was sitting near the Judge, "Whether as

of the former. The clergyman refused to give any. The defendant's proctor next said, the Judge had the means of knowledge within himself, and requested him to refer to his order or rule-book which lay before him. This the Judge refused, saying he would not be necessary to defrauding the registrar of his fees; but that if the farmer would now pay him for making a search, the book should be referred to. It was then proposed the registrar should be examined as a witness; but here again the Judge interfered, on the ground that it would deprive the registrar of his fee, which at length, as a last resource, the farmer paid; and the Judge referred to the rule book, from whence he read,

that the former suit had been called on and dismissed, and costs given against the farmer; but, added the learned and reversed Judge, "it must be a mistake;" and he forthwith ordered the unfortunate farmer to pay the tithe then claimed, and also the costs of this second suit. The farmer astonished, with tears in his eyes, begged for mercy, or at least that the former costs should be deducted; but the Judge told him, that if he did not pay what was now ordered, a monition should issue at further expense to him, and that if he said a word more, he should be sent to gaol for disturbing the court, and delaying the course of public justice. Several other causes were next tried that day, for claims by the same clergyman for tithe of tobacco for 10*l.* per acre. This new claim was decreed to the clergyman, and the Judge followed his sentence, by saying "that he wished the clergy of the diocese to bring suits before him for the tithes of every thing that grew in their parishes, and that he would decree in their favour; and that if they could prove to him that ink bottles grew upon trees, he would tithe them." Another parish from whence the petitions have come is Carné; it pays, on an average, 10*s.* an acre tithe; it has only two Protestant families in it; and one of them, an old gentleman, had been for the last thirty years perpetual churchwarden—there not being a second male Protestant parishioner: yet the clergyman wanted to force the parish to build a new church, on pretence that the old one was too small for his congregation. Another of the petitions comes from the union of Duncormuck, where the rector endeavoured to enforce tithes of eggs, poultry, and milk—a tithe *unknown* in Ireland. Another is from Maglas; the former clergyman of which used to erase the sums charged by his tithe proctors in their valuation books, and insert larger sums in lieu, which he in some instances recovered from his parishioners; but the *fraud* was at length discovered. Those were a few instances of the tyranny of the present system. For centuries has this grievance been complained of; for centuries have the Irish in vain demanded justice; and he should conclude with the sentiment of a learned and respected prelate: "May their hatred to tithes be as lasting as their love of justice."

Lord ALTHORP: I do not by any means think it desirable to interfere in the debates on politics; and if this petition had only been supported by the speech of the hon. Gentleman who presented it, and the hon. Gentleman who followed him, I should not have been tempted to address the House on the subject. But what had subsequently fallen in the course of the debate, and some of the observations of the hon. Member for Wexford, made it imperative for me to trouble the House for a few minutes. That hon. Gentleman has said that my noble Friend at the head of the Government, threatened to deluge Ireland with blood, for the purpose of collecting the tithes. Now, Sir, I must admit that I

was present in this House the day after the debate that took place elsewhere, I did not, however, then interfere, because, though I was astonished at hearing what was attributed to my noble Friend, I was not aware of what had actually taken place. I say, Sir, I was surprised, because, though my noble Friend (with whom I have acted all through life), and the rest of the Cabinet, will always be ready to enforce the law, yet the whole principle of his life has been, that when extraordinary powers were necessary to enforce the law, they ought not to be given unless they were accompanied with a remedy for the grievances complained of. This is the principle upon which my noble Friend has always acted; and I appeal to the House whether I have not always acted on the same principle. I admit that it is necessary that the law should be upheld, and that illegal combinations should be put down: but if these are caused by grievances existing in the country, which it is in the power of the Legislature to remedy, I say that they ought to be remedied. This, Sir, is the principle on which Government is prepared to act in this instance; and this too, is the only principle on which we can act. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HUME expressed his perfect satisfaction at the explanation of the noble Lord, and from his (Mr. Hume's) knowledge of his character and principles, he was convinced that the noble Earl must have been misunderstood. He (Lord G.) never could have meant to force the payment of tithes against the will of the nation by military force.

Mr. O'CONNELL likewise expressed his satisfaction at the explanation of the noble Lord.

Mr. SHAW defended the Protestant clergy of Ireland, and stated, that in the most disturbed county, the tax on account of tithe did not amount to one-twelfth of the value of the land, as paid to the landlord. He contended, the resistance had been entirely caused by the labours of *Doctor Doyle* and the Catholic clergy, and observed, that force should be resisted by force—if not the country would be reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion.

Mr. BLACKNEY spoke with great vehemence against the tithe system, and thought the time had come *when it should be abolished*.

Sir R. PEEL said, it has been my uniform wish to disco- rage premature discussion on a subject which it is difficult to discuss without prejudicing that deliberate consideration which the House will be bound to give to it hereafter. I will not be tempted to engage in this discussion—and I now once more advise the House to reserve its judgment until the committee shall have sent in its report, and we shall have before us at once the conclusion to which they have come, and the evidence upon which they came to this conclusion. But, Sir, I cannot refrain from expressing my deep regret at the declarations made by the organs of his Majesty's Government in the two branches of the Legislature, which, whether they be reconcilable with each other or not,

are certainly calculated to make impressions and raise expectations of a very dangerous character throughout the country. The noble Lord's declarations will certainly make the deepest impressions. I presume that that speech has originated from some change in the intentions of the Government. If not, I will not be a party to the delusion which, I think, that speech is calculated to produce! I, therefore, feel bound here to say, that I have heard no proposition made to the Tithe Committee, with respect to a permanent arrangement for a provision for the clergy of the established church in Ireland, which is calculated to realise the expectations which, I think, the speech of the noble lord holds out. Seeing the construction which has been put upon that speech by the gentlemen from Ireland, and knowing how probable it is that a still stronger construction would be put on it by those in Ireland, who did not hear the speech, I feel it to be my duty to disclaim being any party to that misrepresentation. I think that that speech is calculated to preclude the enforcement of the law. It is true, the noble Lord says, the existing law will remain enforced; but he also says that the grievances will be redressed. Now, to make that declaration, unless his Majesty's Government is prepared with a specific plan for the effectual removal of the grievance, seems to me to be most unwise, and most calculated to render the enforcement of the law impossible. If the Government is prepared to bring forward a plan for the provision of the clergy, differing in character from the provision of tithes, I hope they will bring it forward without delay; but I entreat them, if their mind is made up, at once to relieve the committee from all responsibility on this subject, and not to devolve on us that serious consideration into which we must, if we are to recommend a subsequent arrangement of this very difficult question.

LORD ALTHORP: Sir—I have heard with very great surprise the observations of the right hon. Baronet; for I thought that I had distinctly guarded myself from such remarks, by stating our determination of enforcing the law. But I stated then and I have no hesitation in now stating again, that I think, that if extraordinary powers are to be called for from Parliament to enforce the law, the resistance of which has taken place in consequence of a grievance, we are equally bound to propose a remedy for that grievance, in unison with the application for those additional extraordinary powers. The right hon. Gentleman says, that what I stated had a direct tendency to prevent the enforcement of the law; I cannot imagine how this is to be proved to be the case. The right hon. Gentleman also says that I ought not to have made my statement, unless I was prepared to absolve the committee in both Houses from their inquiries and recommendations. I have not the honour of belonging to the committee of this House, but I do not apprehend that anything has passed in the

Union Committees which could make it improper for me to say, that a remedy for the existing grievance will be proposed at the same time with the application for extraordinary powers. What that remedy may be will depend on after consideration. (Hear, hear! from Sir R. Peel.) The right hon. Gentleman says, "hear, hear!" but surely it is not for me now to declare to the House what recommendation the Government will be prepared to bring forward. All that I say is, that knowing that the intentions of Government have been misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, I thought that it was necessary for me to state thus publicly and thus distinctly the principles on which we intend to act.

After a few words from Mr. C. Pelham,

LORD MURRON observed, that there could be no doubt a grievance existed, but he wished the people to know, that the landlord, and not the tenant, would be the gainer by the abolition of tithes.

MR. GRATTAN said that no force under the control of the Government at present could collect the tithes in Ireland. Every one was, he believed, fully convinced of that fact. He denied that this was a Catholic conspiracy to refuse the payment of tithes—the feeling of opposition to the tithe system was general in Ireland. He himself was a Protestant, and he had many Protestant tenants; and he believed that most, if not all of them, were dissatisfied with the present tithe system.

SIR R. PEEL, in explanation, said that he was not an advocate for the rigid enforcement of the law, and was not disinclined to admit that some remedy was required, and to listen to it when proposed.

MR. STANLEY regretted this discussion at the present moment, because it seemed to him a little premature; as the fact was, that the Committee appointed to examine into this subject were about to come to a decision, which, if not quite, would be at least nearly unanimous. He had not heard the observations of his noble Friend near him, nor of the noble Lord in the other House, but he was ready to declare himself, that the Government would not have come down to Parliament to ask for a coercive measure unless they felt at the same time that they were able to promise relief. (Cheers.) At the same time, as a justification for their asking for the coercive measure in the first instance, he wished to remind honourable Members that a measure of relief, especially if intended to be one of permanent and substantial relief, was of a nature more complicated, and would require more time for its preparation than would a measure of coercion, that was required solely for the vindication of the law (Hear, hear.) He, however, again repeated, that the Government would not readily have undertaken to bring forward a coercive measure, if, at the same time, they had not been able to promise the introduction of a measure of relief.

Mr. CROKER was glad of the explanation just given by the right honourable Gentleman, by which he supposed that the Ministers would execute the law immediately, but that at the same time they were prepared to introduce a measure to remove, not the existence of the tithes themselves, but the evils attending their collection.

Mr. STANLEY said, that the right honourable Gentleman supposed that the attention of Ministers was not directed to the existence of tithes. He begged leave to say, that their attention was directed to secure the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, and at the same time to the existence of the system of tithes. (Hear.)

Mr. SHRELL said, the last declaration of the right hon. Gentleman was as satisfactory as it was explicit. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. Gentleman proposed coercion first, and said at the same time that he was prepared with a measure of relief. That had been the course pursued by the right hon. Baronet opposite, on an occasion which they could never forget, (hear, hear, hear),—the occasion when the right hon. Baronet asked that House to put down the Catholic Association, and to pass a bill for the relief of the Catholics; saying at the time, that if the bill of relief was not passed, he should abandon the bill for suppressing the Association. (Hear, hear, hear.) Recollecting, as he must always gratefully recollect, that circumstance, he should not now ask what was the measure of coercion, since he found that it was to be accompanied with a measure of positive relief. He had no wish whatever that the money taken from the clergyman should be put into the pocket of the landlord. Let a tax be raised, let provision be made, to secure to the clergyman that to which he was justly entitled, deducting only the charge for the receivership; and if, after the death of the present incumbents, that which was deemed at least by the people to be the public property, was applied to the purposes of public utility (one of which purposes was the decorous maintenance of the religion of the state), the people of Ireland would be satisfied; but no measure that merely went to secure in a better manner, the present incomes of the clergy, would ever content them. (Hear.)

Mr. LEFROY said, that if such a measure as that supposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken to be in contemplation should be adopted, he should cease to attend the future meetings of the committee. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would disclaim any intention of introducing such a measure, and say distinctly whether the tithes were intended to be appropriated to any other purpose than the maintenance of the Established Church?

Mr. STANLEY answered that he was responsible for his own language, but was not responsible for that of another person. He thought he had stated as far as was proper or requisite the views of the Government; and

with respect to the threat of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he should only observe, that much as he might regret the future non-attendance of the hon. and learned Member, the other members of the committee would recollect that his first attendance at the committee had been on the day before yesterday.

The petition was laid upon the table.

Mr. LAMBERT, on moving that the petition be printed, assured the noble Lord that he had never meant that the amount now paid in tithes should be merely taken from the pocket of the parson to be given to the landlord.

Mr. WALLACE defended the conduct of the Ministers with respect to the question of the appointment of the committee, and asserted that they had done more for the satisfaction of the country, by the line of conduct they had adopted on this question, than they could by any other that had been pointed out.

Sir R. INGLIS thought that the last observation of the right hon. Gentleman opposite had only tended to establish a premium for discontent. In future it would be a mere question of the amount of openly expressed discontent required to put down any grievance; and the necessary amount of discontent being found, it would be readily applied for such a purpose, and the evil would disappear. Did not the Ministers perceive the evil effect of the precedent they were thus establishing? Did they not perceive, that if they gave up one great body in the country, they would never be as well able to defend any other that might be attacked?

The petition was ordered to be printed.

DEBATE IN THE LORDS.

17th Feb., 1832.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH was understood to say, that when the report of the Irish Tithe Committee was read, on Thursday, he was disposed to ask the noble Marquis who brought it up, for an explanation respecting two points, which did not seem to be made sufficiently clear in that document; but he thought it better to wait until he should see, upon the perusal of the printed paper, whether any question on those points was necessary. But he did not find the necessity of putting the two questions which were at first suggested to him at all removed by the printing of the document. In the report it was suggested that his Majesty's Government should be empowered to levy, through the agency of the Attorney-General, under a law to be hereafter passed for the purpose, the amount of tithes which had been illegally withheld in the year 1830. But as it was evident that the Attorney-General could only act on the instructions of the Government, he wished to ask whether the expenses of the proceedings to be taken by that officer, under the direction of his Majesty's Ministers for the recovery of tithes,

should be defrayed by the Government, or deducted from the gross amount? In another clause it was recommended that the Government should have power to levy the tithes due for the year 1831, and that extraordinary powers should be given them for that purpose. Now he wished to know, as that power was to be given, without prejudice to the claim of the clergy for the arrears due on preceding years, was it intended that the clergy should proceed for those previous arrears, whilst the Government was proceeding in the mean time, by virtue of extraordinary powers, for the tithes of 1831? Now, that would give rise to an anomaly, which it was the professed object of the noble Lords who constituted the committee to remove—that is, that two parties should be applying at the same time to the one occupier for the payment of tithes. There would be also this anomaly, that whilst the tithes, for the collection of which extraordinary powers were given, were those of 1831, the tithes of which the payment had been illegally resisted were those of 1830. (Hear.) But the noble Marquis must see that the authority of the laws would not be sustained, unless power were given to enforce the payment of those tithes which were first illegally resisted (hear, hear), and unless that power were extended over the whole period during which the resistance was continued. As it did not appear that the Committee had fully considered and matured their plan, it might not be too late to call the attention of the noble Marquis to the two points to which his questions referred.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE, in replying to the question of the noble Baron, spoke in a tone by no means distinctly audible in the gallery. He was understood to say, that the expenses of recovering the arrears should be paid by the clergy, so far as they did not exceed the expenses which would have been incurred in the recovery of the arrears by the ordinary processes; and that it was not proposed to give extraordinary powers for the levying of any arrears except of those tithes of which the payment had been illegally withheld.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH agreed with the noble Marquis, that it would not be advisable to give extraordinary powers either to the titheowner or to the Government, for the recovery of all arrears without distinction. But still he was of opinion that such powers should apply to all arrears which had been incurred during the period in which the illegal resistance was continued.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE was not heard in his reply.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH hoped that the decision of the noble Marquis was not irrevocable, and that his Majesty's Ministers would give the subject a fuller consideration. He would again remind their Lordships that the resistance commenced in the withholding of the tithes of 1830, and it was therefore to be desired that the extraordinary powers should

be extended to that period. His only object in bringing these matters under the consideration of the noble Marquis was, that the noble Lords opposite might themselves have an opportunity of making the necessary alterations in the bill on the table.

Lord PLUNKET was of opinion that the extraordinary powers ought not to extend further than for the recovery of the tithes which had been illegally withheld in the last year.

The Earl of WICKLOW said, that the answers which had been given to the questions put by the noble Baron near him, would not tend by any means to satisfy the Irish clergy, or to do away with the alarm which had been excited by the resolution avowed by his Majesty's Ministers. The noble Marquis must know that it would be a considerable time before a bill founded on the report could come into their Lordships' House, as it must originate, he believed in the other House of Parliament. Their Lordships must be aware that, in the mean time, the report would be circulated throughout the country, and would bring disappointment and alarm to the friends of the Irish church establishment. The report recommended powers to be given to enforce payment only of the tithes of the year 1831; but those tithes were not payable in that year, and therefore the bill could give no immediate relief, and the clergy would look upon the report as an abandonment of their property up to the year 1831. It was not yet the time when the clergy in most parishes were accustomed to apply for the tithes of that year. (Hear, hear.) But the payments that ought to be enforced were those for the year 1830, which were last year illegally resisted. (Hear.) In truth, the system of resistance had existed more than two years, and was confined, for the most part, to one part of the country, as appeared upon the face of the report. It did appear to him that, if anything were wanting to prove the progress of revolutionary principles, it would be proved by this—that such a report, declaring the subversion of the law of the land by a daring combination, extending over a large portion of the United Kingdom, should be laid upon their Lordships' table by a Minister of the Crown, without one word of comment or explanation. How the noble Lord at the head of his Majesty's Government could reconcile himself to the abandonment of the law under such circumstances, and how he could reconcile his own declarations in that House some evenings ago with those that had since been made elsewhere, he (Lord Wicklow) did not understand. In other places it had been said that although it was the determination of his Majesty's Ministers to uphold the laws of the land, yet they would not do so without at the same time removing the grievances existing. In that declaration it was obviously implied, that the law of the land which had existed since the annexation of Ireland to the English Crown was a grievance. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the law

which his Majesty's Ministers proposed to submit was a grievance. (Hear, hear.) He denied that tithes were a grievance. They were a wise, equitable, and useful institution. But the grievance which existed in Ireland was wholly attributable to the Ministers themselves. (Hear, hear.) Had they given the people to understand in the beginning that they were friends of the law and of the Church Establishment in Ireland, there would not exist any reason for the violent revolution which they were now proposing to effect in the laws of the country. (Hear, hear.)

Earl GREY should have thought, that if ever there were an occasion for the ebullition of party spleen and violence, which he had that evening witnessed (hear, hear)—it certainly was not on an occasion when his Majesty's Government were about to bring forward a measure to relieve the existing distresses of the Irish Clergy, and to protect their rights. (Hear.) He should not have thought that the time when such a measure was proposed, should give occasion to such an attack upon the Members of the Government from those, above all others, who had most at heart the security of the church and the welfare of the Government—he should not have said who had those objects most at heart, for no man had them more at heart than he himself—but who best could speak the sentiments of the Irish clergy. (Hear.) He trusted, however, that the noble Earl's endeavour to raise a clamour against the measures recommended in the report of their Lordships' Committee—whatever might be the noble Earl's motive (hear)—would not be successful. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that, notwithstanding the attempt to misrepresent the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, their exertions would not be misinterpreted or misunderstood. He trusted that it would be seen that they proceeded in a determination to support the authority of the laws. (Hear, hear.) He trusted it would be seen, when the evidence which had been taken before the Committee should have been laid upon the table, and have been examined, that the charge which the noble Earl brought against them, was unfounded, and that no effort had been wanting on their part to enforce the execution of the laws by every means in their power, and that they had gone even beyond what, by the strict letter of the law, might be required of them (hear, hear), wherever the clergy called for their assistance. He would appeal to the House and to the country whether he had ever been wanting in his exertions when the authority of the law was resisted. (Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding the imputations cast upon the Government by the noble Earl opposite, it was the determination of the King's Ministers to enforce the authority of the laws on all occasions where it should be attempted to resist them. What he had said upon a late occasion had been made the ground of an accusation against him by a misrepresentation on the part of

those who wished again to renew all the evils of party strife in Ireland, and who had nothing at heart but the triumph of party, by whatever mischiefs to the country that triumph might be attended. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was to remove the effects of that misrepresentation he had made the declaration to which the noble Earl referred. Although he did say that it was the determination of the Government to uphold the authority of the laws, he stated at the same time that no man was more convinced than he was of the absolute necessity of removing the grievances connected with the existing system of tithes, of which Ireland so loudly complains. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord, in alluding to the report, took occasion to cast imputations upon his Majesty's Ministers. Could that noble Earl believe that they were persons likely to shake the foundations of the laws, and to subvert the institutions of the country? (Hear?) The noble Lord reproached them with proposing the extinction of tithes, and accused them of a design to overthrow the laws, and with having denounced the law as a grievance. If the noble Lord would look to the evidence which had been produced before the committee, as he ought to do, if he had no knowledge himself of what was doing in Ireland, he would be convinced that, although it could not be admitted, nor would he (Earl Grey) ever admit, that the law of tithe was a grievance—the manner in which the law was executed was a grievance. (Hear, hear.) From that evidence the noble Earl would see that there could not be safety to the church or tranquillity to Ireland until an entire change should have been effected in the mode of executing that law. When the words "extinction of tithes" was used, the meaning intended to be conveyed by them was a commutation of tithes to some other provision, which might give at the same time more satisfaction and greater security to the clergy, and would prevent a collision between them and the occupiers of the land. (Hear.) To effect those objects, and, in doing so, to promote the peace of Ireland, was the purpose of his Majesty's Ministers when they proposed to the committee the measures alluded to in the report. The proposition was submitted to the committee with the most anxious care, and with a desire to do justice to all parties, to preserve the rights of the church, and to establish the peace of Ireland. With respect to the matters to which the noble Baron opposite (Lord Ellenborough) had drawn the attention of their Lordships, he could only assure the noble Baron that those things should be fully considered when the bill came before the House, and when the House was in possession of the evidence necessary to enable it to decide upon them. His Majesty's Ministers were undoubtedly indebted to the noble Baron for having directed their attention to matters which he seemed to think could occur to none but to his superior understanding. But he (Lord Grey) would assure the noble Lord that those

matters had not been overlooked, and that the bill would be prepared with great care. His Majesty's Ministers were as desirous as the noble Lord of maintaining the interests of the church; and from the knowledge which their situations placed within their reach, they were not less acquainted with what those interests required than the noble Baron himself. They thought that they were doing that in obtaining the extraordinary powers for which they proposed to apply, and in what way the exercise of those powers was to be limited, remained matter for the consideration of the House when the bill should have been submitted to their Lordships. But at the same time that the Government was desirous of giving the clergy immediate relief, it was not intended to collect any tithes except those which had been illegally withheld. In doing that the Government was maintaining the authority of the law, and giving the clergy an opportunity of recovering, under the law, the other tithes which were previously due. He objected to that irregular discussion of a measure which was not yet before the House, and especially when that discussion was introduced in such a spirit, (hear,) by a noble Lord representing as a revolutionary measure a bill which would have no other objects than the maintenance of the law, the protection of the church, and the preservation of tranquillity! (Hear.) Let their Lordships look to the revolutionists of which the committee was composed. (Cheers.) Were their Lordships to believe that those noble persons were the enemies of the clergy, desirous to shake the foundations of the land, and to subvert every thing essential to good government? He trusted that the House would not be influenced by the noble Earl (Lord Wicklow), but would come dispassionately to the consideration of the bill which would be submitted to their Lordships, with a view to maintain the laws, to restore peace to Ireland, and to establish a new arrangement, by which the clergy would be placed not only in greater security as respected their income, but in circumstances not exposing them to a collision with the occupiers of the land. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of Wicklow trusted that he would be permitted to make some observations upon what had fallen from the noble Earl who had just sat down, and who had cast on him imputations which were not justified by anything that he had said. He had cast no imputations upon the noble Lords opposite. He believed that there never was a set of men who undertook such arduous duties with more sincere and zealous dispositions to discharge them for the good of the country. The noble Earl (Grey) said that he had always been a friend to the church. Now he (Lord Wicklow) was not sufficiently acquainted with the history of that House, or with the political life of the noble Earl, or with his conduct when in opposition, to give the noble Earl's statement the support of his humble testimony. But then it was to be considered that the noble Earl,

though the head of the Government, was not the whole Government: that there were other persons in the Cabinet; and that he (Lord Wicklow) had a right to look to the conduct of those persons when he spoke of the measures of the Government. He would remind the noble Lord, that, in the year 1824, a gentleman in the other House of Parliament, who was not much attached to the church, nor, he might say, perhaps, to any other of the establishments of the country, made a motion of a revolutionary tendency, being for a committee to inquire whether the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland were not too numerous and too highly paid. The motion was, of course, negatived, and in the minority was found the noble Lord now upon the woolsack, and other members of the present Cabinet. (Hear, hear.) Was it wonderful, then, that people looked at the acts of a Ministry so constituted with some degree of apprehension, and especially when they heard the noble Earl, in the spirit of prophecy, warn the Bench of Bishops to put their houses in order? (Cheers.) Was it to be wondered that, under such circumstances, people looked with some anxiety for a declaration on the part of Ministers of an intention to maintain the rights of the church? It was their duty to have made such a declaration; and their not doing so had spread alarm, which they now, by a measure which he would still call a revolution, were endeavouring to remove. (Cheers.) The noble Earl seemed to attribute to him (Lord Wicklow) some part of the present proceedings in Ireland. He supposed the noble Lord to allude to the Protestant meetings which had lately taken place in that country. He was not a member of any of those societies, nor had he attended their meetings. The noble Lord seemed to attribute to the noblemen of high rank and influence who attended those meetings, the spreading of the report that the Government entertained views hostile to the church. Of that he knew nothing. But this he would say, that that man fretted more than he did the necessity for the revival of those societies in Ireland. But they had not been revived without great cause. He thought that their re-organization was mainly owing to the conduct of the Government itself. (Hear, hear.) He believed that so long as the people of that country thought that they had a watchful Government guarding over their interests, and that societies which were agitating Ireland were but evils incidental to the constitution, so long the loyal portion of the people remained tranquil. (Hear, hear.) But when he saw the Government lending itself to those associations (hear), and giving their support and confidence to those who were their enemies, and the decided enemies of the country—when they saw men of that description (cheers) made the objects of the favour and patronage of the Government—when the head of the Government stood up in that House, and said that the leader of those associations was fitted, by his talents and learning, for any

office under any Government, setting no value upon integrity or loyalty (as the noble Lord, Wicklow, was understood to say), as if these were no requisites for office—then the Protestants of Ireland thought it was time for them to look to the security of their rights and property. (Cheers.) He would never be prevented from doing his duty as a Peer of that House, and expressing his opinions freely, by sneers and taunts, even when they came from the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, who, although he complained of them, dealt as much in them as any other Member of their Lordships' House.

The LORD CHANCELLOR should only detain their Lordships by replying briefly to what the noble Earl who just sat down had said respecting his conduct when a Member of the other House of Parliament. He would not complain that the allusion of the noble Earl to him was very inconvenient and irregular. It was not so much the Government as the report of the committee that was the object of the noble Earl's attack. The words "extinction of tithes" were the words of the report. (Hear, hear.) If those words had not been in the report of the committee, "trust me," said the noble and learned Lord, "your Lordships never would have heard the attack." But even so, the words being in the report, the attack was really made upon the committee, and not upon the Government. But the words were so qualified that it was impossible to suppose that "extinction" was used in the odious sense, or that it was meant to signify the destruction of church-property. It was plainly the meaning of the committee that tithes should so be extinguished by a commutation to some other mode of payment, which should be attended with less inconvenience to all parties, and with more security to the church. He (the Lord Chancellor) had had no connexion with the committee, but then it seemed that, in the other House of Parliament, he had voted with some other Gentlemen, to whom he did not believe the words used by the noble Earl (Wicklow) were aptly applied, (Hear.) He did not believe that those gentlemen were enemies of the church, or that the object was to pull down the church, and not only the church, but all the other institutions of the country.

LORD WICKLOW made some explanation, which was not heard in the gallery.

The LORD CHANCELLOR was glad that he had misunderstood the noble Earl. Indeed he should be very glad to hear that the noble Earl meant to say something the very contrary to what he had understood him to say (a laugh); but in his ears, the words of the noble Lord sounded very like these (a laugh) "that the gentlemen who proposed the motion was no friend to the church, nor to the other institutions of the country; and that the object of the motion was revolutionary." Now he did not know at that moment what might have been the precise nature of a motion made so long ago; but this he knew,

that although he believed that he voted for the motion, whatever it was, because the noble Earl said so, yet sure he was that it could have no such object as the noble Lord supposed. He never could have voted for any motion of which the object was to destroy the property of the church, or to impair the security of the other institutions of the country. (Hear.) He would undertake to assure the noble Lord, that the resolution which he on that occasion voted for, whatever it might have been, had no such tendency. (Hear.) But when he looked to the state of Ireland, and of the church of Ireland, and the difficulties which obstructed the establishment of peace and good government in that country, and when he saw some friends of the church endeavouring to engross to themselves all credit for good intentions to its cause, he must say that one observation occurred to his mind, which was, that the friends of the peace of Ireland, and of good government in Ireland, and of the Established Church in Ireland, had good reason to pray that they might have any other friends rather than those. (Cheers.)

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM thought that the report should have been more complete than it now was before it was laid on their Lordships' table. It stated great evils, but it laid down no principles by which those evils could be put an end to. In this state that report would go forth to the world, and would not tend to allay those party feelings which existed in Ireland. The noble Earl complained of the subject, exciting party feelings, but he hoped that to that degree of party feelings which was necessary to preserve the Established Church it would be exposed. He had no party feelings on the subject, and the noble Earl would pardon him that he could not look to the measure as a source of security and tranquillity; he could not look at it as calculated to realise the hopes and expectations which had been excited; and looking back at the measures adopted in Ireland—looking at the state of that country—looking at the vacillation of the Government of Ireland, taking up and laying down measures as that great agitator of Ireland dictated, who had acknowledged himself guilty of breaking the law—looking at the Government afterwards courting his hollow assistance to secure the country against agitation—looking at these things, could he expect from the measures now proposed tranquillity for Ireland and security for the Protestant church? He should not have said so much had it not been for the eagerness of the noble Earl. If the report of the Committee mentioned the extinction of tithes, he might complain that one day the plan was commutation and another extinction. (Hear, hear.) Formerly it was extinction, now it was commutation (No, no.) The noble Earl was not consistent in his statements. (No, no, and laughter.)

EARL GREY said he had not said one word about the extinction or commutation.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM had formerly heard of extinction, and now heard of commutation. (Hear, hear.) The noble Earl had not shown how tithes were to be commuted. In the present state of Ireland he did not think such a scheme could last forty-eight hours. When they promulgated the report they were bound to state—considering the situation and anxiety of Ireland—they were bound to state to what extent the measures were to go which they contemplated. (Hear, hear.) He came down to the House only intending to put the question to the noble Earl which he would then ask, which was—when did the noble Earl intend to explain to the House the plan he had in contemplation?

Lord PLUNKET wished to say, with respect to the language used by his noble Friend (Earl Grey) on a former occasion, that it was not possible for any language to be more industriously misrepresented, though it was then most gratefully accepted by cheers from the other side. He would not enter into his noble Friend's views, but only say, that the language he then used was exactly the same as what he had now said. There were persons in Ireland of two opposite factions, who were reckless of all the consequences to the peace and tranquillity of the country if their party views were successful. His noble Friend had never altered his sentiments, or given on the one hand the smallest reason to believe that in his opinion the just rights of the church ought to be abandoned; nor, on the other hand, had his noble Friend ever uttered a sentiment which could make it be supposed that the just expectations of the people were not to be attended to. The proceedings of the committee confirmed his noble Friend's declaration. Relief was, in the first instance, proposed to be given to the suffering clergy by the Government—the Government taking on itself to prosecute the rights of the clergy. At the same time it was declared—and this was opinion of all reasonable men, it was only by the clergy themselves—that there was security for the church—no safety for the establishment, unless the system of tithes was extinguished. He was far from insinuating that the noble Duke, his noble Friend if he might so call him, would wilfully misrepresent what had fallen from the noble Earl—the whole course of his life, and his great stake in both countries, would not admit of any man forming such an opinion; but he did entreat his noble Friend to consider whether he was promoting the interest of the church by holding his present language. The clergy of Ireland, he could assure his noble Friend, would not consider those their friends who made use of it. The clergy of Ireland were grateful to the Government for what it had done. If any body thought that the clergy were not contented with what the Government had done, he was mistaken. If noble Lords would wait till they read the evidence given by several churchmen before the committee, they would find that there was no jea-

lousy of this plan, and that it was the opinion of all those interested for the welfare of Ireland that the tithe system could not be continued. It was said that the language was different, and that both extinction and commutation had been mentioned; he had not seen any objectionable phrases of this kind. His noble Friend had not used the word extinction, but the committee had. The report of the committee used both phrases, both extinction and commutation. This was a plain proposition, which he saw no difficulty in understanding. Was it fair, to state that the Government wished to injure the church, when it raised expectations of putting an end to daily conflicts between the clergy and the people, and when it endeavoured to restore peace? Would it injure the character of the ministers of God, who were engaged in interpreting the Word of God to the people? or would it injure the interests of the church to take away these sources of conflict? Would not the instruction of the clergy be more cordially received by the people if this source of dispute did not exist? With respect to the Government of Ireland, he wished that some facts were stated, some plain proposition advanced, some proof given, that it had neglected to protect the rights of the clergy. He begged that some instances might be given of cases in which the law afforded the means of protecting the clergy, and the Government had refused its aid. The fact was, that by the rage of party feelings, Ireland was torn to pieces. They lost sight of her interest to thwart every Government which did not humble itself before one or the other party. That was the feeling of these parties; but they forgot that there was a third party—the people of Ireland, whose interest demanded the care of the Government. There was the party of Protestant ascendancy, and the party of the democracy, and they were both hostile to the Government, which, for once, was in opposition to both. This was the cause of the complaints made against the Irish Government. There was no person more firmly attached to all the best interests of Ireland than the Marquis of Anglesea. If injury were offered to the clergy, and assistance were demanded, it was immediately and promptly given. Let their Lordships look at the evidence before the committee, and not run away with vague notions, and they would find the fact stated by persons of different ranks, that there was a *suspicio* that the Government would not support the clergy. I say they have no instance in which assistance had not been given. The charge was, that the Government did not support the rights of the clergy; but if their Lordships would not listen to the wild suggestions of party feeling, but to the evidence, they would find that there was no instance of the Government having ever refused to do so. They had heard much of lawless associations of the agitators, but he would undertake to say, that there were other associations still more lawless. (Hear, hear.)

There was the lawless democracy association and the lawless ascendency association. The democracy association was wicked, mischievous, and dangerous. He had often looked at it with apprehension; but it was mixed up, lawless as it was, with some real grievances. It might be said, why did the law not put it down? The law had been applied but they could not go beyond the law, and they must take away the grievance. He saw some necessity for this association; but without imputing bad motives to the other party, charity even obliged him to say, that they were the most senseless class of associations that he had ever heard of. He was afraid of the former, but he could not possibly feel any respect for the latter. One specific person had been pointed out, a person of whom it was said the Government was afraid, and before whom the Government was described to humble itself. He was the last person who could be expected to panegyrize the individual alluded to, for he had never hesitated to do his duty towards the public, though it might be against that individual. In the fulfilment of that duty, when he held a situation different from his present situation, he had instituted a prosecution against that individual and he could tell their Lordships how that prosecution was defeated. It was defeated because, in the spirit of thwarting the Government, the opposite party took up the defence of its greatest enemy, and prevented the public good being effected. (Hear, hear.) He wished to tell their Lordships that it was not so easy to catch that person within the law. He had carefully observed his proceedings for many years, and he would declare, as a constitutional lawyer, that he had only found one occasion on which he thought that individual could be successfully prosecuted. He was successfully prosecuted, and nothing but the expiration of the Act of Parliament prevented him from being brought up for punishment. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the Government not daring to execute the law, he would only say that it did not dare to go beyond the law. It was said that the Government had offered a place to that gentleman, which was a report without foundation. Much as he condemned the conduct of that individual, he must say that, as far as he knew, the declaration formerly made by his noble Friend was strictly true. The professional pursuits and professional reputation of that gentleman were so great, that nobody ranked higher. As a practical barrister, his reputation entitled him to the highest place. To indulge in angry feelings was not, he believed, the best means of conducting affairs to a satisfactory result; and looking to the situation to which the general business of that person would entitle him, he thought it would be advantageous, if means could be found, to disarm him of mischief. If the Government could have done that, it would have been acting a wise part to place that gentleman in a situation where his opposition would cease. To that extent he

had been willing to go; but to say that the Government had humbled itself before that individual, was most untrue. He called then, upon the noble Lord, to put his finger on any act of the Government in which it had not supported the laws. He was sure that the interest of the clergy had been supported in Ireland, though the Protestants of the North of Ireland had made some loud complaints.

These persons called themselves the guardians of the public peace, and they associated to put an end to the peace of the country. He had looked through their proceedings—he had examined their speeches, abstracting himself from other business, and he could openly declare that he had not found one intelligible proposition in all their proceedings. They called out for protection from the law—they called out to preserve the constitution—but they did not establish any infraction of the laws, or point out any remedy which could be adopted. The Government was beset by enemies on both sides (hear, hear), but the good feeling of the great body of the people—of all the sound and intelligent and sensible part of the population, was in its favour, as it looked to them for support. If the Government did not show any favour to either party—if it at once protected the clergy and protected the people, he had no apprehension of the results. (Hear.)

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM explained that he did not say that both extinction and commutation had been spoken of by the noble Earl (Grey); but he stated that the noble Earl had not mentioned extinction, and his allies in the other House had.

The Earl of CARNARVON could not but express his surprise that such warm language should be used in a debate which had grown up so incidentally. If the Government were to act on the principles it professed; if it were to pursue that even-handed justice the noble Lord had ascribed to it, he should be sorry to see any measure it proposed for the public good opposed *in limine* from party animosity. He would not, however, agree with the noble Lord, in ascribing that character to the Government; and he could not help feeling that the language indulged in by the noble Lord was calculated to alarm the already irritated Protestants. The noble Lord had described them as more deficient in intellect than any he had ever beheld. (Hear.)

LORD PENKETH denied that he had ascribed such a character to the Protestants; he had only said that in their speeches he could not find one intelligible proposition.

The Earl of CARNARVON was glad to hear any explanation (hear, hear); but he wished that the language of the noble Lord had been more temperate. The noble Lord would not say that the party of the Protestants were few, when he saw the petition against the measures of Government signed by 235,000 Protestants. That was not an indication of a defect in their understanding, nor of that senseless character which the noble Lord had modestly ascribed

to them. They showed that they justly appreciated the blessings they had long enjoyed. He must see some better fruit of the conduct of the Government than he had yet beheld before he believed its professions. The Government said it was neuter; but he asked with which party did the contest arise? The Catholics of Ireland had received the greatest boon that ever was conferred on any people; and when they accepted it they said that they had then got everything they wanted. But scarcely were they in possession of their wishes when the embers of their old association were again blown into a blaze, and publicly, openly, and boldly, they professed that their object was to separate the two countries. Did the attack then originate with the Protestants? (Hear.) Did the Government take any effectual measures to put down these attacks? The attack made on the tithes began more than a year ago; had it been instigated by Protestants? It began with the Hurlers, who had been attended by a legal gentleman... to advise

proceedings put down? The Government said that it had applied the law; but for a whole year these proceedings had been going on, the Government found the law not efficient, and it had come to ask for fresh powers. After this state of things had continued a whole year, the noble Earl came down and said, if he found that his powers were not sufficient to put down these disorders, he would not shrink from applying to Parliament for more power. (Hear, hear.) He had submitted to excitement and agitation for a whole year; rebellion had not been arrested, but fostered; and now, at the end of a year's professions, the Government doubted whether it should apply for greater power. If the Government made the application to Parliament, it would find that no power would be refused—no establishment withheld by those whom it generally considered in opposition to it; and if any opposition were made, it would come from those to whom it was accustomed to look as its political friends. The noble Lord said that the agitator was not punished, because the law expired; but how did it expire? By the most hasty, impatient proceeding of the ministers. (Hear, hear.) They had terminated the Parliament abruptly, and lost the opportunity of re-enacting the law. The noble Lord concluded by stating that he saw no ground for confiding in ministers; if he saw any determination, on its part, to put down the rebellious spirit that prevailed in Ireland, he should be ready to give his support to the measure proposed. He regretted to say that hitherto the policy of the present Government had been not to give that support to the Protestants of Ireland they had a right to expect, and which they had formerly received. (Hear, hear.)

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE complained of the strong language used by the noble Earl towards the Government, who had said that rebellion had been fostered and encouraged in

Ireland—(The Earl of Carnarvon did not say the Government had fostered rebellion.)—He wished that the noble Lord would make some specific charge against the Government, and if the noble Earl could show that the Government had neglected to support the clergy of Ireland, or to use its proper authority, he certainly would not support the Government. He must deny that the great body of the Protestants of Ireland were represented by the Orangemen, and as a Protestant nobleman, he must say that the associations alluded to by the noble Lord were not the whole Protestant party. They had been spoken of as embracing two millions of Protestants, and now they had shrunk down to 230,000.

The Earl of CARNARVON said a few words in explanation, and the subject dropped.—Adjourned.

Dewsbury, 2nd Feb. 1832.

THE reader has, I hope, gone patiently through the whole of the above reports of debates; and if so, he has observed the rage of Lord WICKLOW, whom the Ministers have just made a *Lord Lieutenant of a county!* He is extremely angry that the Report seems to call the TITHES "*a grievance*;" but, as such the people consider them, and as such they refuse to pay them. As such they are considered in *England* too; and the Orangemen, the bloody Orange bands, will lie and swear in vain, to *make the people of England believe* that this is a question of *CATHOLIC AGAINST PROTESTANT*: they know that it is a question of *tithe-payers against tithe-receivers*: they themselves are anxious to get rid of this intolerable load: they themselves have presented hundreds of petitions, praying for the abolition of tithes: to use the words of the able and learned EDITOR of the "*CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE*," the people of England clearly see, that "the people of Ireland are, in truth, now contending, *not for their own rights only, but also for those of the people of England*; and that circumstances alone have placed the Irish in the *front of the battle*."

LORD WICKLOW (I wonder what his name is!) may be assured of the truth of this; and he may be also assured, that every honest heart in England now exults in the prospect of success to the just, legal, and laudable efforts of our suffering brethren in Ireland. I hope

that the reader has noted well what VAUX-BROUGHAM said, in answer to this WICKLOW, about his (VAUX's) having voted for Mr. HUME's *Irish Tithe* motion, about *seven years ago*. He might have been lighter-handed towards VAUX, if he had remembered that, only *last year*, the said VAUX contended that tithe was as sacred as any private property, that the parson was a *landlord*, and that he was not a "*sleeping partner*," but a *real partner*, in the *ownership of the land*. "*Wicklow*" (what can his name be!) would, I dare say, have spared the *noble peer*, Vaux Brougham, if he had remembered this. VAUX's answer to Wicklow is *curious*; that is to say, it is curious that he was able to utter so *many words* without suffering them to convey *any meaning*. He did not repeat his *law*, that the *parson* is A PARTNER with the *land-owner*; nor did he say anything meaning the *contrary*. He has a *ticklish* part to play, having his *Whig-peer tithe-owners* pulling on one side of his robes, and the whole people of England, and especially those of Yorkshire, pulling on the other side! "*Jaw*," as the *reporters* call it, is very good; but *naked jaw*, jaw and *nothing else*, will not do here. Here some *judgment*, and even a *great deal* of judgment, is necessary. Neither will *silence* do here: no, nor *words without a meaning*. He must speak out; he must place himself on *one of the two sides*. This is the greatest difficulty that he ever yet found himself in since he stepped on the bank of the Thames from the Berwick smack. While he had *negro slavery* to bawl against, he had fine times of it. But, being in power, he has *lost that*; and now he is hemmed up in a corner by the *tithe-claimers* and the *tithe-payers*. The *Whig-aristocracy* are the greatest tithe-owners in the kingdom! He must act so as to set them against him, or so as to set the whole of the middle and working classes against him. Alas for the *noble baron*, Brougham and Vaux!

Did you mark, reader, what PLUNKETT (or, as the Irish call him, *Pluncut*) said? He, too, seems to be amongst thorns; seems to be moving amongst

very prickly stuff: whoever has been in a coppice, in a spot entangled by long and rambling brambles, a hawthorn in front and a black-thorn in the rear, may form an idea of the present situation of the *noble peer* PLUNKETT, an account of *whose life* ought to be written and published as soon as possible! The noble peer has Whig-peer tithe-owners amongst his supporters; he has, too (which VAUX has not), some "*near and dear relatives*," who have some *trifling* things in the Irish Church. And yet he has to defend a measure (if it be truly represented in the newspaper reports) which, whatever else it may do, amounts to a declaration, *FIRST*, that *the existence of tithes is an evil*; and, *second*, that the Parliament has an *undoubted right to extinguish them*. Brambles and thorns are nonsense when compared with this difficulty! How the *noble peer* Plunkett will get out of it, the Devil, who has doubtless been at the bottom of the creating of the difficulty, only knows.

But, reader, did you observe what my *noble peer* Plunkett is *reportherd* to have said about Mr. O'CONNELL? Then, read the *reporth* of his speech over again; and do, pray, mark the *apology*, which he offered to his *brother noble peers* for the Government *not having put down Mr. O'Connell*! Mark what he said about the "*watching of that person*," and about the difficulty of "*catching*" that "*person*!" Pray, look at this passage well; then consider that it is the report of the speech of THE LORD CHANCELLOR of Ireland, and then say what bounds "*that person*," Mr. O'Connell, ought to set to his lawful endeavours to oppose this Ministry! When Dr. FRANKLIN (not then known to science) was, long before the breaking out of the *American Revolt*, called before the *House of Lords*, and there *treated contemptuously*, he said to a gentleman, with whom he walked out of the House, "I'll make the haughty and insolent ——— *repent of this*." He was as good as his word: he afterwards took Mr. PAINE to America; he negotiated the treaty of alliance with France; and it was he and Mr. PAINE

(who also had had to endure the insolence of office in England) who were the cause of the revolution in America; and, by consequence, the cause of that great danger which we now feel in the formidable power of that great republic.

It is thus that injuries, inflicted on individuals, work for the general good. Thousands, one by one, are subdued; are destroyed; are no more heard or thought of; but by-and-by they are inflicted on some man of talent and of spirit; he *resents the injury*; and from his resentment arises something of a *general nature and effect*.

Thus it has been, and thus it is, in the case of Mr. O'Connell. Are such individuals to be *blamed*? Are they to be censured *because they resent injuries*? For what, then, was the feeling of resentment given us? All that such a man has to guard himself against, in such a case, is, suffering his just resentment to urge him on to do that which is *injurious to his country*; but here, observe, he is not to be told that he must not indulge his resentment, **LEST it SHOULD be injurious to his country**: for, in the first place, he is very likely to be a *good judge of that himself*; and, in the next place, it is not extremely probable, that it can be *injurious to the country* to pull down those who have *unjustly inflicted injuries on him*. It is now plain to all eyes, that Mr. O'CONNELL has done mortal injury to what may be called the **ORANGE SYSTEM**, which has, for two hundred years, been a millstone on the neck of England and scorpion-scurge on the back of Ireland. It is manifest, that both factions hate him with a hatred perfectly deadly. All that he has to do is, to avoid doing *injustice himself*; to avoid his accusations against **ENGLAND** in a lump, which, while it is so manifestly *impolitic*, is so outrageously *unjust*. Let him read the closing part of the first article in the first number of the "**CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE**." There he will see the true line clearly pointed out. Let us all act together cordially upon that call, and we shall soon be in a condition to laugh at all those

who are now desperately struggling to uphold a system of which both countries are anxious to get rid. *This* is the subject to which Mr. O'CONNELL's mind ought *now* to be applied; it occupies the thoughts of every man in England; of all the millions engaged in agriculture, or at all connected with it (and they form eighteen-twentieths of the whole of the people), there is not one who does not take a lively interest in this matter; every word that he says upon this vital subject will be repeated in every town and every village a thousand times over; no man on earth is so able as himself to do justice to the subject; to lay the odious evil bare before the eyes of the people of England; to show them that it is their interest *now*, and *without delay*, to join their efforts to those of the people of Ireland. This is what we expect from him, and this I trust is what we shall receive at his hands.

As yet, I can say nothing as to the *scheme* which the Ministers have in view, other than this, that *any* scheme, no matter what, *must fail*, unless it be an *abolition of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland*.

WM. COBBETT.

CHANGE OF THE WIND.

THE wind changing, induced me to turn away from the mouth of the **MERSEY** towards the mouth of the **HUMBER**; so that if I get the "*safe-conduct*" from Mr. O'CONNELL, I shall not now make use of it. From **LEEDS** I shall get back towards the **ISLE OF WIGHT** as fast as I can, just stopping to see how "*the cholera*" comes on in London. I hope to be in the Isle of Wight by the 7th or 8th of March. I do long to see my friends on that island. I have just got a letter from London, informing me that they are (thank God!) *still alive at Bolt-court*.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and

under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind — A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, **FIRST** as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in *butter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in *little round*

dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice,

and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.		
	£.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than			
SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40			
rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than			
86 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than			
160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HARVEY, J., Dartford, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BEASANT, R., Wolverton, Bucks, miller.

BENNS, R., Bread-street, victualler.

COLQUHOUN, J., Sheffield, coppersmith.

COX, R., Siltou, Dorsetshire.

EAMES, G., Ilminster, Somerset, ironmonger.

FOX, T. S., Wells-next the Sea, Norfolk, builder.

GIRTON, J., Edgware-road, Paddington, dealer in earthenware.

GLADWIN, W. R., Watling-street, smith.

JOHNSON, J. E., Albemarle-st., Piccadilly, wine-merchant.

MOSS, W., New Market Place, Greenwich, cheesemonger.

SALTER, T., North Walsham, Norfolk, corn-merchant.

WHITTARD, T., Dursley, Gloucestershire, shopkeeper.

WOOD, T., Headingly, Yorksh., corn-miller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CRAWFORD, R., Perth, seedsman.

GOW, J. jun., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

CHAULK, W. R., Blackmore, Essex, farmer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BRETT, S., Manchester, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ADDINGBROOK, H., Dudley, Worcester-shire, druggist.

ASHTON, E., High-street, Whitechapel, cheesemonger.

CLAY, W. N., St. Helen's, Lancashire, manu-facturing chemist.

DUPLEX, G., Pleasant-place, Pentonville, chemist.

JACKSON, W., Maidstone, jeweller.

LOGAN, D., Quebec, Canada, merchant.

MOSLEY, C., Tower-street, victualler.

OSBORNE, J. jun., Colchester, common-carrier.

POLLARD, W., Manchester, commission-agent.

ROBINSON, J., Park-pl., Paddington, builder.

STEEL, E. J., Newcastle-u.-Lyne, ironmonger.

SYLVESTER, P., Fulbrook, Oxford, grocer.

THOMAS, W., Bath, woollen-draper.

TURNER, G., and R. Hyslop, Liverpool, merchants.

WARD, J., and W. and J. Statters, Mellor, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

WHITE, J., Marlborough, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEBRUARY 20.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight of English and Scotch wheat and barley, English, Irish, and Scotch flour, English malt, and English beans, have been good; of oats, rye, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, many of whom seemed to be rather busy amongst the samples; but, on account of the sellers aiming at a pretty general advance, the trade, especially at the commencement of the market, was, throughout, dull: with wheat, malt, and flour, at fully last Monday's currency: with barley, oats, and peas, at an advance of 1s. to 2s. per quarter—in rye, bran, or Indian corn, little, if anything, seemed to be doing.—The seed trade is very dull, at pretty generally drooping prices.

Wheat	54s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	24s. to 33s.
— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	37s. to 42s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	31s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 27s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Feed	19s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.

— Sides, new... 46s. to 48s.

Pork, India, new... 127s. 0d. to 128s.

Pork, Mess, new... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barl.

Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.

— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.

— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.

— Limerick ... 83s. to 84s.

— Waterford ... 76s. to 82s.

— Dublin ... 80s. to —s.

Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 64s.

— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 66s.

— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.

— Edam ... 47s. to 50s.

— Gouda ... 46s. to 50s.

Hams, Irish ... 62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—February 20.

This day's supply of beasts was rather great; of sheep, including a few lambs, moderately good; of calves and porkers but limited. The trade, with each description of prime meat, was somewhat brisk, at fully—with that of middling and inferior quality very dull, at barely—Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,838; sheep, 19,660; calves, 94; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 24.

The arrivals this week are fair; the market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

1 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	82½	82½	82½	82½	83½	82½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book;

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

Such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

6. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

7. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

9. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

19. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

8. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

10. POOR MAN'S FRIEND. A new edition. Price 8d.

11. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

12. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price bound in boards, 5s.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

CHOLERA MORBUS, &c.—To those who value their health, and seek relief from pain, &c.—The annexed affidavit of the 13th of October, 1831, referred to in a letter addressed to the Central Board of Health, Whitehall, as stated in *The Times* of the 14th inst., is respectfully submitted to the public by Mr. STROMBOM, who has the honour of announcing that he has compounded an Embrocation called NE PLUS ULTRA, for the relief of various disorders, particularly Cholera Morbus, or Bowel Complaints, Lumbago, Rheumatism, Gout, Contusions, Sprains, Bruises, Inflammation of the Chest or Lungs, Tooth-ache, Sore Throats, Swelled Faces, Tic Douleureux, Erysipelas, Paralytic and Glandular Affections, Swelled Ancles, Chilblains, Corns, &c., for which he has obtained his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent, and is now for sale at his Laboratory, 17, HATTON-GARDEN, at the rate of 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. per bottle. Also Mr. STROMBOM'S address to Earl Bathurst, 1425, about the Cape Currency, &c., and to the Marquis of Wellesley, about the Commercial and Financial state of Great Britain and its Currency, in 1831, 8vo. sewed at 2s. 6d. and 4s. in boards.

Mr. STROMBOM'S Affidavit, respecting his New Patent Medicine, the NE PLUS ULTRA and Incomparable Embrocation.—"I Isaac Strombom, of No. 65, OLD BROAD STREET, in the City of London, Merchant, maketh oath, and saith—That the Deponent (after having visited all the four quarters of the globe, and for about thirty years resided principally in hot or more or less enervating climates, and consequently, through accidental occurrences, having been subject to severe illnesses, and often so situated, as well as his family and a large establishment of servants, as to be without any good medical assistance near at hand to have recourse to) has been induced to attend a great deal to the effects of different medicines, and particularly of late years, having studied some of the best medical and surgical authors, in regard to several complaints which either himself or any of his family or friends were subject to:—That, after a great many experiments, by adding such proportions of several ingredients as might ameliorate the sharpness and remove the evil of some without detracting from their good qualities, he has at last formed a composition of several medical ingredients, which the deponent firmly believes, by neutralizing or absorbing or removing the crudi-

ties and bad humours under and in the proximity of the skin, as well as for its efficacy (if not in many instances almost instantaneous, though gentle effects, if equalled, not surpassed by any hitherto-known compound) is, for its stimulating, anodyne, and many other beneficial qualities, both by neutralizing or easing, subduing and removing, several external as well as internal complaints, by the external application of the said composition, which, in every instance hitherto tried, has been found highly successful; among these are, in particular, severe bowel complaints, or what is hitherto termed the English Cholera Morbus, spasms in the stomach, cramp, head and face ache, gout, rheumatism, chilblains, contusions and sprains, pains in the side from disease or the liver and internal abscesses, besides many other inflammatory complaints and eruptions, &c. Further, the deponent verily believes that the said composition, by absorbing or neutralizing bad humours, acts greatly as a preventive to many serious illnesses. And the deponent saith that, as he verily believes that the circulation and extensive use of his said composition would be greatly beneficial to the public and mankind in general, as well as to his own advantage, he intends to introduce it by a patent under the name and appellation of STROMBOM'S NE PLUS ULTRA, and INCOMPARABLE EMBROCATION. And the deponent further saith, that the said Embrocation, while consisting of the most efficient ingredients, all of which have been occasionally given individually by the Medical Profession internally, and from its not containing any Mercury, the Deponent verily believes that it is less liable to produce any pernicious effects through its application than most if not any other hitherto-known compound.

J. STROMBOM."

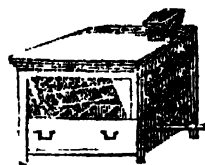
Sworn before me at the Mansion House,
London, Oct. 13, 1831.

J. KEY, Mayor.

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, for March, Price 1s. 6d., will be published on Wednesday next, and will contain amongst other things,—An Inquiry into the Voluntary Nature and Character of the Payment of Tithes, and the Legal Consequences of Refusing or Declining to pay Tithes; with Observations on Combination against Tithes.

Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; (to whom all communications respecting this publication are requested to be addressed).

Sold by W. F. Wakeman, 9, D'Olier-street, Dublin; Smith, and G. and J. Robinson, Liverpool; Lewis, and James and Joseph Thomson, Manchester; Butterworth, Birmingham; Baines and Co., Leeds; Davey and Mackett, Bristol; Timms, Bath; Brooke, Dewsbury; Weston, Fgham; Bacon and Co., Norwich; Thurnam, Carlisle; and all Booksellers.



ZACHARIAH PARKES, 279, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, Manufacturer of STEEL MILLS, for Grinding Malt, Beans, Peas, Oats, Barley, Coffee, Pepper, Rice, and Drugs in general, begs particularly to call the attention of the Public to his improved HAND CORN-MILLS and FLOUR DRESSING MACHINES, by the using of which private Families may ensure Pure and Wholesome Bread.—Vide the Register for December 29, 1827, Vol. 64, No. 14.

BREWERS and CORN-DEALERS are informed, that they may have Hand Malt-Mills that will grind from One to Two Quarters and upwards in the Hour.

Persons who emigrate to Van Dieman's Land, Swan River, or any other new Settlement, would find the Corn-Mill and Flour-dressing Machine well worth their notice. The cost is trifling, and the Mill and Machine may be packed in a case containing less than eight cubic feet.

CHEAP CLOTHING! I

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. d.	
Colours.....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12 0
Figured Silk ditto.....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Barogan ditto.....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4 0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the cut and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 75.—No 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 2^D, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



IRISH TITHES.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

York, 29th Feb. 1832

MY FRIENDS,

I MIGHT have entitled this article "CHURCH REVOLUTION," for as sure as you and I are alive, this, which we see now taking place, is the first step towards a change in the affairs of the church, as that change which took place 260 years ago under the name of "PROTESTANT REFORMATION." Then, as now, it was at first pretended, and indeed *intended*, that only a slight change should be made; but the change was, at last, a complete overthrow of the church as it then existed. Let us now, when we are just beginning this great new change, take a short view of the steps by which we have been led to it. You, who have been readers of my writings for the last twenty years, will find nothing new in what I am now going to say; those, who were not ten years old twenty years ago, will find it to be new matter, while to most of you even, it will be useful to have the matter brought together in a short compass, and adapted to our present purpose. Before the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION," there never had existed in the world even an idea that the tithes or other property called church-property, were the property of the clergy. No man living had ever, until then, entertained a thought of the kind. Tithes, under the Mosaic law, were placed in the hands of the tribe of Levi, that they might therewith provide for the wants of the poor; and I beg you to observe, that

that tribe was to have no private possessions in the land; was to inherit nothing; and was, therefore, to share with the poor in the enjoyment of the tithe. Of this tithe they were to give a *tenth* to the priests, that is to say, to Aaron and his successors; so that, according to that law, the priests were to have a *tenth* of the *tenth*, and not a *tenth* of the *whole*.

Under the Christian religion, after the first ages, the priests were invested with the two capacities, and acted as Levites and priests at the same time. But in no case whatsoever was ever tithe granted or instituted: in no case whatsoever was church or monastery built or founded, but in the name of charity every thing that was granted, was granted *in trust* to the priesthood, for the honour of God, and for the *relief of the poor*. In accordance with this principle, existed the Saxon church of England, and the English church which succeeded that; and thus, for the space of 900 years, the whole of the laws of England contained enactments or customs, all founded on this one and the same principle: that every particle of that property which is called church-property, had no foundation, other than this, that it was property granted in trust to the clergy for the purposes of public worship of God, and especially for the purpose of giving relief to the necessitous. A gentleman in Spain, who had read my "HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION" in Spanish, has sent me a work in Spanish, being an examination into the origin of tithes and of other church-property. At the same time he sent me the following letter, which you will hardly be able to read without exclaiming, Wondrous are thy effects, O printing-press.

"Madrid, 2nd Nov. 1831.

"SIR,

"I have read with great pleasure
"in your *Register* of the 29th August
"last, the letter addressed by Dr. D. D. D.

L

“ to Lord Farnham, upon the subject of
 “ tithes; and, as this question begins
 “ to attract public attention, it may not
 “ be amiss to send you a book which,
 “ in the year 1828, was published here
 “ upon the same subject. The title is,
 “ *The History and Origin of the Rents*
 “ *or Revenues of the Spanish Church,*
 “ *from its first foundation.* This kind
 “ of property must have been originally
 “ of precisely the same nature in other
 “ countries also, and therefore you will
 “ find this book very convenient, as one
 “ of reference, whenever you may have
 “ occasion again to touch upon this
 “ question; for its authority must be
 “ allowed to be quite unexceptionable,
 “ having been written and published in
 “ the most Catholic country in Europe,
 “ and that, too, with the license, if not
 “ by the express order, of Govern-
 “ ment. A translation of part of it
 “ might be advantageous at this mo-
 “ ment; nor can there be any harm in
 “ taking what may prove useful from the
 “ enemy's stores,

“ It cannot be denied, Mr. Cobbett,
 “ that even here, church income has
 “ been greatly diverted from its original
 “ destination, but in many cases certainly
 “ with the utmost propriety: for ex-
 “ ample, *more than one-half the amount*
 “ *of the tithes in this country goes into the*
 “ *Royal Treasury, thus contributing to*
 “ *the exigences of the state;* whereas,
 “ if I understand you right, those im-
 “ mense revenues are wholly absorbed
 “ by your Protestant clergy in England,
 “ *entirely for their own benefit, or that*
 “ *of their families,* whilst the poor, for
 “ whose support they were chiefly
 “ founded, you inform us, are actually
 “ starving, and, at the same time, the
 “ nation is overwhelmed with debt.
 “ You see, Mr. Cobbett, that we order
 “ these things much better even in
 “ Spain.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ William Cobbett, Esq.”

“ This book I have found to be one of
 “ the most interesting that I ever read. I

was unable to read it in Spanish; and
 I therefore got a Spanish gentleman in
 London to translate it. The translation
 was not finished when I came away:
 it now is finished, and it has been sent
 to me into the North. I shall have it
 published the moment that I get to
 London, and it will make a little book
 to sell for about three shillings. Here
 will be found an answer to all the EL-
 DONNS and all the WYNFORDS (Serjeant
 BESTS) and all the HORNBYS and STAN-
 LEYS and PLUNCUTS. Let it be observed
 that this book was written and pub-
 lished in Spain, under the eye of that
 “ monstrous tyrant ” FERDINAND. And
 the reader will find that as the loins of
 Jeroboam were light, as compared with
 the little-finger of Rehoboam; so are
 tithes in England and Ireland, but par-
 ticularly in England, compared with the
 tithes in Spain. The Cortes were to
 give to Spain an English constitution
 and married priests: no wonder that
 the people of Spain were resolved to
 have none of the Cortes; and none of
 their Jews and Spanish bonds.

Leaving this subject, however, for
 future discussion, let me return to the
 manner in which the tithes and other
 church-property were applied, previous
 to the event called the Protestant Re-
 formation. I have stated that the grants
 were all made for purposes of re-
 ligion, and particularly for purposes of
 charity; I have stated that the property,
 whether tithes or lands, or whatever
 else, was not property bestowed upon
 any person, or any body of persons, for
 their own possession, or their own use,
 in any way whatsoever; but merely in
 trust for the upholding of religion, and
 the relieving of the poor, exactly in the
 same manner that lands or houses are be-
 queathed by individuals for the purpose
 of distributing bread, or of taking care
 of the sick; the clergy have no more
 right to apply the revenues of the church
 to their own private use, than the
 trustees of St. Thomas's Hospital, for
 instance, have a right to apply the lands
 belonging to that hospital to their own
 private use.

Catholic priests, like every thing that
 is mortal, were liable to error and mis-

conduct : they might neglect their duty ; providing for the wants of the poor ; in this respect : they might betray their trust : they might misapply the revenues committed to their charge. Therefore the law interfered : though granted to the custody of the clergy, the law took care to superintend the management of these important resources : the law compelled the clergy to relieve the poor out of the proceeds of the tithes, which soon became a great deal more than sufficient for the purpose, especially in England, which was in all ages famed for the munificence of its charity : the law, in fact, was this : that the incumbent of every parish should relieve the poor, and build, rebuild, repair, or beautify his church from the same source ; and have the other part, wherewith to live constantly in his parsonage house, in order to keep hospitality. That was the law, and that was the practice in England for 900 years. It was while that law was in existence that all the churches arose, and, amongst other of those edifices, such as are to be seen in no other part of the world, that magnificent cathedral within the sight of which I am now writing this *Register* and which edifices seem to remain for the express purpose of reminding us of the height from which we have fallen and of the rights which have been taken from us by this Protestant clergy.

From this state of things we have been brought down to our present state in the following manner, and from the following motives. During the reigns of King Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI. the whole of this ancient church was abolished. The aristocracy took to themselves the whole of the tithes, and all the other property which had been granted in trust to the clergy for the purposes of religion, and the poor. They gave a part of the tithes, and only a part, to a new sort of bishops and parsons, which sort we have now. These new bishops and parsons being permitted to have wives, which the Catholic clergy were not, they wanted the tithes and other revenues for their own families, and had, therefore, no means of fulfilling their trust before-mentioned, of keeping up the churches, and

providing for the wants of the poor ; though, and I beg you to observe this well, no law has ever been passed, from that day to this, to exonerate them from the performance of the trust, as far as related to the poor.

At first, those who had divided the church-property among themselves, in the manner that I have just described, did relieve the poor in some degree, in the manner that they had before been relieved ; but, little by little, they ceased to do this ; and, at last, England was upon the point of open rebellion, and destruction was threatened to the Government from this monstrous injustice and cruelty on the part of those who had taken the church-property to themselves, and who had thus robbed the poor of their inheritance. The struggle between these greedy spoliators and the people, continued for the space of about fifty years. As a remedy, Act of Parliament after Act of Parliament was passed, in order to obtain relief for the poor by voluntary contributions ; but, at last, it was found that there was no security for the Government, unless a legal and permanent provision were made for the maintenance of the poor, founded on funds arising from a compulsory assessment or contribution. Therefore, in the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the poor-law was passed ; and at the same time a provision was made by law for keeping the churches in repair by compulsory assessment.

Hence arose poor-rates and church-rates ; things wholly unknown and undreamed of in England until that time. Here you see, then, my friends, that we are paying poor-rates and church-rates while the aristocracy hold the land and the tithes which were formerly applied to the relieving of the poor and the repairing of the churches. I say the aristocracy, because they do hold the lands ; they do themselves receive a very large part of the tithes, as, for instance, the Duke of DEVONSHIRE the great tithes of TWENTY PARISHES in Ireland ; they do receive a great part of the tithes themselves ; and if you look at the lists of the forty-four bishops ; if

you look at the deans and chapters ; if you look at the owners of all the great livings both in England and Ireland ; if you look at the list of patrons of livings ; you will see that, with some very trifling exceptions, the aristocracy are the owners of the whole ; that *they* have got into *their* hands that which was devoted to the service of God, and that which was, in the strictest sense of the word, the patrimony of the poor, while, at the same time, MALTHEUS, a parson of this very church, and a pensioner besides paid out of the sweat of the people, has published a book to tell us that the poor, who are unable to provide for their own necessities, have been doomed *by Nature to be starved* ; and that at Nature's board there is no seat for them ; and this parson has actually proposed to the Parliament to pass a law in accordance with this abomination of principle ; to which I may, and must add, that my Lord Brougham pledged himself, in the year 1819, to maintain the principles of Malthus in their utmost extent.

With regard to Ireland, where affairs are now more immediately before us, it is truly curious to observe how, first or last, God brings good out of evil. Here we are taught the great danger, however strong we may be, of doing injustice. *The poor-law was denied to Ireland while it was given to England.* Here is the source, the great source of all, of the evils which have afflicted Ireland from that day to this. The tithes and other church-property were grasped by the aristocracy in Ireland, in the same way that they were in England. The Irish people cried aloud for relief, as well as the people of England ; but the racks and chains and torments of Elizabeth, and still more the bribes at the expense of poor Ireland, had furnished her with the means of treating the Irish with cannon-balls and bayonets instead of poor-laws. England, which was the seat of her government, and where she had the whole of the plunderers at her beck, enabled her to overlay Ireland ; to force her new sort of bishops and parsons upon her ; to compel her people to yield tithe to this new sort of bishops and

parsons, whom they always hated, because they took from them that which had been their patrimony before, while there was not, as in England, a compulsory assessment for the poor to serve in the lieu of that patrimony. Hence the Catholic religion has remained venerated from father to son ; and hence the Protestant religion, attempted to be there established, has continued to be viewed with an exactly opposite feeling ; hence, more than two hundred years of trouble, of turmoil, and of blood ; hence, tithes always looked upon as a most cruel oppression ; and hence, at last, a resistance, or an evasion equally effectual, of the law relating to tithes.

Now, then, under what circumstances has this resistance taken place ? Poor Ireland was compelled to submit to Protestant tithes, unaccompanied with Protestant poor-rates, because the Government had in its hand this greater country wherewith to overlay Ireland. Many and oft were the times in which the Irish attempted to resist, but the English, to whom the case was never fairly stated, and who were always made to believe that the Irish wanted to cast off the authority of England ; or that they wanted to join with some foreign power against England : the English were always thus induced to pay taxes, or to go in person to reduce the Irish to obedience ; never, from first to last, clearly comprehending anything of the grounds of the Irish discontents. But how stands the matter NOW ? Do we not now clearly understand the ground of the Irish discontent ? And are we now prepared to pour our money into the lap of Lord GREY, or to rush forth in our persons to compel the Irish, at the cannon's mouth or at the point of the bayonet, to yield tithes and Easter-offerings ? Are we now prepared to draw the sword and to shed our blood, in order to compel our brethren across St. George's Channel to "*tender oblations*" to the ministers of Christ ? The best answer to this is, the answer which our brethren in Ireland ought to hear is this ; that within these eighteen months, *more than one hundred and fifty* petitions have been presented to Parliament by

Protestant English parishes, praying to be relieved from the unjust and intolerable burden of tithes. Some of these petitioners have prayed that the tithes may be restored to their former uses, according to their original intention; others have prayed for their abolition altogether; and, with regard to Ireland, a petition has been recently presented from the great town of Leeds, praying that the patrimony, as before described by me, may be restored to the poor of that country. This petition is, in every way in which it can be viewed, of the greatest importance at this time; and as such it ought to be considered by the people of Ireland. We ourselves have been crying out long enough against the system of tithes; but this is the first instance in which Englishmen have stepped forward to demand justice for Ireland. It is, indeed, to demand justice for ourselves at the same time; but that by no means detracts from the merit of this petition; which merit is the greater, seeing that it comes from a manufacturing town, which can feel only indirectly the oppression arising from tithes.

This petition arose out of the following circumstances. About the middle of January, a meeting was held in Leeds to petition the Parliament for the *establishing of poor-laws in Ireland*, on the 12th of January. A resolution having been proposed to this effect, Mr. Joshua Bower moved an amendment. The original resolution was in these words: "That in the opinion of this meeting some system of parochial relief, which shall be compulsory on the owners of property in Ireland, is absolutely necessary, and that petitions be sent from the borough of Leeds to the two Houses of Parliament, praying for the establishment of some legal provision for the poor of Ireland, and that the same be presented by Lord Harewood to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Sadler to the House of Commons." Mr. Bower's resolution was in the following words: "That a petition be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying that they will not saddle Ireland with a poor-law, until all the church-pro-

perty that formerly belonged to the poor of that country be, by legislative enactment, appropriated to the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but that in their wisdom they would appropriate such property to the relief of the poor." Upon this resolution, which was agreed to by an immense majority of the persons present, a petition was founded, and after being signed by a great number of persons, was forwarded to Lord MORPETH, who presented it to the House of Commons. This petition, which, I predict, will be a most memorable document connected with the history of the church-establishment, was in the following words; words which will long tingle in the ears of Protestant bishops, and parsons, and deans, and prebendaries, and canons, and precentors, and vergers, and doctors, and proctors, and deacons, and priests, and rectors, and vicars, and perpetual curates; for Mr. Bower carries us back to the days of the Protestant reformation, and renews the protests of the people of England against the violent seizure and alienation of their patrimony.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Leeds, in public meeting assembled, humbly sheweth,

"That, in the opinion of your petitioners, it is not expedient to saddle the inhabitants of Ireland with any poor-laws, until all the church-property that formerly belonged to the poor of that country be, by legislative enactment, appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended, namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honourable House will not saddle Ireland with any poor-laws,

"until all the church-property that formerly belonged to the poor of the country be, by legislative enactment, appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended, namely, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and that your honourable House will in your wisdom appropriate such property to the relief of the poor."

This petition was the most pertinent and the best-timed that can possibly be conceived. It is right that there should be permanent relief provided for the poor of Ireland: to provide such relief is the only way of making the Irish contented, and of relieving England from the burden of incessant wars to keep them in subjection in a state of discontent. Without such relief, there can be no peace in Ireland. Even if humanity did not say that there ought not to be peace without such relief, reason and experience would tell us that it cannot be. It is right, therefore, for the sake of both countries, that permanent relief should be established; but it is not right that this should be done until the patrimony of the poor shall first have been restored to them. The case is different, and very different, from that of England, where the poor-laws have been established for more than two hundred years. In Ireland they have not been established at all; and therefore the question presents itself to us in just the same shape that it would have done, if we had been alive at the day when the patrimony of the poor was first seized on by the aristocracy in the manner which I have before described. While, therefore, we, for our own sakes, as well as for theirs, call for the making of permanent and sure relief for the indigent persons in Ireland, we ought, on behalf of the land-owners, land-occupiers, and labourers, of Ireland, to demand that the patrimony of the poor shall be restored, before the land of Ireland and the labour of Ireland, observe, be burdened with a compulsory assessment for the purpose. Many persons are of opinion that the same demand ought to be made on be-

half of England, even now; but there have been such great changes in the distribution of the people, and of the wealth of parishes; and there has been a permanent settlement, as to the poor, for so long a time, that a demand of this sort, as applicable to England, would be less evidently just and proper. I am satisfied that it will soon be found, that, for the benefit of both countries, a total extinguishment of the tithes, and the complete operation of Queen Elizabeth's poor-law, are absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of the kingdom; but, in praying for relief to be made for the poor of Ireland; in praying for new poor-laws; in praying for poor-laws where poor-laws have never yet existed; in praying that there shall be relief provided for the poor of Ireland; it was just, it was wise, it was in every way becoming people of sense, to pray for a previous restoration of the patrimony of the poor; and if Mr. O'CONNELL had made a proposition of this sort, instead of expressing his disapprobation of poor-laws in general, which disapprobation extended itself to England, as well as to Ireland, and gave his powerful and, in this case, dangerous countenance to the pensioned Malthus and his crew of oppressors, I never should have been found amongst those who are so forward to express disapprobation of everything done by Mr. O'CONNELL.

Having said so much in what I deem just commendation of this memorable petition, I cannot refrain from observing on an unnatural effort, made by the *reporter* of the *Morning Chronicle*, to cast discredit upon this petition, by sending forth, under a name with which I will not dirt my paper, an accusation against one of the persons who spoke at the meeting in support of the petition, by saying that that person had been guilty of *roasting the Bible*. Doubtless this must have been suggested to this LYING *reporter* by some one deeply interested in the preservation of all the present abuses in the church. The said *reporter* must have been a BRUTE indeed, not to know something, at any rate, of the state of the church in Ireland. Stupidly ignorant he may be, and

doubtless is ; but he must be a very beast not to know, that in Ireland nine-tenths of the people are not church people ; that in many parishes there is scarcely a Protestant to be found ; that the church-property is a great parcel of wealth divided amongst the aristocracy ; and that tithes are there collected, and long have been, at the point of the bayonet ; and, therefore, ignorant brute as this *reporter* may be, and doubtless is, he must have known something of all this ; and what a **MALIGNANT MONSTER** must it then have been, to have done his best, to have exerted his serpent-like malignity, in order to detract from the effect of this laudable petition, by basely and falsely asserting that one of the persons who supported it, had *roasted the Bible* ; which was as much as to say, " This is a petition " from Leeds, to be sure, but it has been " sent up by a band of *infidels* and *blasphemers*." Anything so malignant as this was perhaps never before heard of in the world ; and yet, I dare say, that this pennyless quack of a *reporter* professes himself to be a friend of the working classes, and to hold himself up as the champion on whom they are to rely !

If the fact had been true, instead of being false, the perfidy and malignity would have been equally great. The infamous *reporter* has not the audacity to accuse Mr. BOWER of having roasted the Bible ; and if one of the persons who supported the motion, had, at any time of his life, been guilty of an act at once so foolish and so outrageous, with regard to public morals and religion ; if this had been the case, what was that to Mr. BOWER ? How could Mr. BOWER prevent such a person from supporting his resolution ? Of what importance was that circumstance with regard to the allegations or the prayer of the petition ? Once adopt the notion of this consummately base *reporter*, and away goes all the efficacy of petitioning, especially relative to matters connected with the property of the church ; or, indeed, relative to any question of abuse whatsoever. For when a meeting is about to take place for the purpose of

petitioning against any abuse whatsoever, what has corruption to do but to hire some notorious infidel or thief to speak in support of the petition ; and then to engage some greater scoundrel to object to the petition, on the score of its having been supported by such notorious infidel or thief ; though, perhaps, after all, a smaller criminal than the atrocious *reporter* himself.

When corruption is driven to resort to such means of warding off the blows aimed against her, her case must be desperate indeed ; and her case is desperate at the present moment. Coming from Bible-roasters, or Bible-roasters not, all that the people will ask is, Does this petition contain truth ? The gentleman who moved the resolution might, if he were called upon for the purpose, challenge the whole of this great country to produce a man of character more spotless than himself. But no matter for that, Lord MORPETH was obliged to represent it as a petition numerously signed from the town of Leeds. His Lordship said that it had **SIX THOUSAND** names at the bottom of it ; they could not all be roasters of the Bible. In short, this accusation is like all the others that the hirelings of corruption have, for the last forty-five years, been preferring against every man who attempted to do anything effectual in producing a reform either in the church or in the Parliament.

We must now enter into the inquiry relative to the intentions of the Government with regard to these Irish tithes. My readers will bear in mind, that, about twenty days ago, Lord GREY uttered a most dreadful threat, that he would *enforce* the law relative to the tithes in Ireland. Every one understood him to mean that he would charge the tithe-pigs and potatoes, horse and foot. Every one at the same time saw the madness of such a design ; and the broad-sheet began to fire upon his Lordship from all quarters. Even the *old Times*, naturally as it is disposed to blood, cried out against the intended holy crusade ; and therefore it was thought prudent in the Ministry to perform that operation which the vulgar

call a drawing-in of the horns ; a saying which arose, doubtless, from observing that the snail, when it feels its horn touching anything disagreeable, immediately draws it in, and softly turns its head another way. The personage put forward upon this occasion to perform the operation of drawing-in was Lord Althorp, whom I do not compare to a snail ; for, if he move as slowly, he certainly does not move in so judicious a manner. The history of the drawing-in has been succinctly, but extremely well, given in the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* of the 25th instant. Every fact connected with the measure now in contemplation is of importance, and will be of importance for ages. It is another complete church-revolution which is about to take place ; and if I should have to write the history of it hereafter, as I have written the history of the last church-revolution, the facts which I am now about to state will be thought by me to be of prominent importance. The reader will see that the report to which reference is here made was suppressed in the *London* newspapers, but that it found its way to Ireland, which is, of itself, a fact very well worthy of attention, because it shows the fears entertained by those who are well known to have the means of silencing, whenever they please, any part of the *London* daily press.

With this preface I here insert the account that I have alluded to.

IRISH TITHES.—Since we commented on the extraordinary declaration of Earl GREY, that he was willing to compel the payment of Irish tithes by force, an effort was made on the part of Lord ALTHORP to explain away that declaration. The effort seemed tolerably successful, and deceived a great portion of the public ; the true state of the case having been in some degree suppressed. We find the secret in a report now before us, in a *Dublin* paper, of a very animated debate very imperfectly reported in the *London* press, which arose on the presentation of petitions against the tithe-law of Ireland, on the 8th of February.—On that evening Mr. O'CONNELL, in a

“ very feeling and impressive speech, denounced the parsons of Ireland as “ the ‘ robbers of the poor.’ Of the “ violent death of Archdeacon Whitty, “ he observed :—

“ He had legal rights, which, I believe, he habitually asserted with extreme and rigid severity. He was the man who attempted to awaken some of the most heart-burning oppressions of the dark and dismal period of Catholic persecution.”

“ The following passage we extract “ from an energetic and able speech of “ Mr. HENRY GRATTAN :—

“ The blood of Mr. Whitty may be tracked to this place. Gentlemen, I see, shrink at this ; but I repeat it, the blood of Mr. Whitty may be tracked to the very door of this assembly. Who have sent us here ? For what purpose do we sit here ? Is it not to make good and wholesome laws for the people ? And will any one venture to say that such is the case now, after referring to the sanguinary laws I have alluded to, and the comments on them that I have quoted ; after reading the almost endless statutes passed with regard to the church, all of which, it appears, have failed in their object ; will any one contend that Parliament has discharged its duty by leaving the state in confusion, and allowing to go without remedy grievances that lead to the perpetration of acts so revolting to human nature ?”

“ And again—

“ These laws, it seems, are to be supported by arms. Is this the expression ? They are to be enforced by troops, is such the language ? Are we again to have the old medicine for Ireland ? Bayonets, bayonets. Sir, this is monstrous ; it is intolerable. Ireland will not submit to it. Again, I say, Ireland ought not to submit, and will not submit to it.”

“ Mr. GRATTAN further observed, that “ there was no moral obligation to pay “ tithe ; that the legal obligation ought “ to cease ; and that as to the project of “ charging tithe on the landlord, and so “ reaching the tenant, he would not be “ tithe-proctor of any church upon earth. “ Mr. CHAPMAN, on the same evening, “ expressed his regret that the tithe- “ committee had not gone into the ge- “ neral question of church-lands, in “ order that some provision might be “ carved out of them for the poor. This “ occurred after Lord GREY's declara- “ tion, and it occurred on Wednesday, “ the 8th of February. The subject was “ resumed on Tuesday, the 14th, by Mr.

“ LAMBERT and Mr. WALKER, with equal vigour on the part of both gentlemen. Mr. WALKER, in particular, gave a detail of some of the horrible iniquities of the Irish parsons, in the levying of tithes not due to them. It was on this occasion only that Lord ALTHORP gave his interpretation of the meaning of Lord GREY. The truth is, that this is another instance of the defeat of the Ministry; another instance of the triumph of the people over the oligarchy; and another symptom of the approaching downfall of one of the most impious and wicked tyrannies that ever oppressed man, and made a mockery of God. The *Standard* has recently confessed that there is no Tory party; that they cannot organise an opposition; and yet this imbecile Ministry are kept in check by their own hatred of justice, and by their own fears of popular liberty.”

Here, then, we have an additional cause for the *drawing in of the soft horns*. The speeches of Messrs. O'CONNELL and GRATAN were of considerable length, and especially that of Mr. GRATAN, who entered into a full account of the various cruelties experienced by the Irish in consequence of this system. These are mere sentences from the speeches of these gentlemen. These speeches occupied more than a whole column in the Irish papers, while in the English they occupied but a very small space, from which space were excluded the strongest and most efficient parts of their speeches. This debate was taking place while the committee on Irish tithes was sitting; and it unquestionably had a great effect upon the result of the deliberations of the committee. In a few days afterwards this committee hastened out its report; and on that report it is, which, after inserting it, I am going to remark. I have endeavoured to get a copy of the report, and of the *evidence* attached to it; but I have not yet succeeded. The report which I insert is that which has been made to the House of Lords, and which I find in the public papers. It is curious how precisely the two committees

agree, when there is one sitting in each House upon the same subject. Not in the *very words*, it is true, but precisely as to the thing recommended to be done. The coincidence in sentiment was wonderful in the memorable case of PERI'S BILL; and in the still-less-to-be-forgotten case of the dungeon and the gagging bills of 1817; bills which a reformed Parliament will revise, or a reform of the Parliament will be a mockery. Upon that occasion the *evidence* was not laid before the House; and my intelligence from London says that the *evidence* in this tithe case is not yet printed; and I should not be at all surprised if it never were printed; though the reader will please to observe that this *evidence* is all-important to a clear understanding and a just decision upon the subject. I must therefore take the report as I find it, and God knows it contains matter enough to excite men's alarm, if we had not the consolatory assurance that to act upon it is utterly impossible. But my observations are reserved until the reader has gone through the report itself, which, at any rate, has the merit of brevity.

“ TITHE SYSTEM IN IRELAND.

“ REPORT.

“ By the Lords' Committee to inquire
“ into the COLLECTION and PAYMENT
“ of TITHES in IRELAND, and the
“ State of the Laws relating thereto;
“ and to report their observations
“ thereon to the House; and to whom
“ were referred certain Petitions, Papers, and Accounts, upon the subject matter referred to the Committee.

“ Ordered to Report—That the Committee have proceeded to examine
“ into the subject which has been referred to them; and although they have
“ not yet been able to bring their inquiries to a close, they think it their
“ duty not to defer laying before the
“ House their opinion on parts of the
“ evidence which has been brought
“ before them, and on circumstances
“ which call for the immediate attention
“ of the legislature. A resistance, more
“ or less decided, to the payment of

" tithes, appears to have been made in
 " several parts of Ireland, but more
 " particularly the counties of Kilkenny,
 " Carlow, and Tipperary, and a portion
 " of the Queen's County, and supported
 " by means of organised, illegal, and, in
 " some instances, armed combinations;
 " the danger of which is increased by
 " the peculiar circumstances of Ireland;
 " but which, from whatever cause they
 " may arise, if allowed to continue, and
 " to extend themselves successfully to
 " other districts, cannot fail to be ap-
 " plied to other objects, and ultimately
 " to subvert the dominion of the law,
 " and endanger the peace and security of
 " society.

" It appears that the consequence of
 " these proceedings has been, that in
 " districts where resistance has been
 " made to the payment of tithes, the
 " clergy have in many instances been
 " reduced to the greatest distress.

" The estimated amounts, in the dis-
 " tricts where this resistance has chiefly
 " prevailed, according to information
 " laid before the Committee, of sums
 " due for the tithe, are, in the dioceses
 " of

	" OSSORY,	£	£
" In compounded parishes ..	14,315	}	21,475
" In uncompounded ditto ...	10,130		
	" LEIGHLIN,		
" In compounded parishes ..	18,092	}	20,792
" In uncompounded ditto ...	2,700		
	" CASHEL AND EMLY,		
" In 113 compounded parishes	23,490	}	27,687
" In 25 uncompounded do. on			
" an average of those which	4,197		
" have been compounded...			
" FERNS—supposed to be about			7,000
" KILDARE—ditto			5,000
" Total			£81,954

" It appears to the Committee that,
 " in order to afford immediate relief to
 " the distressed clergy, it is expedient
 " his Majesty should be empowered to
 " advance to the incumbent, where
 " tithes, or compositions in lieu of tithes,
 " have been illegally withheld, or to his
 " representatives, upon a petition veri-
 " fied by affidavit, sums not exceeding
 " the amount of the arrears due for the
 " tithes of the year 1831, proportioned
 " to the incomes of each, according to

" a scale diminishing as their respective
 " incomes increase.

" That, as a security for the repay-
 " ment of the sums so to be advanced,
 " his Majesty should be empowered to
 " issue orders to levy, under the authority
 " of a law to be passed for this purpose,
 " the amount of arrears due for the
 " tithes of the year 1831, without pre-
 " judice to the claims of the clergy for
 " any arrear that may be due for a longer
 " period, reserving, in the first instance,
 " the amount of the advances so made,
 " and paying over the remaining balance
 " to the legal claimant.

" That where the tithes claimed by
 " the party petitioning shall be under
 " the operation of the Composition Acts,
 " the amount to be advanced shall be
 " regulated by such composition; where
 " the amount of the tithe shall have
 " been regulated by any agreement in-
 " dependently of the Composition Acts,
 " the amount shall be regulated by such
 " agreement; and in all other cases by
 " the average amount of the tithes
 " which have been really and bona fide
 " paid or secured to the incumbent of
 " such parish for the years 1827, 1828,
 " and 1829.

" That in order to the more effectually
 " levying the amount of the sums so
 " to be advanced, it shall be lawful for
 " the Attorney-General to proceed, ei-
 " ther by petition to the Court of Chan-
 " cery or of Exchequer, or by civil bill
 " at the Quarter Sessions of the county
 " in which the parish or part of the
 " parish of such incumbent is situated,
 " against all or any of the parties from
 " whom such arrears shall be claimed as
 " due by such incumbent; and that the
 " said courts respectively may issue
 " process for the recovery of the sums to
 " be by them awarded, conformably to
 " the provisions to be inserted in such
 " Act of Parliament, and similar to
 " those contained in several Acts of the
 " Parliament of 1787, 1788, 1799, and
 " 1800, with such additions or altera-
 " tions as may be thought fit to be in-
 " troduced into such Act, as adapted to
 " the circumstances existing at the
 " present moment in Ireland.

" But strongly as the Committee are

"impressed with the necessity of *maintaining the authority of the law*, and
 "relieving the pressing wants the clergy
 "have suffered *from a breach of it*, they
 "have anxiously turned their attention
 "to the practicability of effecting an
 "useful alteration in the present system,
 "and although the inquiry in which
 "they are engaged *is not sufficiently*
 "*advanced* to enable them to pronounce
 "a distinct opinion as to the best means
 "of removing the evils connected with
 "the collection of tithes in Ireland,
 "enough has appeared to satisfy them
 "that, with a view to secure both the
 "interests of the church and the lasting
 "welfare of that country, a *permanent*
 "*change of system* will be required.
 "That such a change, to be satisfactory
 "and safe, *must involve a complete ex-*
 "*tinction of tithes*, including those
 "belonging to *lay-impropriators*, by
 "commuting them *for a charge upon*
 "*land*, or an exchange for or *investment*
 "*in land*, so as *effectually to secure the*
 "*revenues of the church* as far as relates
 "to tithes, and at the same time to
 "remove all *pecuniary collision* between
 "the parochial clergy and the *occupiers*
 "*of land*."

This document, I venture to predict, will, a hundred years hence, be considered of as much importance as the declaration of the Dutch King when he first landed in England. It is a declaration that tithes can be no longer upheld; and that the Government will, if it can, take away a part of every man's estate, and give it to the parsons, who, generally speaking, are the relations or dependents of the aristocracy. My friends, I beg you to read this report two or three times over, and to pay particular attention to the parts which you will find printed in italic letters. In the first place, pray mark the haste of the proceeding; the committee have only heard *part of the evidence*: it founds its report only on that part; neither does it come to a conclusion with regard to the measure that it recommends; but even in this state of imperfect inquiry, it moots a measure the most strange and outrageous that ever yet entered into the mind of man. At the former church

revolution, the property remained unchanged as to its nature and tenure; but here it is proposed to change both, and to make an absolute transfer of real property from one man to another; and to give a fixed annual value to that which is, and always must be, as variable as the seasons, and as the ability and the dispositions of the occupiers of the land.

The report states:—

1. That the yielding of tithes has been resisted in a part of Ireland; and, in some instances, by means of an organised combination, accompanied with illegal and armed combinations of force
2. That if this be suffered to proceed, these means will be applied to other objects than tithes, and that ultimately the dominion of the law would be subverted, and the peace and security of society endangered.
3. That in consequence of this resistance the clergy of the church have been, in many instances, reduced to the greatest distress.
4. That it is *estimated* (though the report does not say by whom) that the amount of the tithes thus withheld is 84,954*l*.
5. That to afford relief to the distressed clergy, it is expedient that his Majesty *should be empowered to advance certain sums of money to the incumbents*, from whom their tithes have been withheld on account of the arrears of tithes.
6. That as a security for the repayment of the sums to be so advanced, his Majesty shall be empowered *by a law to be passed for this purpose*, to issue orders *to levy the money* on the parties occupying the lands where the payment has been resisted.
7. That, *to make the levying effectual*, the act shall empower the Attorney-General to proceed by petition to the *Court of Chancery*, or to the *Court of Exchequer*, or by civil bill at the quarter sessions! And is to be empowered to proceed at once to a seizure and recovery.

N. B. The report does not say whether this same process is to be pursued, in order to obtain Easter-offerings.

8. But now comes the recommendation of the committee with regard to the *future*; and here it states that there ought to be a permanent change in the system; that such change must involve a *complete extinction of tithes*, including those belonging to lay-impropriators, and by giving the tithe-owners, in lieu of tithe, a *charge upon the land*!

The first paragraph, numbered as above, states that which every one believes not to be true; for, if there had been illegal combinations supported by an armed force, where were the police, where were the Orange yeomanry, and where were the standing army? It is very true that there have been two grand battles, somewhat resembling, or rather surpassing, the memorable battle of Skibbereen, the account of which has been read in every country in the world; but have there not been occasional battles of this sort during the whole of the last thirty years; and do we not know that upon an average for many years past, more than a thousand lives a year have been lost in the business of collecting "*oblations* from the faithful," to be "for the blessed work of charity placed in the hands of the ministers of peace on earth and good will amongst men?" So that here is nothing new. The church in Ireland has always been supported by the same means exercised in one shape or another. Therefore, this grand display of the means of resistance tells for just nothing at all with the public.

The second paragraph is still more in the style of exaggeration. It asserts that if this sort of resistance be not put an end to, it will be applied to other objects: that is to say, that because men resist the payment of tithes, they will, if suffered to do that with impunity, resist the payment of rent. This supposes that all those who object to the payment of tithes, really possess nothing themselves; which is a supposition the most false that can possibly be entertained. There was a petition from Ro-

chester, in the month of June, 1830, which was signed, if I recollect rightly, by five or six hundred men: it prayed for the total abolition of tithes; it was moved by a landowner and seconded by a landowner; and it was signed by men, nine-tenths of whom were land-owners; and many of whom were not land-occupiers. And how comes it that persons of this description have found out now, all at once, that tithes are a burden to England no longer to be borne with patience? It is very curious that, when we speak of the thundering standing army in time of peace, of the gendarmerie, of the new trespass-law, of the new game-laws, and Sturges Bourne's bills, of the extraordinary powers given to justices of the peace; it is curious, that when we complain of these innovations on the constitution of our fathers, we are always answered by an assertion that these changes are rendered necessary by the changes in the circumstances of the world, and of this country in particular, and that, among the endless excellences of our happy constitution, the very greatest perhaps is, that it so readily accommodates itself to a change of circumstances! But when we want a change for the benefit of the people: when we propose any measure that shall diminish the power, or the gains of the aristocracy; then, oh God! what an outcry against innovation! Now, strong as the reasons may be in favour of a thundering standing army in time of peace; great as may have been the change of circumstances, which is pleaded in justification of that innovation, has the change been greater than that which has taken place in the world with regard to tithes. The manufacturers object, and in itself justly object, to the CORN-BILL; and what is the answer of the owners and cultivators of the land? It is this: "While our produce is liable to the heavy burden of tithes, we cannot carry on a competition with nations whose land is untithed. Every sack of wheat that we send to the market, consists for a sixth if not a seventh part of tithe, which has been paid upon it, before it has been brought to the mar-

ket. If we are asked, what it is that makes this burden intolerable now, which was not found to be intolerable before the French war, the answer is, that the countries which grow corn, and other food, and which can send them to this country, are now freed from tithes, to which they were subject before the French war. It is impossible for land in Hampshire to be worth cultivating, if the French be allowed to send in the produce of their untithed land. Besides this, there is a great untithed country *sprung up* since the beginning of the French war. The exportable food of the United States of America has increased *twenty-fold* since the beginning of the French war. It is thus, in a new state of things, that we are to be placed; and, to place the country in its former relative situation, we must put an end to tithes. Hence it is that land-owners in England are calling for the abolition of tithes; the miserable corn-bill gives them but a very inadequate protection: the farmer feels that which he is compelled to give to the parson he wants to give to his labourer: from his not having this to give the labourer, the land remains imperfectly cultivated: the resources of the country are thus diminished, while the miseries of the people are increased. This committee will assert a pretty long while, I believe, though backed by Lords Eldon and Wynford (Serjeant Best), before they will make the people of England believe, that to withhold the yielding of tithes, is to be immediately followed by the confiscation of men's estates. I may be singular in my notions, to be sure; but, for my part, if a law were passed, to put an end to my parson at Kensington taking tithes and Easter-offerings from me, I should look upon my landlord as being more completely my landlord than he is now; and if I had an estate of my own, a law which would relieve me from the yielding of tithes, would inevitably make me feel that I was all at once become the sole proprietor. Last year the venerable and noble peer, BROUGHAM and VAUX, said that the parson was a *sleeping partner* in the land; and, it would be strange indeed, if the active partner in a firm should look upon his share as less valuable on account of the *sleeping* partner being compelled to give up his share to him. In short, this part of the report is merely a repetition of the cuckoo-cry which the parsons and their partisans have been setting up for years past, that the *seizing* of the tithes will be a prelude to the confiscation of all property: words which deceive nobody who looks into the matter; for, observe, nobody proposes to seize tithes; people propose to cease to yield, which is a very different thing from seizing; the parson is in possession of no tithes; he has no claim upon anything but the increase. Very different is the situation of the land-owner and occupier. They are in *possession*; and to talk of ousting them upon the *same principle* on which tithes are withheld, is impudence, sheer impudence, such as could not be expected from anybody but the parsons and their advocates.

The fourth paragraph, asserting that the clergy have been reduced to the greatest distress, and the fourth paragraph stating the estimated amount of the tithes withheld from them; these are worthy of no particular attention; but,

The fifth paragraph comes to the point; it recommends an act *to enable his Majesty* to advance certain sums to the incumbents who have had their tithes withheld from them in the manner afore-mentioned. A great deal is done in this world by a cunning use of words; and OUR THING, which does not change its nature with a change of men, is famous for this use of words. *His Majesty* is to advance the money to the parsons; that is to say, the Ministers are to take the money out of the general mass of taxes, and give it to the Irish parsons, to make good the amount of tithes which they have been unable to collect. Thus every labouring man in the kingdom, in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland, is to be compelled to give up a part of his earnings to relieve the distresses of those Irish parsons who have been un-

able to make the people pay them what they have demanded in tithes. Observe, that this must necessarily extend itself to lay-inpropriations, as well as parsons; so that, if resistance have extended into his parishes, the Duke of Devonshire will, of course, have to receive his share of this advanced money. After this what have we not to expect? If a law to this effect shall pass, who is to assure us that the next law will not be a something to compel us to make good out of the taxes any *rents* which the great Irish landlords may be unable to screw out of their tenants? If the parson be a *sleeping* partner, and if his share of the revenue is to be advanced out of the taxes, upon what ground is this same Parliament to refuse to pay the active partner his share out of the taxes also. Upon the principle of this proposed law, the industrious classes of the nation are to become bound for the due payment of rents as well as of tithes.

Aye, but the sixth paragraph provides a means of *repayment* to us! We are to be *repaid* by money levied, by virtue of a new loan from those who have not duly yielded their tithes. Now, what security have we that those who have not duly yielded their tithes will be found upon the spot? What security have we that they will have wherewith to pay, even supposing them to be compelled to yield to the force of this new act of Parliament? Supposing them to be found upon the spot; and supposing them still to have ability to pay, then, as the seventh paragraph tells us, the Attorney-General is to have the power to proceed to levy, by petition in the Court of Chancery, or in the Court of Exchequer, or by civil bill at the Quarter Sessions. In neither case, I suppose, is he to be troubled with a jury; but, certainly, he may avoid that trouble if he choose by petition to the Court of Chancery. I beseech you, my readers in *England*, to look well at this matter; to look at this measure as preparatory for you; as providing beforehand a precedent for the case which, it is foreseen, will arise in *England*; and I beseech you to prepare

yourselves beforehand, and to come forward with petitions, praying that this measure may not be adopted. The Editor of the *Church Reformers' Magazine* has observed that, "circumstances alone have placed the Irish people in the front of the battle; and that the people of Ireland are now contending, not for their own rights only, but also for those of the people of *England*." Be you, therefore, I pray you, on the alert, and let not this bill pass, without such remonstrance on your part, as it becomes you to make on this very important occasion.

The eighth paragraph, or closing paragraph of the report, winds up the climax. In the first place it recommends a law to cause a *complete* extinction of tithes. That is good. That is what the parliament has a clear right to do, seeing that the tithes are public property to all intents and purposes; and that they are held *in trust* for the purposes of upholding religion, and of relieving the poor. If the report had stopped here, therefore, it would have afforded matter for high commendation on those who drew it up; and it would have argued great wisdom on the part of the Government; seeing that all men are now satisfied that tithes must be put an end to. But the report, instead of stopping here, goes on to recommend that, in lieu of tithes, a *CHARGE* shall be established upon the land! So that the parsons will no longer be *sleeping partners*; they will be real *co-proprietors*: they will no longer have a claim merely upon the produce of the land, but will be *part-owners* of the land itself; and no bequest, no alienations, no transfer or assignment of land can take place without their being a party to the transaction. At present, they have a claim merely upon the increase. They have by degrees most enormously extended that claim: they have, at last, taken four times as much, in the shape of tithe, as is taken in either Italy or Spain; but still their claim is only upon the increase, and not upon the land itself. If I, for instance, have a farm, and if it produce nothing, either from bad seasons, or from my want of means to

cultivate it, the parson has nothing, because there is nothing for him to have; he cannot take my goods; he cannot send me to jail; he cannot sell my farm, in order to make up for his want of tithes; because he has no claim other than upon that which the land produces. But pass the law, and he is co-proprietor with me; he has a *rent-charge* upon my farm; he sues me for arrear of rent, whether I have crop or not; and he proceeds till he has taken from me my farm: so that such a law, if passed, will actually take away a part of every man's estate; take it away as completely as if there were a mortgage upon every estate; and, in fact, as we shall presently see, this would be an act of general confiscation against the middle class of the community.

Let us look a little at the church, or rather at the clergy; and see *who* they are. Let us see of the whole eight or ten millions a year which they receive, how small is the proportion which has fallen to the lot of anybody but the aristocracy, their relations, and dependents. Let us see what numerous great livings; what immense quantities of tithes belong to the deans and chapters; let us see how very small a part of the lay-impropriations belongs to anybody but the aristocracy. In short, with some very trifling exceptions, the whole is theirs; and, if this act were to pass, it would be an act to take away a part of the estate of every man in the middle rank of life, and *to give it to the aristocracy*. Observe, this law would reach property of all holdings: freehold, copyhold, leasehold, houses, mills, canals, mines, every species of property, in the whole of which the nobility and their relations and dependents would become, all at once, *co-proprietors* with the owners. In the parish of Betley, for instance, there are several farms, owned by so many persons. There are some small; some very small, some cottages merely, with gardens. From all these the parson takes tithes, and they amount altogether to probably four score in number. Let this law pass, and then he has four score rent charges in his parish; and, whether they have crop,

or not, the owners are compelled to pay him his rent-charge. He is co-proprietor with fourscore persons in his parish. And thus it must be in every parish; and thus the aristocracy, who have hitherto taken the increase of the land, would thus be enabled to take the land itself.

These Ministers never can have perceived the extent to which this would go. Can they, for instance, have foreseen what would take place in the city of London? There the tithe is so much in the pound upon the rack-rent; at least, it is so in several of the parishes. Will the act suffer that enormous oppression to remain? Will it leave the everlasting litigation still to be going on there; or will it make the parson co-proprietor with all the owners of houses and wharfs and stables and warehouses in London? The same in Westminster; the same in Marybone; the same in every country town, and in every city and town in the kingdom; and thus, under the name of clergy, the aristocracy will have a co-proprietorship in every square inch of real property in the kingdom. I do pray you, my English readers, not to regard this as merely an Irish concern. It is an English concern. If the act be passed, it must be *meant to be applied to us*; for, as to the *continuance of tithes in England*, after they shall have been extinguished in Ireland, the thing is utterly impossible. If the monstrous attempt should be made, the occupiers of the land in England would demand *a corn-bill against Ireland*. No matter for explanations upon the subject; tithes having been extinguished in Ireland would be quite enough; so that here, if there were no other, would arise a cause of absolute necessity for extinguishing the tithes in England; and then would come the rent charges, and, in fact, a division of our property amongst the aristocracy. The radicals have been accused of views of spoliation; they have been accused of a desire to seize and divide the property of the rich; the mad Spenceans proposed to make the land "the people's farm;" but, until now, never did it come into the mind of man, to take the property

of the middle class, of the small proprietors, down even to the cottager, and to compel him to share it with the aristocracy; and that, too, under the pretence of its being necessary to uphold the church of Christ.

Let us, for a moment, take just a glance at the manner in which the thing would work in Ireland. Lay tithes, as well as clerical tithes, are to be "*extinguished*" in this way. The Duke of Devonshire has, according to a statement made by himself in the House of Lords, the great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland. Suppose there to be fifty pieces of real property in each parish, his Grace instantly becomes possessed of a thousand *rent-charges* in those parishes: he becomes *co-proprietor* with a thousand persons in those parishes. He was only entitled to the increase before; but now he becomes *lord of the soil*! Suppose one of the farms in one of those parishes to be sold in twenty lots, how is the rent-charge to be divided? Who will purchase under such circumstances? In short, it is evident that in a very few years it would not be so much a division as a confiscation of the whole property. Then turn to England, where there are noblemen who own the tithes, great or small, of probably a hundred parishes each. *The Church Reformers' Magazine* tells us that there are 4,845 livings out of 11,700, or thereabouts, in England and Wales, which former number are in the possession of clerical corporations or of laymen; and these livings are, too, amongst the largest, and are chiefly owned by the deans and chapters or by the aristocracy, there being 3,845 of them in the hands of mere laymen. Thus, then, all the real property in more than one-half of the kingdom of England and Wales, would, if this project were to become a law, be to be shared with the aristocracy: they would have a direct *lien* upon the whole of it; they would be *co-proprietors*; and, in a very short time they would become the sole owners of the whole; and thus, while this Whig Ministry have before the Parliament a bill, by which they profess to give the middle and

working classes a share in making the laws, it appears that they are projecting a bill by which the whole of the real property is to be caused to be shared by the aristocracy.

What, good God! are the inconveniences, the turmoils, the dangers, the mischiefs, which this church has not caused to this kingdom and this kingly Government! From its very foundation it has been the cause of all the great troubles, dangers, and difficulties of the country. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., it convulsed the country by the measures adopted for securing itself against the people's attachment to the Catholic faith. Charles I. owed his sad fate to the attempts of the church to establish its lofty dominion. James II. was hurled from his throne because, and only because, he was a Catholic, and was suspected of hostile feelings with regard to the church. To preserve this church, it stands recorded in acts of Parliament, was the main object of the revolution of 1688. To preserve this church, the wars were undertaken by William; and those wars produced the *Bank and the National Debt*; and the act of Parliament which created these, tells us that they were created for the express purpose of *upholding the Protestant church*; just as we are now told that a rent-charge upon all our property is become necessary, in order to uphold the rights of that church. All the penal laws against the Catholics had the same foundation, and no other. The millions upon millions, and tens and twenties of millions, of taxes wrung from English labour, and expended to keep up an army in Ireland, had no other object than that of upholding this church against the will of the people; and now, at last, when the universal feeling of the people will endure it no longer, as a collector of tithes, it is proposed to turn these tithes into a *rent-charge*; and under that name, take away a part of every man's estate! From its very beginning it was that which it has continued to be; thus it will be to the end; but we have now the consolation of knowing that that end cannot be distant.

It now remains to be seen whether the people of Eng^d and be willing to have their estates shared with them by the aristocracy, or whether they be not. I recommend to sensible persons in the several parishes of England, just to make out a list of the several farms, and other parcels of real property in their respective parishes. I myself should go to work in this way: I should make out the list in the manner that I have just mentioned, calculate the amount of the tithe upon the several parcels of property; and then, when the Irish bill be brought in, describe to the several owners of property what they had to expect; and ask them, whether they were willing that the parson should become a co-proprietor of their lands and houses. Those of them who would like this, would of course remain silent; but those who would not like it, ought instantly to petition against the passing of such a bill. They ought to be told that a great lord, who might be owner of the corn-tithes of the parish, would become a *co-proprietor* with them, and that they could no longer call their house or land their own. In the case of a *vicarage*, they ought to be told that there would be *two co-proprietors*, the parson and the lay-impropriator; so that there would be *two rent-charges* upon every man's estate in every such parish; and such parishes exist in more than one-third part of England and Wales.

It may be said that I am fighting against a shadow; for, that *such a law can never be passed*. I hope such a law cannot be passed; but while I know it to be possible, it is my duty to explain the consequences of such a law, and to call upon my countrymen to oppose it by all the legal means in their power.

WM. COBBETT.

MR. MACAULAY
AND
LEEDS.

THIS gentleman has been talked of as a member for this fine and opulent town. The people are disposed to choose the

men that will do the things *that want to be done* for the good of the country. The petition, which was presented by Lord Morpeth, (inserted in another part of the *Register*.) seemed to be a very good TEST. Therefore, when I was at Halifax, on the 4th Feb., to which place Mr. MANN of Leeds and another gentleman brought me an address of thanks from a society of reformers at Leeds, I, hearing that Mr. Macaulay was looked upon as a *candidate* for Leeds, recommended them frankly to make application to him, to know if he were ready to move or support a measure *in accordance with that petition*; and when I came to Leeds, I inquired of these same gentlemen *whether they had received an answer to this letter*, which I had recommended them to write. I found that *they had not*; but I found, at the same time, that the letter had been sent to him in an *unofficial manner*, and therefore I recommended the sending of a second letter, and not until then to look upon his *silence as a negative*; because, for my part, I should be willing, were I an elector of Leeds, to choose Mr. MACAULAY, if he gave his cordial assent to that petition. Another letter was written upon this recommendation, enclosing the former letter, the two being in the following words:—

“ Leeds, February 8th, 1832.

“ SIR,—At a meeting of the Radical Reformers of Leeds, held on the 7th inst., it was resolved, that application should be made to you, in order to obtain an answer from you to the following questions, namely:—

“ Will you, if elected a member for the borough of Leeds, make or support, during the first session of Parliament, a motion for an application of the church-property in Ireland, agreeably to the petition agreed to at Leeds, on the 8th of January last, and presented to the House of Commons by Lord Morpeth, on the 17th of the same month?

“ In pursuance of this resolution, I, Sir, most respectfully request that you will be pleased to send me an answer to the above question, that I may, without loss of time, communicate it

"to that numerous and respectable body,
"the Radical Reformers of Leeds.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very humble,

"&c. &c. &c.

"T. B. Macaulay, Esq., M. P."

"Leeds, 23rd February, 1832.

"SIR,—As Secretary to the Radical Reform Union of Leeds, I transmit you, above, a copy of a letter sent to you by a member of our body, on the 8th inst., informing you, at the same time, that we have been greatly surprised at your not having given any answer to the said letter, and requesting that you will be pleased to forward an answer to me, so that I may lay it before the Union on Monday evening next, when a meeting is to be held for the purpose of receiving that answer.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM RIDER,

"Secretary to the

"Leeds Radical Reform Union.

"Stay-maker, 37, Lemon-street, Leeds.

"To T. B. Macaulay, Esq. M.P., London."

On Monday, the 27th of February, Mr. Rider received from Mr. MACAULAY the following answer, of which he was so good as to give a copy to me, and which copy I lay before my readers :—

"London, February 25, 1832.

"SIR,—The letter, respecting which you inquire, *has never reached me*. Had I received it, I should have instantly acknowledged it.

"To your question my answer is this. I think that the established church of Ireland requires a complete reform ; and that it is both just and expedient that a large portion of the ecclesiastical property in that country should be applied to public purposes. To what public purposes this fund may, with most advantage, be applied, is a question which requires much consideration, and respecting which *I must decline giving any pledge*. I think it right to add, that, in any new arrangement which may be made respecting the Irish church, it seems

to me just and politic, that strict respect should be paid to *existing interests*. So strong and decided is my opinion on this subject, that I would far rather pass my whole life out of Parliament, than be a party to a measure, which should turn the *present incumbents out of their benefices*. I should consider such a measure as a *distinct act of robbery* ; and in no such act will I ever, under any circumstances, or for any objects, be concerned. The *insecurity of property* is, I am convinced, a far greater evil than the *heaviest public burdens*. It appears to me, therefore, that before we can, with propriety, apply the revenue of any benefice to the purposes of the state, we must either *wait for the death* of the existing incumbent, or *compensate him for the loss which he sustains by buying up his life interest*.

"Whether you will approve of these opinions, I know not. But, I trust, that I shall not suffer in your esteem on account of the frankness with which I have declared them.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY.

"To Mr. W. Rider,
37, Lemon-street, Leeds."

Without imputing to the Government the doctrines and intentions developed in this letter, it is quite clear that this letter proves that Mr. MACAULAY is by no means prepared to move or support a measure in accordance with the petition presented by Lord Morpeth. He is for retaining the benefices of the incumbents ; he will not consent to touch what he calls *existing interests* ; just as if there were an existence in the thing at all, except in as far as appertains to the increase ; that is to say, the productions of the earth, after deducting the seed. Mr. MACAULAY talks of the importance of "*the security of property*," and so, all idea of *holy uses* ; all idea of *relief to the poor* ; all idea of tithes being applied to the *repair of the churches* ; these are to be all

totally overlooked, and we are to think of nothing but of the "*property*" of the clergy; they never having had allotted to them any property at all, except in *trust* for the purposes of religion, and for the relief of the poor.

The Leeds petition, founded on a motion of Mr. Bower, prayed for a restoration of this property to its legitimate uses; it prayed that all the property formerly applied to the feeding of the hungry and clothing of the naked, might be so applied again. But Mr. MACAULAY says that he will touch none of the "*property*" for this purpose; he will touch neither the tithes, nor the lands in possession of bishops and clerical corporations. At the very least he will wait for the death of the existing incumbents; which, besides involving a most monstrous absurdity and impracticability, can by no means apply to *lay tithes*, which form a very considerable portion of the whole of the tithes of Ireland. These tithes descend from possessor to successor; they are alienable and transferable, like landed property in general; and yet they still carry along with them all the privilege, belonging to their sacred origin. So that this part of the tithes, at any rate, will remain according to the principle of Mr. MACAULAY, who will by no means meddle with "*existing interests*," for these interests *exist for ever*. Besides this, what does Mr. MACAULAY know about this matter, when he seems to hint his readiness to *take away the benefices on the death* of the present incumbents? Does he forget that there are *two parties* who have existing interests in a benefice; namely, the *incumbent* and the *patron*? And the patron's right is perpetual; the patron's right is like that of the owner of lay-tithes; the advowson is a freehold as well as the lay-tithes. It is a *trust*, indeed, like all the rest of it, but it approaches *nearer* to the nature of real property than any other item in the catalogue of church rights.

The conclusion is this, the Leeds petition prays for an application of the tithes and all other church revenues to their ancient uses; Mr. MACAULAY looks

upon that as what he calls a "*distinct act of robbery*;" to such act, he says, he never will consent; and therefore Mr. MACAULAY thus declares that he will not move or support a measure in accordance with the Leeds petition. I may just add here, that the rotten boroughs are as much property as tithes are; and more too. The regular clergy could *possess nothing*; they could neither *possess*, nor *receive*, nor *bequeath*; and the secular clergy had no more right of property in their tithes, than any trustee of a charity has in the rents or the bread, or anything else lodged in his hands for the purpose of distribution to the poor. "*Fore-warned fore-armed*," they say; and the people of Leeds now know upon what footing they stand with regard to Mr. MACAULAY.

COUNCIL ROOM, JAN. 26, 1832.

J. BOWER, Esq., in the Chair.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen form a deputation to wait upon Mr. Cobbett, when he arrive at Leeds, viz.

Mr. BOWER, Chairman.
 — NICHOLS, Vice-Chairman.
 — THOS. ORRELL.
 — LEES, Secretary.
 — WHITEHEAD, Treasurer.
 — ORRELL.
 — SMITHSON.
 — METCALFE.
 — BOYLE.
 — HEALD.
 — BEGGS.
 — J. GILL.
 — RHODES.

Resolved, That the deputation convey to Mr. Cobbett the thanks of the Leeds Political Union, for his unrivalled advocacy of the Reform Bill, and for his indefatigable and successful exertions in support of the rights and liberties of the middle and working classes of society,

J. LEES, Secretary.

By Order of the Council.

TO THE
COUNCIL OF THE POLITICAL
UNION.

Leeds, Feb. 24, 1832.

Gentlemen,—Amongst the more than ample rewards which I am, at least, receiving for the patience and fortitude with which I have endured the calumnies poured out against me by official corruption and private selfishness, envy and malignity; with which I have withstood, and finally overcome, LIARS more foul, more base and more beastly than ever, at any former period, ventured openly to show their faces in the world; amongst these rewards, none have been more gratifying to me than this mark of the approbation and friendship of an association whose principles and views are sufficiently characterized by its having at its head a gentleman who has so recently distinguished himself as the proposer of a resolution, the passing of which has done so much honour to the town of Leeds, and the consequences of which cannot fail to be greatly beneficial to the whole kingdom; seeing that, while it sets an example to all other bodies of electors, it cannot fail to be the test by which the intentions of all future members shall be tried.

I am, Gentlemen,
With great respect
and profound gratitude,
Your most humble
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MANCHESTER BANKING.

THE speech of Mr. FIELDEN, which has twice been inserted in the *Register*, has given rise to the following article, which I take from the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* of the 25th instant. The EDWARD TAYLOR who is alluded to in this article, may be called (sex excepted) the ANNA BRODIE of Manchester: that is to say, the watcher of how the cat jumps; the consulter of the tastes of those who purchase newspapers, and publish advertisements; the careful calculator as to which will sell

for most money, lies or truths; and, though wavering as to every thing else, though changeable as the winds with regard to principles and opinions, always to his own interest, to his own dirty gain, true as the needle to the pole. He is like a HERBERT; always true to that one point; and I dare say the like quality is to be found in every one of his breed. This man appears to have been cruelly mortified at the circumstances attending the dinner given to me at Manchester. Conary to his bounden duty to his readers, he omitted to publish the speech of Mr. JOHN FIELDEN. He has been accused of this: at last he has come out with a garbled statement of the speech, and such commentary as his barren and confused head was able to invent. The following is a commentary upon this miserable publication, which I never should have noticed, nor any other part of his conduct, had it not been for the following article, which I deem worthy of the best attention of my readers, containing, as it does, that which gives us a great deal of insight into the workings of the paper-money system in these manufacturing districts.

MR. FIELDEN'S SPEECH.—We have extorted some notice of this speech from the *Guardian* at last. Mr. John Edward Taylor did not notice it at first; nor did not even report it, (though he reports the speeches of Ashmore and Curran, though he reports the speeches of a King's birth-day dinner), because of "the utter insignificance of the proceedings at the dinner given to Mr. Cobbett;" and he now devotes a whole column to a commentary on a detached portion of one part of one speech delivered at that dinner, because that address has been "thought worthy of insertion in *Cobbett's Register* for two successive weeks." Why we thought that *Cobbett's Register* was a thing utterly insignificant in the eyes of the *Guardian*; and how can *Cobbett's Register* give importance to a thing so utterly insignificant as the speech of Mr. Fielden. Come, come; the *Guardian* has seen our advertisement of his foul play, and he must not think, like the foolish bird, that, because he has closed his eyes, and thrust his head in a hole, he has succeeded in concealing those parts, which in animals in his grade of phrenological development, bear the same proportion to the head, that the haunches of an elephant do to his snout. Even "the college of fools" will know that, it is we, who have unearthed the old badger, and will laugh at this effort to hide it.

Now, however, to Mr. Fielden's opinion about banking, and to Mr. John Edward Taylor's remarks upon it. Mr. John Edward Taylor lays it down, that the *legitimate* business of bankers is "to borrow money from those who do not want it, to lend it to those who do, and to furnish the means of making payments at a distance." Now, if we had not to address ourselves to

"The leathern ears of stock-jobbers and Jews,"

and to a generation instructed by scribes, to whom the Stock Exchange is at once a college and a temple, and gambling the most useful, as well as the most holy of occupations, we should be disposed to deny that there is any real utility in the calling of a banker, except that of furnishing the means of making payments at a distance; we should be strongly disposed to question, whether there is any public use in the existence of a tribe of brokers of loans,—whether it would not be better for the morals of the people, and even for the security of wealth itself, that all men should earn their money before they had the use of it. But, when we recollect that the time is not long passed away, when it was an article of faith on the Exchange of Manchester, that "national debt was national wealth," we think it better to wait for that revolution in Europe which is now in preparation, and which will scatter the claims of fundholders to the winds; to wait for the alteration which that revolution will make in men's minds, before we attempt to preach on this subject the doctrines of a true political morality. We therefore accept Mr. John Edward Taylor's proposition, that a *legitimate* occupation of bankers is to borrow money from those who do not want it, and lend it to those who do; and we complain of the present race of bankers that this is not their occupation; that they are the mere creatures and tools of the loaning system; and that they lend not money, but credit. It is notorious that many bankers, so far from *borrowing money from those who do not want it, to lend it to those who do*, will hardly give interest on deposits; and it is on account of this difficulty of getting interest on deposits that the Scotch system of banking has become so much into vogue of recent years, by which the wealthy merchant, in fact, sets aside the brokerage of the banker, gives a practical denial to the doctrine of the *Guardian*, that such an intermediate agent is useful, and himself becomes the lender of his own means. If he lent money, though we should still deny his utility, the mischief which it would be in his power to do, would not be great, because he must have the money to lend; he could not create it, at his pleasure; he could not enlarge or diminish the amount of circulation in a very great degree, as his caprice or interest might dictate the expansion or contraction of his issues. But totally different is the case, when the credit of an individual, and far worse when the credit of a number of individuals comes to supply the place of money. Let us take an instance, and

examine the effects, in operation, of the improved system of banking.

The great advantage of these banks is said to be their security; and the security arises in this way. The capital is fixed at a certain sum—say 500,000*l.* This capital is divided into five thousand shares of 100*l.* each. Every person who takes a share pledges himself legally as a partner to the whole debts of the whole firm; but, as between the partners, he pledges himself to the full amount of that share. A demand is made by the company for an advance of 10*l.* on each share (it sometimes has not exceeded five), and thus, in the case supposed, 50,000*l.* is paid in, as the capital on which to trade. Thus every shareholder who is trading on 10*l.* is pledged for 100*l.*; and, as it is a reasonable supposition *in the beginning of the thing*, that, on the average, each individual is worth twice as much as what he pledges himself for; and as the whole private property of each shareholder is liable for the whole of the debts of the firm, the capital of 50,000*l.* is backed by the security of a million. Hence the security of Scotch banking. Whatever ruin fall on trade, the bank does not fail. But when we examine the matter more closely, we shall find in this great apparent security of the bank not only results injurious in the highest degree to the tradesman, but a certainty that, in the long run, such banking will become the most insecure and hollow of all, and that expressly in consequence of this—its apparent security.

We have supposed the case of 50,000 advanced, backed by a security of a million. The credit of the bank is thus placed beyond suspicion; and, particularly if it issues its own paper, the moderation of the directors is almost the only limit to its engagements.

We presume that it will now be conceded, even by the disciples of the *Guardian*, that, if there be a general disposition to discount freely, it will have *some* effect in raising prices; and that if the discounts be suddenly checked, it will have *some* effect in lowering prices. To complete our case, let us suppose there be among the directors of the bank one not a manufacturer, but a merchant, a buyer and seller upon a very large scale; and that, after a very dull season, he has a warehouse crammed with goods bought at exceedingly low prices; at the lower prices in consequence of the distresses of his neighbours and the difficulties of those who are trading on a small capital. Suppose, as a merchant, he sees that the prices of all goods are below the cost of manufacturing them; without reasoning very deeply, he comes to the conclusion that prices must rise, that there must be a good trade; his experience as a merchant guides his operations as a banker; he discounts freely; he allows the shoal of little struggling tradesmen to overdraw their accounts; he enables them to gain credit with the manufacturers; either in bills or notes he puts his credit into circulation to double or treble the amount of his capital; his operations and the simultaneous operations of his

brother bankers, resulting from the same calculations, produce the expected briskness of trade, and all goes on smoothly, till some panic is felt similar to that which was experienced a few months ago in Manchester. Our wealthy merchant, in the mean time, has sold off his stock at advanced prices; he has made his dividend at perhaps 17½ per cent. as banker; and now he suddenly calls in his balances, he rejects the bills offered for discount, and leaves floundering the tradesmen whom his "liberality" had encouraged to extend their trade. Perhaps by selling their goods at a fearful sacrifice, and by surrendering the fruits of years of industry, the more fortunate amongst these may enable the banker-merchant again to fill his warehouse with goods "under prime cost;" the less fortunate are thrown back upon that credit with the industrious manufacturer, which they had derived from the favour of their banker; and they are taught by a communion of bankruptcy the blessings of an "improved system of banking." Thus the bank is secured; thus usury doubly thrives; and the miserable slave of a tradesman is thrown down like a squeezed sponge, again to imbibe moisture from the sweat and marrow of the industrious, and again, at a convenient season to receive another squeeze from his banker.

Is not this already exemplified in the trading towns of Scotland, where panic spares the bank, but spreads a universal rot among the tradesman? And has it not hitherto been the boast and security of Manchester, that, knowing nothing of improved banking, and comparatively little of paper money, she was remarkable for the stability and firmness with which she bore those shocks which have passed over other places like a hurricane? Her bankers discounted the less, because their whole capital was engaged in their business, and because they dared not extend their transactions beyond the limits of that capital. The improvement consists in doing more business with less money, and extending further fictitious credit.

Let us now, then, consider what is the ultimate effect of this on the security of the banks. We have presumed that, at first, each shareholder is worth double the amount that he pledges himself for; and this is presuming a good deal. But the shares are saleable; and on what terms are the transfers made? We suppose the advance upon the shares to be 10l. Let the shares be at a premium of 2l. each. Then a purchaser pays not 102l., but 12l. for his share; and every person who can muster 12l. may, if it so please him, become a banker, and a sharer in the profits and responsibility of this solid fabric. Every person in trade, as the system becomes diffused, becomes more or less a shareholder. He discounts at his own bank; and is, in fact, his own banker, and his own security. As the paper-money multiplies, it gives a fictitious value to all property; that which was once a security for 100l. becomes a security for 200l.;

and the more you borrow on your security, the more your security *seems* worth. And thus it is, that, while Scotland is immeasurably poorer in real wealth than England, she has a far greater quantity of paper-money in proportion to her transactions. Thus it is that Mr. Maberly, on the winding up of his transactions as a Scotch banker, finds his wealth put into the same boat with that of insolvent shareholders; and with all his knowledge, and all his praises, of the Scotch system of banking, he has contrived, by means of it, to get rid of an immense fortune.

Of the attempt which Mr. John Edward Taylor makes to confound the trade of a banker with trades in general, we must speak next week. We will only observe upon it now, that it is exactly the artifice of the clergy in confounding tithes with real property; but useful tradesmen, like the possessors of estates in fee, must guard themselves against the dissemination of doctrines destructive of property and society, whether such doctrines are preached by the *Poor Man's Guardian* or the pretended *Guardian* of the wealthy.

PLAGIARISM.

If there were a court (and there ought to be one), to punish literary *thieves*, I would certainly bring the under-signed Mr. WATERTON before it; and, if he escaped the whipping-post or the tread-mill, or both, he would not have justice done him. Whether a man thief with his naked fingers, or with a pen stuck on to the end of them, it is no matter: we do not find thieves acquitted merely because they steal people's goods by the means of a wire or a hook; but we take the act, and punish the offender according to that. My readers will see that every word of the following article, which I take from the *Leeds Patriot* of the 25th of February, is taken from my *History of the Protestant Reformation*. Doctor Black, who called the history "*pig's meat*," will certainly swear that this WATERTON is the most greedy piece of swine's flesh that he ever heard of. Lord COCHRANE used to say that animals changed the nature of their flesh with the change of their diet; that a man might eat mutton till he became a sheep, and so on. If his Lordship's philosophy was right, this WATERTON must be a prime piece of pork. I will not say anything about the

receiver in this case; for the handlers of types, are, very properly, wholly inattentive to the words into which they form those little bits of metal; but as to the thief himself, who is, I understand, a *Catholic*, I do hope that his priest will not forget the old and good maxim of "*restitution or damnation.*" For, if ever there were theft more flagrant than this, I will be content to pass for a man that does not know his own words, when he sees them upon paper. It was very proper for Mr. Waterton to make use of all these facts and arguments; and he has made use of them in a very judicious manner. If he had put no name to them, all would have been right; for then the editor would have thought it his duty to say from whom they had been taken. If Mr. Waterton chose to put his name, it then became him to say that he took the words from the writings of Mr. Cobbett. Having put his name to this writing as something of his own, he is guilty of plagiarism, as a literary man; and as a *Catholic*, he is guilty of the blackest ingratitude; for which, I thus punish him; and if I were his priest, I would give him as a penance the counting of a sack of clover-seed, which would have this benefit, that it would leave him not another moment of his life wherein to commit acts of plagiarism.

RIGHT OF THE POOR OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND, TO A MAINTENANCE OUT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH BY LAW ESTABLISHED.

BLACKSTONE says, that "a right in the indigent to demand a supply sufficient to all the necessities of life, from the more opulent part of the community, is dictated by the principles of society."

Now, when England was Catholic, her indigent were maintained out of the property of the church. I prove this from Blackstone.

Blackstone informs us, that "at the first establishment of parochial clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a fourfold division, viz., one for the use of the bishop, another for the maintaining the fabric of the church, a *third for the poor*, and the fourth to provide for the incumbent. The same author continues, "when the sees of the bishops became otherwise amply endowed, they were prohibited from demanding their usual share

of these tithes, and the division was into *three parts only.*"

Thus, then, we have it proved from Blackstone, that in Catholic times *one-third* of the tithes went to maintain the poor. Wherefore, I state, without fear of contradiction, that, *by the law of nature*, the poor have a right of maintenance from the rich; and that the poor of England, in Catholic times, were maintained *by the common law of the land*, out of the tithes which the rich had given to the church.

I now prove that the poor, in Catholic times, were entitled to a maintenance out of the property of the church, by the *canon law*.

In the 24th canon of Elfric we read, "Let the priests receive the tithes of the people, and keep a written account of all that they have paid them, and divide them in the presence of such as fear God, according to canonical authority. Let them set apart the first share for the building and ornaments of the church, and distribute the *second to the poor and strangers*, with their own hands, in mercy and humility, and reserve the third part for themselves.

Here, then, we have the canon law, in addition to the law of nature, and the common law of the land, to prove that in Catholic times the poor of England were maintained by the church.

Moreover, I prove by *act of Parliament*, that in Catholic times, the poor were maintained by the church.

We read that an act of Parliament was passed in the reign of Richard the 2nd, which enacts, that if the living of the parish be in the hands of any convent, that convent shall always leave in the hands of their vicar a part of the income *sufficient for the relief of the poor*. Again, another act of Parliament which enforces this act was passed in the 4th year of the reign of King Henry the 4th.

Now that these laws were well acted upon up to the period of what is called the Reformation, there cannot exist a doubt, and I will prove it, both directly and indirectly.

1st, Directly from Fortescue. He describes the people of England in Catholic times as having "all things which conduce to make life easy and happy."

2dly, Indirectly; for upon consulting history, I can find nothing to lead me to suppose that the people of England were in misery and want. Wherefore I conclude that misery and want did not exist amongst the people of England in Catholic times. Had such things existed, no doubt they would have appeared upon the page of history.

But as soon as Harry the 8th and his associates in plunder had seized upon the property which had been left to the church by the piety of our Catholic ancestors in trust for the poor, then, indeed, innumerable swarms of beggars infested the land. To remedy this evil, an act was passed in Harry the 8th's reign, to authorise magistrates to cause voluntary alms to be collected. And in the same reign offenders were punished by having part of their

ears cut off. Queen Elizabeth affected to be quite shocked at the miserable looks of the crowds who came to gaze at her; and she exclaimed, "*Pauper ubique juget!*"

In Edward the 6th's reign, beggars were burnt with a red hot iron, and made slaves for two years; and if they were refractory or fugitive, they were to be slaves for life.

Thus, then, by the aid of the foregoing documents, we may safely make the following assertion, and draw the following conclusion, viz. that up to the period of what is called the Reformation, the poor of England were well supported by the church; and that after the period of what is called the Reformation, the property of the church having been plundered by king and courtiers, the poor were bereft of their main stay, and became a prey to misery and starvation—that they swarmed all over the land; that their numbers continued to increase; and that they are still increasing to a most alarming extent in our own times.

Let us now see if the poor have not yet an undoubted, though nearly forgotten, right to a maintenance out of the tithes. Thomas Ruggles, Esq., F.A.S., and one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, published his first edition (I think in 1793) of his "*History of the Poor, and their Rights, &c. &c.*" Mr. Ruggles insists that it appears clear, by the writings of the fathers, by the canons of the church, and by the common and statute laws of England, that the tithes and glebes were not given to priests and bishops for their own use; but that they were given in trust for certain purposes, one of which was, *the maintenance of the poor*.

Mr. Ruggles adduces a well-known maxim of law, in ecclesiastical rights, viz. "*Nulum tempus occurrit ecclesiæ.*" Now the poor being a part of the church (for the poor were always maintained by the charity given in trust to the church), he asks, and very properly too, are not the poor, therefore, permitted to claim the benefit of the same maxim? Is not that the law of the part which is the law of the whole? Therefore, *nullum tempus occurrit pauperibus*. Mr. Ruggles continues. "If positive ordinances of the state have not destroyed this right, no length of time should be allowed to weaken it. Let those who doubt the truth of these assertions find, if they can, an *affirmative injunction*, that the church should hold its revenues free and clear of these trusts for the benefit of the poor, which were created by the donors, when they gave their lands and tithes for eleemosynary purposes. No such discharge is to be seen in the acts of Parliament in the 27th and 31st of Henry the 8th, which empowered the crown to alienate the possessions of the monasteries. Those, therefore, who are possessed of estates which were formerly monastic, held them, *quod hoc*, subject to the same equitable claim."

Mr. Justice Ruggles proposes to take away from all holders of what is, or whatever was,

ecclesiastical property, a full fourth part of the annual profit of such property. So far Mr. Justice Ruggles. It is argued by some people that the claim which the poor had in the church-property became extinct when poor-laws were enacted. No such thing. Had Elizabeth been actuated with feelings of real justice, she would have given back to the poor the property which her father and his companions in plunder had stolen from them. But in lieu of doing this most necessary act of justice, she threw the poor upon the nation at large, and allowed the plunderers to keep their ill-gotten property. Something was absolutely necessary to be done, because the people were nearly starved into rebellion. Thus, through fear, she invented the poor-laws. But mind, when the act was passed, not a word was said that the act was to do away the claim which the poor had had for above nine hundred years on the church-property. Thus, if I give a beggar a suit of clothes, it does not follow that I deprive him of a right which he has by law, to receive annually a portion of provisions which have been bequeathed to him by some former benefactor. Neither, then, can our does Elizabeth's act for establishing poor-laws, deprive them of *one-third of the tithes* of all England. The poor, I may say, have an everlasting mortgage on the property of the church. No matter who possesses that property. The mortgage is still on it. It would be well if some benevolent and eloquent person would take up this subject. The nation at large would no doubt support him. When we see to what a state of unfeeling brutality the poor-laws have reduced the lower orders; and when we read in history how happy and how moral those orders were when they were supported in their hour of need by the church and by the monasteries, we are apt to cry out, alas, the change has indeed been a bad one!

CHARLES WATERTON.

Walton-Hall, Feb. 15th, 1832.

FREE TRADE, GLOVES, AND CURRENCY.

To the Editor of the Leeds Patriot.

SIR,—With out either acknowledging or denying any participation on my part, in the article on the *glove trade* and the *currency*, which appeared on the 4th instant, although I admit I agree, for the most part, with the sentiments of the writer—I beg the favour of you to allow me to make a few observations relative to some comments which have been made on that article, in the *Morning Herald* of the 11th instant.

It is assumed in the *Morning Herald*,—1st, That I attribute all the national distress to the currency, and none of it to free trade. 2d, That I am not correct in representing *all* trades to be in as bad a state as the glove and silk trades. 3d, That I am not correct in stating the importation of foreign gloves and silks

was the same in 1825 as it is now; and 4thly, That my earnest advocacy of a rectification of the currency might give rise to "*suspicious*" respecting my sincerity in the cause of reform.

In the first place, then, I have upon many occasions deprecated the deceitful and injurious doctrines of free trade: I have publicly represented them as calculated only "to bring more grist to the plunderer's mill;" as tending and intended to still further *string up the value of money*, and beat down the value of *property and labour*, for the atrocious object of increasing the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor. I call the currency the "*master-evil*" it is true, because I know that it has caused more positive misery in England during the last seventeen years, than all the legislative acts of seven hundred years have occasioned before. But this "*master-evil*" is not all that I hold the late Borough Government answerable for. The free-trade laws, the corn laws, and many other cruel, sordid, and unjust measures, will also, I trust, at a period, be overhauled.

In the second place, I beg to say that I am prepared to prove that all trades *are* in as bad a state as the silk and glove trades, or at *least very nearly so*, and that the state of the poor-rates is no proof to the contrary. I do not mean to say that every one concerned in any trade will instantly acknowledge this great truth, for I know that some men will boast of the goodness of trade from pride, and some from ignorance, and some from a morbid malignity against their rivals, and others from a sensitive fear of personal discredit to themselves. We have a proverb in trade, which has grown into use during the last seven years—"boast to-day and fail to-morrow;"—and although I know that this is not the case with all men who boast of doing well in their respective trades, yet I will venture to say that I have myself scarcely ever met with any one of them from whom I have found any difficulty in extracting the confession, that he has positively lost money by his trade during the last seven years. In nine cases out of ten, indeed, in many branches of mercantile industry in England, the industrious and prudent man who possessed 10,000*l.* seven years ago, has not now so much as 5000*l.* left; and this is also melting away. Need I make mention of the iron trade, the lead trade, the copper-trade? There is not any branch of these trades—there is scarcely a cotton or woollen manufactory in Lancashire or Yorkshire, which is not in a worse state than this. In all cases the *dead or fixed capital* is, as it were, nearly annihilated, and if any profit is ground out of the *current or floating capital*, that profit is ground out of the very bones and vitals of the unhappy workmen employed, who are compelled to toil from fourteen to sixteen hours per day, in order to obtain a miserable maintenance, more than double of which they ought to obtain in ten hours work per day. A similar state of things, of course, exists in

the silk and glove trades, but I apprehend that if the *relative* quantity of money lost in those trades since 1825, was to be deemed the criterion of distress, we should not upon examination find that a much greater degree of distress exists in those trades than in most other branches of *productive industry* in England. *Loss by trade*, is in fact, become the *rule*, and *profit* the *exception*. For seven years I have made a point to inquire from all the best-informed persons in all trades throughout England, whether any branch of industry exists in which a prudent and industrious man, of competent knowledge, can be justified in embarking 10,000*l.* The universal answer which I have received in hundreds and hundreds of instances is, "such branch of industry does not exist in England."

This representation of the state of industry in England, of course, applies only to what is called "*productive industry*," or in other words, to the great branches of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Some few exceptions will of course exist. The very distress of the country will make some trades flourish. Pawnbrokers, commission-agents, and purchasers of bankrupts' stock, may, perhaps, thus derive profit, in the same way as physicians would derive profit from the prevalence of pestilence, and builders from a general earthquake. So persons possessed of exclusive patent rights, and of particular systems, improvements, and localities, may probably flourish, and indeed I know some that do so. But upon the average, I assert and am ready to prove, that *every great branch of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, has been attended with positive loss during the last seven years*. The gross annual profit, if any, has not been sufficient to keep up the cultivation of the land, and to hold the capital together; and when the *fixed capital* employed in manufactures and in commerce is estimated, a positive and very large loss is found to exist generally throughout the country.

With regard to the third representation in the *Herald*, I beg to acknowledge an error on my part, which is not, however, important to the great question at issue. I thought that the new regulations respecting foreign gloves and silks, had taken place in 1825. It appears that they took place in 1826. But although I thus lose my proof that the present distress in those trades is not made by foreign importations, yet I derive abundant collateral proof from two other facts of a similar nature. In the year 1816 a greater distress existed in those trades than exists now, and yet *then* we had no foreign competition. That distress passed away in 1817 and 1818. But in 1819 again, as great a state of distress was produced in the glove and silk trades as exists now; and yet *then* we had no foreign competition. If then we see, in two instances, that a similar distress has existed at two former periods, not only in the glove and silk trades, but in *all other trades*, what reason have we to conclude that this third period of distress in those

trades, and in all other trades, is occasioned by a new principle, which is only brought into local operation during the last few years? When a *general cause* is evidently at work, surely we have no occasion to rely upon a *local cause*.

With regard to *reform*, I have given sufficient proof of sincerity in that great cause, to render me regardless of "*suspicious*" respecting my views of the *currency*. I have all my life advocated the extension of popular power, and certainly my exertions in support of that great object, have not been diminished in the last few years. The *currency* I am content to leave to the wisdom and justice of the reformed Parliament, being perfectly convinced that such Parliament will either take immediate steps to rectify the errors of their predecessors, and to restore the whole nation to a state of prosperity and contentment, or otherwise that it will at least forthwith apply itself to the effecting of such an equalization of the national burdens as will quickly bring the unproductive classes to share equally with their hitherto unfortunate brethren in the *sinister benefits of a contracted and deficient*, or as the political economists style it, "*a sound and healthy currency*."

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

THOMAS ATTWOOD.

Birmingham, Feb. 16, 1832.

P.S.—The *currency* is a simple question, although generally *mystified* by interested men. A few months ago, I was speaking to a working man on this subject. He said to me, "Here are *three half-crowns of silver* in my hand: the other day I had also *ten half-crowns of paper*. The boroughmongers have taken away from me *ten half-crowns of paper*; but God curse them! they have left me to pay the same rent and taxes out of the *three half-crowns*, as I formerly paid out of the *thirteen*!" Philip Johnson, of Leamington, was the man who made this observation. The money of the country is first *reduced in quantity*, and STRUNG UP IN VALUÉ, by a series of cunning legislative enactments. Every shilling that is left is then quietly drained from the industrious classes, and twisted into the hands of persons who have already too much; and after this, gentlemen gravely complain that money is gathered into *masses*, and accumulated in the hands of men who have no use for it, and do not know what to do with it! And can any man, who sees these things, possibly be insincere in the cause of reform?

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 22.

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Feb. 22, 1832.

The following communication from the Governor of Jamaica was received at this office on Sunday last:—

King's House, Jamaica, Jan. 6, 1832.

MY LORD,—I have a painful duty to discharge, in detailing to your Lordship the substance of accounts I have received, by which you will learn that an extensive and destructive insurrection amongst the slaves in the western district of this island has followed a season of unusual sickness and distress, and that I have felt myself compelled to resort to the most active measures, even that of proclaiming martial law, to arrest the progress of so great a danger.

It was not until Thursday, the 22d ult., that I received any accounts to excite alarm. The apprehensions which appeared to disturb the public mind during the summer had nearly subsided. The planters complained of poverty and distress—the delegates sent forth an ambiguous declaration, deprecating (as they expressed themselves) "the insidious attempts to undermine and render valueless what little remains of their property," but the brink of danger on which they stood formed no part of their deliberations.

On the 23d of December I received a dispatch from Colonel Lawson, a magistrate, and commanding the Saint James's regiment of militia, dated the 20th, stating that on the Friday preceding he met the overseer of Salt Spring Estate, who informed him that on the previous day the negroes had behaved with great insolence to Mr. Grignon, the attorney or chief manager of the estate; that two constables, who had been sent to convey the ringleaders to Montego Bay, had been assaulted and deprived of pistols, with which they were armed, as well as their mules, and that the negroes had expressed their determination not to work after New-Year's-day. Mr. Grignon having re-

paired to Montego Bay, a special session of magistrates was assembled, when he and other persons employed on the estate gave information of the circumstances which had occurred, and of the riotous and disorderly state of the slaves; in consequence of which an order was issued by the magistrates to Major Coates, as the nearest Field Officer of Militia, to send a detachment of the Saint James's regiment to Salt Spring Estate, for the purpose of restoring order. Major Coates immediately communicated the directions he had received to Colonel Lawson, commanding the Saint James's regiment, and who, anxious to avoid the necessity of having recourse to the militia, and being for many years well known to the negroes of the estate, delayed the detachment from marching, and accompanied by Mr. Thorp, a neighbouring proprietor, proceeded to the estate, in the hope, by his influence, to prevail on the negroes to return to their duty. He found the negroes assembled in groups about the buildings on the estate, and was informed that the senior book-keeper had suffered ill-treatment, and that his life had been threatened. He endeavoured to expostulate with the negroes, telling them he came as their friend, and asked them to listen to him; they would not, however, suffer him to approach them, and walked off; and finding all his endeavours to restore order ineffectual, he left them. Soon after, a party of fifty men of the militia arrived, when almost every negro on the estate disappeared. The next day they began to return, and when Colonel Lawson wrote his dispatch, the principal offenders only, amounting to six persons, were absent. This conduct of the negroes on Salt Spring estate, and information which the magistrates had received, that the negroes on other estates would not return to work after New Year's Day, induced the magistrates assembled at Montego Bay to forward a requisition to Major Pennefather, commanding the 2d regiment, at Falmouth, to order a detachment to march to that town, which Major Pennefather immediately complied with. On the following day I

received an application from certain magistrates and inhabitants of the parish of Portland, desiring that a vessel of war might be ordered to Port Antonio, on account of some unpleasant rumours which had reached them of discontent amongst the slaves in that quarter.

Being in Kingston when these accounts arrived, I immediately communicated the information I had received to Sir Willoughby Cotton. I applied to Commodore Farquhar for a ship of war to proceed to the port of Port Antonio, and, as a precautionary measure, I also recommended that ships of war should be dispatched to Montego Bay and Black River, which Commodore Farquhar with his usual promptitude and attention immediately complied with. I directed circulars to be addressed to custodes of parishes, inclosing the King's proclamation, and also letters to be written to the Major-Generals of the Militia, copies of which (Nos. 1 and 2) I enclose.

On the morning of the 28th I received a dispatch from the Custos of Trelawny (No. 3), including one forwarded him by Colonel Lawson (No. 4), containing certain affidavits, copies of which (Nos. 5 and 6) I herewith inclose, and further stating, that he considered the information they contained so convincing of impending danger, that he had determined to assemble the whole strength of his regiment, and referring to me for further instructions. From Mr. M'Donald, the Custos of Trelawny, I also learned that he deeply regretted to find a strong spirit of insubordination amongst the slaves. That, on the 23d instant, the trash-houses on York Estate, in Trelawny, had been purposely burned down, and that the attorney who lives on the property was strongly impressed with the idea that they intend to burn the rest of the works. One company of militia was ordered to proceed to this estate, but before they arrived, the negroes had cut down the plantain-walk belonging to the overseer, and both men and women had fled.

It happened that I had convened a council on the day I received this dis-

patch, for the purpose of enabling me to form regulations of quarantine, should such a measure become necessary, by which means an opportunity was afforded me of conferring personally with Sir Willoughby Cotton, who came from Kingston for the purpose of attending the council; and being fully satisfied, from the information I had received, that nothing but prompt and decided measures would arrest the spirit of insubordination which prevailed so generally in the parishes of St. James and Trelawny, I strongly recommended Sir Willoughby Cotton to proceed to Montego Bay with as little delay as possible, taking with him such an amount of force as he might deem expedient, anticipating that his immediate presence would produce the most favourable effect. Sir W. Cotton readily acquiesced in my proposal, and the following day he embarked on board his Majesty's ship Sparrowhawk, with two companies of the 84th regiment.

On Thursday, the 29th, I received various dispatches by post, the substance of which I enclose (No. 7), which I lost no time in communicating to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and immediately issued the accompanying M. G. O. (No. 8). On the same day, at five p. m., dispatches arrived by express, containing still more alarming accounts of the state of the country. The work of destruction had begun, and fires had been seen both in Saint James's and Trelawny, to blaze on the preceding night, in various directions. The Custos of Trelawny stated that, in his opinion, nine-tenths of the slave population had refused to turn out to work; and Col. Lawson, instead of being able to oppose these excesses, had drawn in his regiment to Montego Bay, and even there appeared to feel apprehension, acting only on the defensive. Not waiting to detail this information in a letter to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who on account of the regular winds which prevail in this latitude could not leave Port Royal until the following morning, I immediately dispatched Captain Ramsay, 77th regiment, and military secretary, on board the Sparrowhawk, with

the letters I had received, not doubting that, on their perusal, Sir Willoughby Cotton would deem it advisable to order a stronger force to follow him. By this means also, I communicated to Sir Willoughby Cotton my intention to convene a council of war, according to the 50th George III., ch. 17. cl. 74, on the following day, for the purpose of submitting to them such information as I possessed of the state of the country, in order to obtain their opinion on the necessity of declaring martial law. The next morning (the 30th) Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the detachment, embarked on board the Sparrowhawk, sailed from Port Royal for Montego Bay, and on the following morning his Majesty's ship *Blanche*, Commodore Farquhar, proceeded on the same destination, conveying three hundred men from the 33rd and 81st regiments, and sixteen artillery soldiers, with two eight field-pieces and rockets, &c.

I did not come to the resolution of assembling a council of war, for the purpose before stated, until I had thoroughly satisfied my mind that the immediate exigency admitted no middle measures; that more than anything else, it would remove an impression, which had been made on the minds of the slaves, that the Executive Government and the King's troops would not oppose them. That speedy example, however greatly I must regret and deplore the necessity of resorting to it, could alone save the destruction that had begun, and ultimately save a greater effusion of blood, and likewise that under martial law alone I could obtain complete control over the militia force, on whose services I must chiefly depend to put down this rebellion.

By the 72d clause of the act above referred to, your Lordship will find the form directed for holding councils of war, and that no council shall consist of less than twenty-one members; on this occasion twenty-six persons were present. I communicated to them such information as I possessed, and laid before them the letters I had before transmitted by Captain Ramsey to Sir Willoughby Cotton, copies of which (Nos.

9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14) are inclosed ; and in conformity with the unanimous opinion of this numerous council, on the 30th instant martial law was forthwith proclaimed. No time was then lost in issuing general orders, directing the St. Ann's Western regiment to assemble at Rio Bueno, the Clarendon regiment on the confines of Trelawny, the Westmoreland and Hanover regiments on the confines of St. James, whereby I endeavoured to cut off all communication between the disturbed districts and other parts of the island with a force ready to act under Sir W. Cotton, on his arrival at Montego Bay. At the same time I addressed a private communication to Sir Willoughby Cotton, a copy of which (No. 15) is herewith annexed.

Accounts arrived on the 31st December, from Maurice Jones, Esq., custos of the parish of Portland, the north-east extremity of the island, stating that the negroes on three estates had refused to work, and had betaken themselves to the woods. It is somewhat remarkable, that this same gentleman, a few days previous, on learning that a man-of-war, as I have before informed your Lordship, had sailed for Port Antonio, appeared to consider the application of the magistrates proceeded from ill-founded apprehension of the hostile disposition of the negroes in that quarter, although he was not ignorant that some excitement remained in the minds of the negroes about their being made free, expressed his regret that such a precaution had been adopted, stating that he never considered the negroes in that neighbourhood to be more peaceable and contented. In the course of the night a dispatch arrived from General Robertson, by which it appeared that the depredations committed by the negroes in the parish of St. James had extended along the great river towards the parish of Saint Elizabeth, and that the estate of Ipswich had been threatened. The officer commanding the Westmoreland regiment had posted two companies at an estate called Haddo, and orders were given for the Saint Elizabeth regiment to hold themselves in

immediate readiness. Further accounts from General Robertson informed me that "the rebels were proceeding in the direction of Ipswich and New Savannah, and that he had moved a large body of men to oppose them." The following day he communicated to me the destruction of Ipswich estate, with several others, and thus concludes:—"I am of opinion that all the force in my district is unequal to suppress the incendiarism and destruction, without the co-operation of regular troops." At this same time General Robertson was not aware that Sir Willoughby Cotton had proceeded with a force of troops of the line to Montego Bay. Fifty men of the 77th regiment, under the command of Major John Wilson, with a supply of arms and ammunition, were embarked on board his Majesty's ship *Rose*, and proceeded, on the 3rd instant, to Black River. On the 3d of January I received another dispatch from General Robertson, inclosing the deposition of an overseer, who had been eight days a prisoner of the rebels. A copy of this document and of General Robertson's dispatches (Nos. 16, 17, and 18) are also inclosed. The loss which the rebel negroes sustained at Ginger-hill I have every reason to hope may check the depredations committed in that district. But I thought it proper to issue the accompanying proclamation (No. 19).

On the 3d instant, I received a dispatch from Sir Willoughby Cotton, informing me of his arrival at Montego Bay, as well as the troops embarked on board his Majesty's ship *Blanche*. I shall not curtail the impression the Major-General has transmitted to me by making extracts from his dispatch ; I therefore inclose it (Nos. 20, 21, 22, and 23).

On the morning of the 4th, I received unfavourable accounts from Portland, especially from Mr. Panton, a magistrate and proprietor in that parish, whose letter (No. 24) I inclose. Mr. Panton appears to have laboured under feelings of much alarm. I had, however, anticipated the necessity of checking any insubordination which might appear in that quarter, having assembled the

Portland, St. George, and St. Thomas-in-the-East regiments of militia before his letter arrived. Forty men also of the 77th had been conveyed in the boats of the *Champion* from Port Antonio to Manchioneal, under the command of Captain Buchan; and Colonel M'Leod also, in the absence of Sir Willoughby Cotton, commander at Kingston, had ordered Captain Tathwell, with thirty men of the 33d regiment, embarked on board of his Majesty's ship *Hyalcinth*, to proceed to Morant Bay, and thence to march through a populous, and as yet tranquil, district, where, however, the St. Thomas-in-the-East regiment were assembled, to Manchioneal.

The appearance of this force will, I trust, be sufficient to check any disposition to revolt in that quarter. It is obvious, however, from all the information that has been received, that the negroes have been impressed with a general and firm belief, that after Christmas they were to be free. They will have much to answer for who have deluded these unfortunate people into expectations which have led to such scenes of devastation and ruin, and which now recoiling on themselves, numbers must expiate by their death. My chief attention, therefore, is directed to maintain good order, where quiet still remains, to protect the well-disposed, and to be always prepared to assemble a strong disposable force, ready to act on the first appearance of insubordination.

To give greater efficiency in the direction of all military affairs in this part of the island, I have given Colonel Macleod, deputy adjutant-general on the staff in this island, the rank of Lieutenant-General of Militia, whereby I obtain the assistance of an able and experienced officer, and extend his command over the militia, as well as over the troops of the line.

I also received dispatches from Montego Bay, dated 3d inst. (No. 25). I have the honour to inclose a copy of one from Sir Willoughby Cotton, whereby it appears, that the burnings still continued to be executed in concert, by

signal from the heights. That the leaders who had suffered the day preceding, had all declared that they had been told by white people that they were to be free at Christmas, and that by these people the plan of insurrection had been arranged. That, in concurrence with the custos of the parish (Mr. Barrett), prisoners to the amount of one hundred, not exactly implicated as incendiaries, with the woman, had been dismissed into the country with copies of the proclamation before alluded to, numbered 21.

A dispatch was also received from the custos of St. James, of which I inclose an extract (No. 26). He speaks highly of the conduct of the militia; but, I lament to say, adds to the list of destruction contained in list numbered 23, intimating the number of plantations and settlements destroyed to the amount of one hundred.

From Morant Bay I received a letter from Colonel Delpratt, inclosing a dispatch from Lieut.-Colonel M'Corcock, of the St. Thomas-in-the-East regiment, containing nothing of sufficient importance here to notice, but by which I collected this important fact, that although the negroes on some estates had refused to work, no act of destruction had been committed in that quarter, with the exception of a trash-house, which had been burned, but not ascertained to have been destroyed by design; at any other time the information would have been sufficient to have created great uneasiness in my mind, but now, contrasting it with what is passing in the west-end of the island, I regarded it as rather satisfactory.

On the 5th I received further accounts from Sir Willoughby Cotton, dated the 4th (No. 27), and I am happy to say their contents began to wear a more satisfactory appearance. The active measures he had adopted, together with the proclamation he caused to be issued, he observes, "had produced an extraordinary effect;" the negroes were coming in fast, and a communication opened to Maroon Town; the loss the negroes had sustained created a strong panic, and a movement which the Ma-

jor-General proposed to make the following day, he imagined would stop any further depredations in that neighbourhood. By the same express a letter arrived from the custos of Trelawny, a copy of which (No. 28) is inclosed. I should hardly think it necessary to transmit a copy of this letter from the custos to your Lordship, did it not refer to a person named Box, who, I am informed, is a missionary from the Baptist Society, and who has since been reported in custody in this town. I have caused his removal to Falmouth to be delayed, and have directed a letter to be written to the custos, a copy of which (No. 29) I enclose. I am as yet unacquainted with the charge on which orders were issued for his apprehension at Falmouth; but the information received from the custos renders it, at all events, necessary that he should be for the present detained; motives, however, of prudence and humanity caused me to interpose a delay in hurrying him to trial at moment when so great excitement must necessarily prevail."

(*To be continued.*)

TWO-PENNY TRASH.

York, Feb. 29, 1832.

The next Number cannot be published till *Saturday week*, for the want of a document that I wish to insert in it. This Number is to be addressed to the **ELECTORS OF PRESTON**; and it will contain very full directions for cultivating my CORN, which the thundering LIAR has called "*a fraud.*"

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

EDMANS, J., Strand, cheesemonger.
HUMPLEBY, W. H., Borough-market, South-wark, plumber.
ROBINSON, W., Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland, butcher.

BANKRUPTS.

ELLIS, W., Norwich, maltster.
FINCH, W., Rochester, coal-merchant.
HUNT, E., Sale-st., Paddington, slater.
MACKAY, J., Broad-st., insurance-broker.
MARSH, W. Warrington, Lancashire, flour-dealer.
RATCLIFFE, H. W., Wrexham, Denbighs., grocer.
ROOME, W., Liverpool, ironmonger.
SCHWIESO, J. C., Tottenham-st., Tottenham-court-rd., harp and piano-forte-maker.
STRUGNEL, R. B., Basinghall-st., boot and shoe-maker.
TOWNSEND, J., Castle-st., Holborn, dressing-case-manufacturer.
WARING, J., and J. Waring, Lepton, Yorks., fancy cloth-manufacturers.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

BOWIE, J., Berwick-upon-Tweed, innkeeper.
HARRISON, R., New Quebec-street, Portman-sq., corn-chandler.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

RAMSAY J., Devonport-street, Commercial-road, master-mariner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DEAN, J. F., Dracklow-mill-farm, Derbys., miller.

BANKRUPTS.

BECKTON, J., Manchester, boot and shoe-maker.
BERESFORD, W., and I. Beresford, Sheffield, Yorks., stove-grate-manufacturers.
DEWEY, J., Bath, plumber.
EVELEIGH, R., Marlborough, Wiltshire, victualler.
FLAVELL, H. Jun., Birmingham, patten-tie-maker.
FRANCIS, J., Carmarthen, linen-draper.
FRANKLAND, E., Yorks., draper.
GELL, C., Tottenham-court-road, and T. Carman, Mornington-place, Hampstead-rd., lead-merchant.
HARRISS, J., Leicester-sq., carpet-warehouseman.
HIGGITT, W., Wolverhampton, hatter.
HUGHES, A., Lombard-st. merchant.
HUNT, E. Sale-st., Paddington, slater.
JACKSON, S., Hauley, Staffordshire, grocer.
JARVIS, E., Stoke Daniel, Devonshire, sail-maker.
JENNER, W., East-st., Paddington, butcher.
JOHNSON, H., Oaklands and Midhurst, Sussex, timber-merchant.

LYALL, J., St. John, Bedwardine, Worcesters.,
road-contractor.
MACDONALD, J., Liverpool, merchant.
SIMPSON, J., Lower Peover, Chesh., cattle-
dealer.
STEEL, W., and J. Steel, Newcastle-under
Lyne, ironmongers.
THOMPSON, M., Upper Thames-st., coal-
merchant.
WIGAN, J., Macclesfield, silk-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AIKMAN, T., and Co., Glasgow, calenderers.
DAWSON, J., and J. Dawson and Co., Glas-
gow, brass-founders.
FERGUSON, W., and Co., Glasgow, silk-
mercers.
TORRANCE, J., Glasgow, mason.
WYLIE, J., Glasgow, bookseller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEBRUARY
27.—Our supplies since this day se'nnight of
English, Irish, and Scotch wheat, English
barley, and beans, and Irish oats, have been
moderately good; of English, and Irish flour
and English malt, rather great; and of foreign
wheat, barley and oats, English and foreign
peas, foreign beans, and seeds from all
quarters, but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well at-
tended both by London and country buyers.—
There was but little doing during the first
hour of business, on account of the sellers
being stiff to advanced prices: but sub-
sequently, each kind of corn, as also malt,
pulse, and flour, met with a steady, and rather
extensive sale at last Monday's quotations.

In seeds exceedingly little business was
transacted, whence their quotations, though
unaltered, may be considered next to nominal.

Wheat	58s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	24s. to 33s.
— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	34s. to 38s.
— Boilers	37s. to 42s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoes	24s. to 27s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 46s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to 128s.
Pork, Mets, new ... 67s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.

Butter, Belfast ... 92s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.
— Cork ... 82s. to 84s.
— Limerick ... 83s. to 84s.
— Waterford ... 76s. to 82s.
— Dublin ... 80s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.
— Edam ... 47s. to 50s.
— Gouda ... 46s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 62s. to 70s.

SMITHFIELD.—February 27.

This day's supply of sheep and beast was
moderately good; of lambs, calves, and porkers
but limited. Veal went off briskly at an ad-
vance of from 4d. to 6d. per stone; but with
other kinds of meat except lamb, which is
quoted for the season, and was much inquired
after, very dull. With mutton and pork at a
depression of 2d. per stone; with beef at barely
Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,725; sheep, 19,790; calves, 79;
pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 2.

The arrivals this week are short, but the
market is dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		—	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

**THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGA-
ZINE** for ENGLAND and IRELAND,
No. 11., for March, Price 1s. 6d., contains,
amongst other things,—An Inquiry into the
Voluntary Nature and Character of the Pay-
ment of Tithes, and the Legal Consequences
of Refusing or Declining to pay Tithes; with
Observations on Combinations against Tithes.

Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange;
(to whom all communications respecting this
publication are requested to be addressed).

Sold by W. F. Wakeman, 9, D'Olier-street,
Dublin; Smith, and G. and J. Robinson, Li-
verpool; Lewis, and James and Joseph
Thomson, Manchester; Butterworth, Bir-
mingham; Baines and Co., Leeds; Davey and
Muskett, Bristol; Timms, Bath; Brooke,
Dewsbury; Watton, Egham; Bacon and Co.,
Norwich; Thurnam, Carlisle; and all Book-
sellers.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 75.—No. 11.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 10TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE YOUNG MEN OF ENGLAND.

Wakefield, Yorkshire, 5th March, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

I HERE, in every single paragraph, present you with more "USEFUL KNOWLEDGE" than you would, if you were to read them all, find in the whole of the volumes of Scotch feeling and noisy BROUGHAM and silly DENMAN and the rest of that shallow set, call their "Useful Knowledge" library. You now ought, and instantly, to understand ALL about IRISH TITHES and ENGLISH TITHES too; for both will be to be extinguished very soon. It is a great subject, and you ought to understand it in all its parts. Five years ago, I saw that the present events would come; and I, beforehand, laid down what ought to be done. That which I am now about to lay before you, was never published in the Register; it formed an Introduction to the SECOND VOLUME of my PROTESTANT REFORMATION; and every word of it ought now to be learned by heart by every young man in England. I beg you to read it, to consider it well, to bear it in mind, and then you will be able, next week, to laugh with me at Brougham, at Macaulay, at Baines, at the Duke of Wellington, at Stanley, at PLUNCUT, and at the whole tribe. When you have read this through, you will say:—"If COBBETT had never done anything in his life but write this Essay, he would have merited more gratitude from our country than any man that ever lived." Here you

have all the knowledge relating to this most important subject. Imbibe this knowledge, laugh at their "debates," and prepare FOR ACTION!

Wm. COBBETT.

1. THE foregoing volume of this Work contains the History of the Protestant "Reformation," the object of which was to show, and, I trust, it has shown most clearly, that that event "has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people." In speaking of the motives to the producing of the event, I said, that a fair and honest inquiry would teach us that the chief of those motives was PLUNDER. The inquiry was fair and honest, and it has taught to every reader, that plunder was the main object, and indeed the only object, with all the most active and the most powerful of the actors in that drama of devastation. The chief object of the present little volume, is to show, as far as my means will enable me, the enormous extent and amount of that plunder.

2. To this end I here present to the reader the LIST, which is described in the title-page, but which stands in need of those short explanations which I am now about to give; and, when I have given which, I shall add some observations, which, while they are suggested by bare justice to our well-fed and well-clad Catholic forefathers, are as the reader will see, imperiously demanded at my hands by mercy to ourselves, their unfortunate, half-famished, ragged, pauperized descendants.

3. The EXPLANATIONS to which I have alluded in the last paragraph, relate chiefly to the arrangement of the several articles in the LIST. The order is alphabetical throughout, except that WALES follows ENGLAND, leaving IRELAND to come last. The LIST, for England, begins, of course, with Bedfordshire and ends with Yorkshire. Then, under the name of each county, the

order is alphabetical again; the List for Bedfordshire, for instance, beginning with Bedford and ending with Woburn.

4. In each article I have given, as far as my materials would enable me, 1. A description of the nature of the foundation; 2. The name of the founder; 3. The date of the foundation; 4. The estimated yearly value at the time of the confiscation by Henry VIII.; 5. The present yearly value, according to the change in the value of money; 6. By what king, or queen, the property was granted away; 7. To whom it was granted. I will here give a specimen in the article just mentioned. "At **WOBURN**. A Cistercian Abbey, "founded near this place, in the year "1145, by Hugh de Bolebec. Valued "at 430*l*. 13*s*. 11½*d*., now worth 8,613*l*. "19*s*. 2*d*. Granted, 1 Edward VI., to "John Lord Russell,"

5. Alas! when the Russells were hunting the poor Catholics about, in the reign of Charles II., I wonder whether they ever thought of pious and generous Hugh de Bolebec! Bishop **TANNEA** tells us, that this grant was made to Russell in the first year of Edward VI.; Doctor **HEYLIN** tells us that the people of Devonshire rose, in the second year of Edward VI., and, amongst other things, demanded that some of the monasteries should be re-established; and **HUME** tells us, that they were, at last, quelled, and punished by martial law, by Lord **RUSSELL**, aided by German troops! Alas! and poor Hugh de Bolebec never thought of all the while, I would almost be sworn!

6. The whole of the articles are not so perfect in their information as is the one above cited. In some the name of the grantee has not been to be come at; in others the valuation is not recorded; in others the name of the founder is wanting; and, with regard to Ireland, the information is still more scanty, and that, too, in every respect, and in a very great degree. Nevertheless, the List, taken altogether, is, I trust it will be thought, a very interesting historical and statistical document, and will be found very commodious as a work of reference; for, if you see, or hear

of, any ancient foundation, in any part of the kingdom, and wish to know what it was, and when it arose, how it was put down, and who got it; knowing in what county it is, or finding this out by the index at the end of the volume, you turn to the county, which you will find in the order of the alphabet. Then, knowing in or near what city, town, or village it is, you turn, according to the alphabet, to the city, town, or village; or, to the usual name of the abbey, priory, or other foundation. Thus you, with as little inconvenience as possible, get at the best information that I have been able to give.

7. But, it is in the mass, it is as the ground of a general conclusion, that the contents of this volume are of the greatest importance. Here are about three hundred pages of close print filled with a list of pieces of once public property, now worth from one hundred pounds to upwards of fifty thousand pounds a year each! Some few of the things in the List, as in the cases of several of the colleges, chapters, hospitals, and other foundations, still continue to be public property; but these form but a comparatively small part of the general mass; and there is, after all, wholly left out of the list, the numerous private estates, seized on and granted away by the "Reformation" sovereigns, in virtue of acts of attainder and other means, grounded on the adherence of the owners to the religion of their fathers. As, for instance, estates like that of which **COWSEY-HOUSE**, in Sussex, was the chief seat, and which was seized on by Henry VIII., in virtue of the attainder of the Countess of Salisbury and her heirs, and granted by him to his physician, Sir **ANTHONY BROWN**, who obtained, from that execrable tyrant, manors and estates running over a considerable part of the north-west of Sussex and of the south-west of Surrey.

8. Besides the public property described in this List, there were the tithes, which were thus seized on and granted away to lay persons by the "Protestant" "Reformation" sovereigns. Until that event took place, no man had an idea that it could be possible for tithes to

be claimed by any but those who administered religion. But it was soon found that a large part of those tithes, the sole objects of which were the promotion of religion, and the relief of the poor and the stranger, had, all at once, by a mere touch of the Protestant wand, been converted into estates for the already nobles and rich men. Such they continue to this day; and, hence those monstrous things called lay-impropriations, giving, in many cases, thousands of pounds a year to a layman, who never sees the parish, and a few pounds a year to a clergyman who does whatever clerical duty is done in that same parish. The whole affair was a real taking away from the middle and lower class, and a giving to the nobles and the rich. Yet are there men so blind, or so perverse, as to think, or to pretend to think, that the thing called the "Reformation," ought to be looked upon as "a blessing!"

9. The whole of the rents of the estates of the church, including those tithes which were confiscated and transferred to lay-parsons, amounted to, perhaps, a third part of the whole rental of the kingdom. There are no means of knowing what the amount really was; for the valuation was, in fact, no valuation at all. It was all plundering with one hand and squandering with the other, as may well be imagined, when the historians tell us, that OLD HARRY (the name which the English gave to the Devil for many years after Old Harry's death, and the name which the Americans give to the Devil to this day); when historians tell us that OLD HARRY gave a church-estate to a woman who had made a pudding to please him, and that Sir MILES PARTRIDGE won a ring of church bells of him at dice! It is impossible to come, at any thing like an exact account of the worth of the possessions of the Catholic church. Protestant writers have endeavoured to make the churches' rental as great as possible, in order to exhibit the clergy as monstrous devourers of the national income. According to the recorded valuations, the rental did not amount to more than a tenth part of the rental of

the kingdom. But; then, these valuations were founded, apparently, solely upon the reserved rents, leaving out fines, renewals, heriots, deodands, and various other sources of income; and, therefore, I agree with those historians, who think that the church income, including the impropriated tithes, amounted to a full third part of the income of all the land-owners (clergy included) in the whole nation.

10. Well, then, the good and thoughtless Protestant, who has been, as I was, duped from infancy to manhood; well, then, such good Protestant will ask: 'Was not this a great deal too much to be devoured by a parcel of lazy monks and priests and nuns, who did no work of any kind, who lived but to eat and drink and sleep, and who kept the people in ignorance?' Now, my good brother Protestant, be you who you may, you cannot be more zealous or more loud upon this score than I was, for many years of my life: until I, at last, examined for myself, not the pages of lying, hired, place-hunting, pension-hunting, benefice-seeking, or romancing historians; but the pages of statute-book and of the books of the ancient laws of my country. This being the case, you are entitled to a patient hearing and a kind answer from me, to this, your very natural question; a question such as I should, about ten years ago, have been very likely to put myself.

11. Now, then, if the monks and priests and nuns were such lazy people; if they worked neither by hand nor head; if they did nothing but eat, drink and sleep; if this were their real character, and this the habit of their lives, how can you possibly believe that they had any influence at all over the minds of the people? And, unless they had very great influence over their minds, how can you possibly believe that they kept the people in ignorance? What, my friend! Were the people susceptible of knowledge? Had they (just as we have) nature's works and laws to enlighten them? Had they a desire to become skilful and learned? And were they kept in a state of ignorance, were

their capacities benumbed and their propensities thus completely thwarted by lazy creatures who lived only to eat, drink, and sleep ?

12. By this time, you, I am sure, begin to be ashamed of these assertions ; and, the further I go, the more fully will you be convinced, that you have been and are, as I formerly was, the dupe of those who now live upon the spoils of the church of our fathers. Now, then, is it a fact, is it true, that the Catholic clergy kept, or endeavoured to keep, the people in *IGNORANCE* ? This is a charge that fat and luxurious fellows of the present day are incessantly preferring against them ; but, is it not a false charge ? That it is a false charge you will find proved in the most satisfactory manner, in the first volume of this work, in paragraphs from 28 to 36, and in paragraphs from 129 to 134. But, my friend, look into the present volume. Turn over, zealous hater of "monkish ignorance;" turn over to the county of Oxford ; then go on to Oxford city. Aye ! there it is, in that "learned University," the colleges of which are all filled with rosy-gilled and most doctor-like Protestants, and the walls of which colleges incessantly ring with abuse poured forth on the Catholic religion, and especially on the clergy of that church, who are here, above all the places in the world, accused of keeping the people in ignorance ; there it is, surely, that you will, my good Protestant friend, find something in the way of *proof* to make good this accusation ! Turn over the leaves, then, and come to the word "*OXFORD*."

13. What ! Aye, do ! Rub your eyes bright, and then look again. What ! nothing at all ! Oh ! everlasting shame on the name of Protestant ! Not one single college, hall, or school, founded by Protestants, nor since the day that the word Protestant was pronounced in England ! About twenty colleges in all, and all founded and endowed by Catholics ; and, as if to put the calumniators of the Catholic clergy to shame eternal, as if to make them undergo a sort of hell in this world, out of the twenty, *eleven* were founded by *CATHO-*

LIC BISHOPS ; *two* by *MONKS* ; *one* by *NUNS* ; and *five* by Catholic kings, nobles, gentlemen and ladies. Aye, and here is the record, that the University itself was founded by *ALFRED*, whose father took him to Rome, where he was anointed by the Pope himself ! Nay, as if all this were not enough, here is the record, that the teaching at this University was begun by a monk, who came to England for the express purpose, and in gratitude for the services of whom Alfred founded and endowed a monastery for him at Winchester.

14. Thus, then, my good and true Protestant friend, we have, I think, settled the question about keeping the people in ignorance. We now come to the other assertion which is put forth by you, namely, that this full third part of the rents of the nation "was a great deal too much to be devoured by the monks and priests and nuns," and which you have, as I used to do, repeated out of the books of the really devouring vermin of the present day. Yes, it was "a great deal too much to be so devoured;" but then, my friend, you are not yet aware, that your basis is an assumed fact ; and that this assumed fact is a most monstrous lie ! In the first place, it was physically impossible that they should devour a fiftieth part of it. How, for instance, were the fourteen monks in the Abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, to devour rents, which, in our money, amounted to 14,693*l.* a year ? *BISHOP TANNER* (a Protestant bishop, mind) says, that "all the monasteries were, in effect, great schools and great hospitals (meaning, in those days, places of hospitality) ; and were many of them, obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. In short, their hospitality was such, that, in the Priory of Norwich, one thousand five hundred quarters of malt, and above eight hundred quarters of wheat, and all other things in proportion, were generally spent every year."

15. There ! my good duped Protestant friend ; that is the way in which

monks and nuns "devoured" their rents! There were but twenty-two monks in this priory; so that, in fact, they were the mere agents for distributing amongst the needy and the strangers the rents of their estates. Ah! Good God! what has the thing called the "Reformation" produced at Norwich! Who is there at Norwich now to keep hospitality? "St. Andrew's Hall," as it is now called, which was the church of this priory, is the corn-market, and now hears, instead of the chantings of its benevolent monks, the chaffings and the cheapenings, the lying and roguish cant, of sly Quaker corn-mopolizers. The questions here now are, not how and when malt and wheat shall be distributed to the poor and the stranger; but, how they shall be hoarded up, made dear, and kept from the thirsty and the hungry. It was from the platform, on which once stood the high-altar of this priory, that I tendered to the people of Norfolk that petition which they did me the honour to pass, which was afterwards presented to the Parliament, which now lies on the table of the House of Commons, and which is, I trust, destined finally to be the ground-work of measures calculated, not, certainly, to restore to us the happiness enjoyed by our Catholic fathers, but to take away by law, and to give back to the poor, a part, at least, of those church-revenues, which, in Catholic times, were deemed to be, and actually were, the inheritance of the poor and the stranger; for, this is the grand thing for which that petition prays; and, certainly, if the spot from which it sprang could be supposed capable of giving it any degree of effect, one more appropriate than the altar-base of this munificent priory could not have been chosen.

16. Yes, my good and duped Protestant friend, "a great deal too much" to be devoured by monks and priests "and nuns;" and, accordingly, the monks and nuns did not, as you have seen, devour it, nor hardly any part of it. And now, as to the priests, including the bishops. They could not marry; they could have no wives; they had, in

fact, no families to provide for; while, as to the monks and nuns, they could possess no private property, could leave nothing by will, and, therefore, were completely trustees for the poor and the stranger. Of the manner in which the bishops spent their incomes, we have a specimen in the eleven colleges, out of twenty, founded and endowed by them at Oxford. But the main thing of all is, that the Catholic priesthood, taken all together, wholly maintained the poor and the stranger, and suffered not the name of pauper to be known in England; and it never was known in England, until the thing called the "Reformation" came.

17. This is a matter, which is, at this time (July, 1827), of infinite importance. In the Norfolk petition, before mentioned, we prayed, that "a part of the public property, commonly called church property," might be taken away by law, and applied to other public purposes. My anxious wish, and my hope, is, that the prayer of this petition may finally be granted by the Parliament; whether before the Parliament be reformed, I cannot say; but, granted it will be, in the end, I have no doubt; and, with this in my mind, it is, that I put forth this little volume, the utility of which, in the case thus hoped for, we shall presently see. But, first, we ought to consider a little the origin of this "church property," as it is now called, and as it never was called, and as no one ever presumed to call it, until it had the name given it by Protestant priests and bishops, when they once got it into their hands. It was, in fact, the portion of the poor, the infirm, the aged, the widow, the orphan, the stranger, and of all the necessitous, which portion was lodged in the hands of the clergy for just and wise distribution.

18. In the first volume of this work, in paragraphs from 49 to 59 inclusive, this matter is fully and clearly stated. To those paragraphs I beg to refer the reader. There it is clearly shown, that tithes, and every other species of income of the clergy, were looked upon, and were, in fact and in practice, more

the property of the poor than of the monks, nuns, priests, and bishops. Thus it was that there were, in this then happy country, neither paupers nor common beggars. But, when a part of the tithes and estates had been seized and taken away from the clergy altogether, and when the remainder had been given to bishops and priests, who were allowed to marry, and who, of course, had families of their own to feed and clothe and to get fortunes for, the beggars, as we have seen in paragraphs 471 and 472, began to appear, and they soon "covered the land," as the lice did the land of Egypt. Attempts were, as we have there seen, made to keep down their numbers by punishments the most horrible; so that England, which had never before known what poverty was, now saw it in all its most hideous forms.

19. At last, when the butchering and racking Elizabeth had tried whipping, scourging, and even martial law, in vain, and when she and the principal plunderers began to fear, that raging hunger would, if not by some means or other assuaged, deal them deadly blows; then, and not till then, the *POOR-LAWS* were passed; and this fruit of the famous "Reformation" sticks to the land-owners, clings fast to them, unto the present day. The real history of the poor-rates and of English pauperism is given in vol. I., paragraphs from 227 to 237; and in paragraphs from 457 to 478. And, we are always to bear in mind, that the money, or food, or clothing, proceeding from the poor-rates, is the poor's property. It is not alms; it is what they have a right to by the law of nature, by the law of God, and by the common law of the land; aye, that same law, which, and, which alone, gives a man a right to the enjoyment of his field or garden, also gives the poor and necessitous a right to be relieved out of the fruits of the earth.

20. Civil society it was that caused that which is called private property. In a state of nature, when man was and the lands were as God made them and left them, the lands

were for the common use of all the people. When the people of any country agreed to give up their common right, and to permit private ownership to exist, they must have done it with a view to make their lives safer and happier; and, therefore, it is impossible; it is absolutely impossible, that they could have contemplated, as a consequence of their social compact, that the lives of the millions would ever be placed at the mere mercy of the thousands, or, perhaps, of the hundreds. *MALTHUS* denies the right of the poor to relief; he denies that they have any right to claim relief from those who hold the lands and houses as their private property; and he actually recommends to the Parliament to be so foolish as well as so unjust and cruel as to pass a law to refuse relief to all who shall be born after a certain day, and also to all the parents of such persons. In the way of justification of this horrid proposal, he says, that the man wanting relief after this, "should be left to the punishment of nature;" that he should be told, that the "laws of nature had doomed him and his family to starve;" and that, whatever might be their state of distress, they "had no claim on society for the smallest portion of food!" I need hardly say, that this came from the pen of a Church-of-England parson! Arrogant, insolent, stupid, and cruel as it is, its source will be a question of doubt with few men.

21. To the "punishment of nature" this stupid and cruel projector would leave the necessitous. Well, parson, the poor would, I dare say, take you at your word, and jump for joy to be thus referred to the laws of nature. Those laws, parson, bid them, when they want food, to take it, where they can find it, and to care nothing about the place or the person that they take it from. The laws of nature know nothing about theft, or robbery, or burglary. When, indeed, in no shop, house, barn, mill, or other place, the hungry man can discover food sufficient to satisfy his hunger; or, when finding it, he has not, whether by force of arms or otherwise, the ability to get at it and

eat it; then, indeed, I allow that "the laws of nature have doomed him to starve;" but, parson, it is only when he cannot discover the existence of the food, or when, knowing where it is, he has not force to seize it, that the "laws of nature doom him to starve."

22. We very well know that all men are subject, and ought to be subject, as I have, on more than one occasion, before stated, to be called forth, to be compelled to come forth, and, at the risk of their lives, defend their country against a foreign enemy, and also to defend the lands or houses, which are the private property of the possessors, in case of any illegal attempt to take away, or to injure, those lands or houses. Now, suppose the country invaded, or suppose a band of rebels to be gutting, or pulling down, the house of a lord. Suppose PARSON MALTHEUS to go to a poor man, to whom he has before been preaching his doctrine; and suppose him to call upon this man to come forth, as a militia-man, to repel the invaders, or to quell the rebels.

PARSON.—Here, CHOPSTICK! Come away, and bring your arms to defend your country.

CHOPSTICK.—My country, Parson how is it mine, if I have not in it even a security against being starved to death while the land abounds in food?

PARSON.—But here is the law, and forth you must come, or be punished severely.

CHOPSTICK.—Law! Why, the law of nature bids me, first, not to risk my life; next, it bids me to stay at home in these times of peril, to quiet the alarms of, and to protect, my wife and children.

PARSON.—But, here are a parcel of rebels, gutting and pulling down the good Lord Rottenborough's house.

CHOPSTICK.—Well! let him drive them away.

PARSON.—But, he cannot; he is not able; one man cannot fight with a thousand; and the law commands us to come forth to the protection of each other.

Enter OVERSEER.

CHOPSTICK.—Law! Oh, no! Par-

son, the law of nature bids the strong to do what they please with that which the weak have got; that law bids these strong poor men to go and take the goods and to pull down and divide amongst them the big house of this rich weak man; and, if I be to be referred to that law, when I and my wife and children are starving for want of relief; if the Overseer be to answer my application by telling me, "that the law of nature has doomed us to starve," surely I may refer my Lord to the sentences of the same law.

OVERSEER.—Why, John, who has been filling thy head with this nonsense? When did I talk to you about the law of nature? Are there not the poor-laws to provide for you, in case of distress; and do you not, in this way, partake in the yearly rents, and, in fact, in the ownership of my Lord's estate?

[Exit PARSON, slipping off.]

CHOPSTICK.—Aye! That's another man's matter, Master Pinchum! Then, indeed, if I be a sort of a part-owner with my Lord, it is just that I should [*taking a club down from the rack*] go and fight for the protection of his goods and his house; and here I go to do my best against these rebels.

23. This is the true, the common-sense, view of the matter. Agreeably to these principles there are, and always have been, in all countries except in ill-fated Ireland, since the "Reformation," a legal provision, of some sort or other, for the necessitous; a law of some sort, that effectually provided that they should not die for want of food and raiment; and, though in England, many attempts have been made, by STURGES and others, to alter the law in such a way as to make it more and more difficult for the indigent to obtain relief; though attempts of this sort are continually making, they never can, upon the whole, be attended with success; for, before they could obtain that success, the kingdom would be convulsed to its centre; and, indeed, it is clear to every man of sense and reflection, that it is the poor-rates, and the poor-rates alone, which, at this very moment,

cause the peace of the country to be preserved.

24. But, though these rates are just and necessary, we are never to forget, that they were not at all necessary, that they never existed, and that the hateful name of pauper never was known in England, until that "Reformation," as it is called, which caused the enormous confiscations, the particulars of which are stated in this second volume of my history. Before that time, the indigent were relieved out of the produce of the tithes, out of the revenues of the monasteries, and out of those of the manors and other estates of the bishops. We have seen, in the first volume of this work, how a large part of the tithes and almost all the revenues of the monasteries were alienated from the poor and from the public, and in what manner they became private property. As to the poor, they, after about fifty years of whipping, branding, iron-collaring, shooting, and hanging, got a provision, such as it was, in the poor-rates; but, observe, the public got no compensation for what the aristocracy had taken from it; and every man had now, if not a pauper himself, to pay poor-rates, to make up for what the aristocracy had got divided amongst them!

25. A pretty large part of the tithes and the manors and the other estates belonging to the bishops, the cathedrals, and the colleges, remained unconfiscated, and were turned over to the Protestant parsons, bishops, deans, prebendaries, Fellows of colleges, and other "spiritual persons," (as the law calls them,) of the present "Protestant church of England, as by law established." Now, it is a clear case, that the Parliament which could take this property from the clergy of one religion, and give it to those of another religion; the Parliament that could, in spite of Magna Charta and in spite of the law of the land of a thousand years' standing, do this; though in doing this the Parliament set at nought the wills, or grants, of all the founders of the numerous religious houses and establishments; it is a clear case, that all

those who contend that the Parliament had a right to do these things, must allow that the Parliament has a right to dispose as it pleases, of all that part of the church-property which still continues to belong to the nation, or, in other words, which is not private property. The divers religious foundations were made agreeably to the law. If the religion was to be changed, and a new one was to be established, the property in the foundations ought, in justice, in bare justice, to have reverted to the founders, or to their heirs, who, in most cases, were to be found, and were ready to put forward their claim to it. If the religion were found to be bad, the property, the lands, the trees, and the buildings, had committed no offence. Nevertheless, the property was all seized on by the king and the Parliament. The Parliament gave it all to the king; and the king and his successors gave the greater part of it, in return, amongst the members of the two houses of Parliament or their relations! Now, if the king and Parliament had a right to deal thus with property, the heirs of the founders of which were ready to claim it, surely no one can deny that the present King and Parliament have a right to apply to public purposes that part of this great mass of property, which, as stated above, continues to be the property of the public. There is, I venture to assert, no man that will deny this, and especially, no man who possesses, by descent or otherwise, any part of the Catholic church estates; for, what title has such man to his estate? What plea has he against an ejectionment? He has no title, he has no answer, except those which are furnished by those Acts of Parliament of Henry VIII., which seized, and granted to the king, the estates of the church. This sauce for the goose, so delicious as it long has been acknowledged to be, must, when the time for another repast shall arrive, be allowed to be sauce for the gander; and, of this sauce, Norfolk petition would, if acted upon, give the nation a taste.

26. PLUNKETT, who has now been

made a lord, and about whom the bleaters in Ireland are just now making such a fuss, asserted, in the debate on Mr. Hume's motion for applying part of the clerical incomes in Ireland to other public purposes; this PLUNKETT asserted, in the most unqualified terms, that all tithes, glebes, and all sorts of property, called church-property, were as sacred from the touch of the Parliament, that the Parliament had not more right to sell them, or to apply them in any way, than it had to sell, or otherwise dispose of, any parcel of any man's private property! Indeed, Plunkett! What, then, are any of those titles good for, by which men now hold the immense masses of property described in this volume? If this King and Parliament have no right to touch that which belongs to the nation, could Harry VIII. and his Parliament have a right to seize and to alienate all these masses of property, great part of which were really private property, and had claimants, legal claimants, to demand them? If this King and Parliament have no right to take public property, and to apply it to public purposes, can those titles be worth one single straw, which rest on Acts of Parliament, which Acts seized on private property and applied it to private purposes? I might, by comparing the tenure of what the church parsons hold with the tenure of private property, show the gross absurdity of the doctrine of this Plunkett, who, I recollect, was anxious to check the circulation of small pamphlets, because the mass of the people were now become so much more enlightened than formerly; I might, by the comparison just mentioned, show the monstrous absurdity of the doctrine of this Plunkett: but, I say, no: I say, let his doctrine stand, if the parsons like; and, then, all the tithes of all the holders of abbey-lands, aye, and of the greater part of the cathedral and college-lands, are not worth one single pinch even of Scotch snuff.

27. However, as there certainly is not a man in the kingdom (except some parson, perhaps), besides PLUNKETT, to hold a doctrine like this, we will leave PLUNKETT to have his hearing faculties

tickled by the bleaters of Ireland, and will now go on to see a little how, if applied to this mass of "public property, commonly called church-property," Norfolk petition would work.

28. The property which remains to the nation is, I. THE PAROCHIAL TITHES AND GLEBES. II. THE BISHOPRIC REVENUES. III. THE DEAN AND CHAPTER REVENUES. IV. THE COLLEGE REVENUES. Here is still an immense mass of property, and all of it, or nearly all of it, diverted from the uses to which it was formerly applied, and to which it was intended that it should always be applied.—But, the questions for us here are, whether it be now well applied; and whether it could not be much better applied than it now is. As to the real amount of it, that will never be got at by the public, as long as it shall remain in the hands in which it now is. No man has ever been able to get an account laid before Parliament, of the amount of this property! Accounts of every thing else can be got; but of this no account can ever be come at. Some years ago, a return was made to Parliament, stating the name of each living, the population of the parish, the size of the church, the state of the parsonage-house, and the annual worth of the living, IF UNDER ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS! Here was a crafty trick! Why not state the annual worth, if ABOVE one hundred and fifty pounds! Why this close disguise if ABOVE that mark? Is not the answer ready? To have stated the annual worth of the whole of the livings would have shown to this beggared people what an immense sum is swallowed annually by these comparatively few men and their families, whose Catholic predecessors kept all the poor, and also kept the churches in repair out of these same tithes. The tithes of England, Wales and Ireland, have been estimated, by several writers, at eight millions a year. The parsons affect to say that this is an over statement. But when any public functionary hears his gains over stated, and knows that he is thereby placed before the public in a disadvantageous light, what is his remedy? Why, to

publish an exact account of what he really does receive. Aye, and this is what the parsons would do, to be sure, if they had it in their power to prove that their gains had been over-rated. For my part, I am convinced, that, if we include the rent of the parsonage-houses and glebes, the compulsory offerings and fees, and all the estates of the bishops, chapters, colleges, and other foundations, which, though not legally nor necessarily engrossed by the church-parsons, are so in fact; if we include the whole, I am convinced that this church-establishment costs this "enlightened Protestant nation" more than TWELVE MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING A YEAR; and this, too, observe, without including further millions that are required to maintain the POLICE-establishment and the TROOPS, which the public papers so frequently exhibit to us as employed in collecting, or in aiding and defending those who are employed in the collecting of tithes! This "church-property," as it is called, must, like the Debt, not be estimated by the bare amount of itself, but there must be added to this amount, the cost of the army, which is required on account of it. If we leave this out of our estimate, we shall be as far short of the true mark, as we should be if we were to leave out of the estimate of the custom and excise taxes, the amount of the salaries of the custom-house and excise officers; or as if we were, in our account of the cost of post-chaise hire, to leave out the amount of the sums paid to the post-boy and the ostler. The cost, then, of this establishment, is perfectly enormous: and, what is the establishment worth to the nation? Is the "service" rendered by this body of persons, called the clergy, worth twelve or fifteen millions a year? Is it worth one million? Is it worth one pound? Is not the name of "service" wrongly applied in this case? Has not this establishment now been proved, by ample experience, to be injurious, rather than beneficial, to the country? Ought the incomes to be applied to other public purposes? The stating, and shortly remarking on, a

few well-known facts, relating to each of the above four classes of "spiritual persons," taking the classes in the order in which they there stand, will enable us to answer these questions: and, if we find the last of these questions to be answered in the affirmative; that is to say, if we find that these several parcels of public property ought to be applied to other public purposes, there will remain for us to determine only on the manner and degree in which it is our duty to petition the King and Parliament to cause the taking away, or alienation to be made.

29. To begin with the first class, the TITHES and GLEBES, or property now possessed by the common parsons, or parish clergy; it must always be borne in mind, that this property was only so much put into the hands of the priests for the purpose of relieving their indigent parishioners, of showing hospitality to the stranger, of keeping the church in repair and keeping up its ornaments, and of furnishing a decent maintenance for the parish priests themselves. This was not only the intention of the founders and endowers of parish-livings; but it was the law of the land as well as the law of the church. In the first volume, paragraph 51, I have shown by a reference to the canon-law, that the poor were to have relief out of the tithes. And, to prove beyond all doubt, that his was the practice as well as the law, I need only mention an act of the 15th year of Richard II., which provides that, if the living of the parish be in the hands of any convent, the convent shall always leave in the hands of their vicar a part of the income sufficient for the relief of the poor. Another act, enforcing this act, was passed in the 4th year of Henry IV. So that it is quite clear, that the tithes, glebe, and all the income of every church living, were to be employed, as far as necessary, in relieving and in otherwise doing good to the poor and the stranger.

30. It is not necessary to say, that the income arising from this class of public property has been wholly diverted from the purposes to which it was at first destined, and to which it was, until

the "Reformation," as we Protestants call that sad event, fairly applied. Why therefore, should these parcels of property remain any longer, at any rate in the hands of the present possessors? If they would, even now, do as the Catholic priests did; if they would maintain the poor of their parishes and would entertain and help strangers in distress; if they would repair the churches, keep up the ornaments (there are none left, by the bye) if, in short, they would put an end to poor-rates and church-rates, and keep the poor and repair the church, they might still keep the tithes and the glebes and parsonage-houses and gardens. But, if they will do neither of these, what reason is there for their having the property? "They have law for it." Oh, aye! And the Catholic clergy, and more especially the monks and nuns, had "law for it" too, and law a little older, at any rate, than the law that our parsons have for it. They have law for it till another law come to take this their law away; and what reason is there, I again ask, for leaving the property in their possession? What reason is there that another law should not come to take this their law away!

31. Most monstrously have they always been afraid of questions like this. Most anxious have they always been to keep out of sight the origin of the poor-rates. A Hampshire farmer, who had read the "PROTESTANT REFORMATION," told me a few weeks ago, that, at a meeting, relative to the poor, lately held at the poor-house, in his parish, and at which meeting the parson presided, there was a great deal said about the frightful increase of, and great hardship inflicted by, the poor-rates, of which the parson complained more vehemently than any body else. He (the farmer) took this occasion to ask, in all simplicity, of his reverence, "How there came to be such a thing as poor-rates in England, and who it was that used to maintain the poor in old times?" "Well," said I, "and what did he say to you in answer?" "Zay," replied he, "he did n't say much; but he screwed

"down 's brows, and, looking as black as the very devil; he zed, that 'twould be a good deal better if every man would mind 's woan business." This was a pincher indeed! Our parsons know all about the Catholic claims to tithes; they know all about the collection of tithes; all about moduses and endowments and the like; they have at their fingers' ends all the history of the "superstitions and idolatries" of the Catholic Church; but ignorant as horses they appear with regard to the way in which the poor were kept in Catholic times; and I can tell you another thing; namely, that whoever dares to make anything public on that subject, is, if they can reach him, sure to feel, in some way or other, the effects of their implacable vengeance; of the truth of which we have the most complete proof in the curious affair of Mr. RUGGLES, to the circumstances of which I have once before merely alluded, but which, in justice to myself as well as my subject, and, which is of still more importance, in justice to the middle and working classes of my countrymen, I must here fully relate.

32. In the year 1793, DEIGHTON, bookseller, Holborn, published a book in two vols. octavo, with the following title?—"The History of the Poor: their rights, duties, and the laws respecting them: in a Series of Letters. By THOMAS RUGGLES, F.A.S. One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Counties of Essex and Suffolk." In this work, Mr. Ruggles explained the foundation of the right of the poor to a maintenance from the land; he explained the principle on which the Catholic church took charge of the poor; he traced the church-states, including tithes, glebes, personal tithes and all, back to one and the same source; namely, CHARITY; he insisted, that gifts, out of which the church-property arose, were gifts not to bishops and priests, or to any religious order, or their own use, but that they were gifts IN TRUST to them for certain purposes, one of which purposes was, the maintenance of the poor; and this his doctrine he founded and upheld on the

canons of the church, on the writings of the fathers, on the common law of England, and on the statute law of England.

33. Having established this doctrine of gifts in trust, he proceeded to inquire, whether this doctrine ought not now to be acted upon; and, he came to the conclusion, that it ought to be acted upon; that, not only the holders of what is still called church-property, but the holders of abbey-lands also, ought, **EVEN NOW**, to be made to pay annually, towards the maintenance of the poor, a full fourth, at least, of the net yearly profits of such property, and this, observe, over and above the proportion that might be called for from those who held no such property! For, he contended, and, indeed, he proved, that the grants of the Parliament to Henry VIII. did not set aside, nor at all enfeeble, the claim of the poor to their share of the benefit of the gifts in trust; and that, though the claim had lain dormant for a long while, it was **BY NO MEANS** become extinct. In short, he proposed to revive the claim, to act upon it, and to call upon all the holders of church-property, whether coming from the Catholic seculars or regulars, whether now held by clerical or lay persons, to give up, if it should be wanted by the poor, a fourth part of the net profits of their estates, be they of what nature they might, for, or towards, the maintenance of the poor, and this, too, over and above the rates paid by other people. He proposed, in short, that the poor should be maintained out of the church-property, if a fourth of its income would do it, and, if it would not, he proposed first to take that fourth, and then to raise in the present manner, and by general assessment, whatever might be wanted further.

34. Observe, now, that it was no Jacobin, no radical, no republican, who proposed this; but, in the first place, a land-owner; in the next place, a Justice of the Peace in two counties; in the next place, a most loyal gentleman; in the next place, one of the adorers of the "Heaven-born" Pitt; and, lastly,

a most zealous Protestant, asserting that the Catholic church had "rested on fear and superstition," and that the "Reformation," springing up at the "magic touch of Henry VIII.," gave rise to a system "more consonant to the principles of sober piety and good sense!" A sort of "piety" and "good sense" that had, it seems, Mr. Ruggles, little to do with charity, or with an honest execution of "trusts!" However, such was the author of this book; such was the maintainer of these doctrines. "And," the reader will exclaim, "why were the doctrines not acted upon?" Aye; that is the pith of the story: that is the very thing we are going to see. "See!" the reader will exclaim; "but what answer was given to Mr. Ruggles?" Alas! reader, no answer was given to poor Mr. Ruggles; but he soon found himself under the necessity of answering himself. In short **HE PUBLISHED A SECOND EDITION OF HIS BOOK, LEFT OUT ALL HIS ABOVE-MENTIONED DOCTRINES AND PROPOSALS, AND ALMOST BEGGED PARDON FOR HAVING PUT FORTH THOSE DOCTRINES AND PROPOSALS!**

35. "What!" exclaims the honest reader, "an Englishman do this! an English gentleman do such a thing as this!" O, yes! And your "gentlemen of England," as that former demagogue and now creeping courtier, Sir Francis Burdett, calls them, have proved to the world, by a long series of acts, that they are, generally speaking, the meanest and most cowardly of all mankind. But, what was it, then, that this poor Thomas Ruggles, Esq., this unfortunate Justice of the Peace for the counties of Essex and Suffolk; what was it that the poor man left out of his second edition? We will now see what it was that he left out, what words he ate, in order to appease the wrath of the parsons; for he expressly says, in the preface to his second edition, that "**HIS PRINCIPLES AS A FRIEND TO THE HIERARCHY, HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT CALLED IN QUESTION,**" in consequence of his attempt "to revive the claim" of the poor on the revenues of the clergy. Poor fellow! That was enough for him! He was marked out for vengeance: he evi-

dently saw it; and published his "second edition" in order to save himself, if possible. And, now let us see what it was that the poor, terrified "Esquire" left out.

36. In the Preface to his first edition, he is speaking of the monstrous burdens on the land, especially of the poor-rates; and here he says that, in his book, he has made an inquiry into the matter. "More especially," says he; and then he goes on in the following words; and, mind, these words that I am going to copy here, are left out in the second edition. The poor "'Squire" republishes, in the second edition, the preface to the first edition; and, at the end of the thirteenth paragraph of that preface he leaves out, he sinks, he eats the words, and every word of the following passage: "More especially as to that part of the case, 'which relates to the productiveness and application of those estates which were originally given to the clergy, in trust for eleemosynary purposes; but if the laity were to claim from the legislature that equity which the Court of Chancery would decree on a bill filed in common cases, on complaint of a cestui-que trust; that the trustees should fulfil those trusts, for the purposes for which the estate was granted; a cry of, 'The church is in danger,' much more serious and distressing would arise throughout the land, than any attempts of the sectaries have occasioned. This also requires the attention of the Minister; but the pen of no individual can ever be expected to rouse him to action on this point; nothing but the public voice is equal to that effect; such an equitable decree of the legislature, clashing with the interests of so reverend a portion of our fellow-subjects." Poor 'Squire! He was compelled to eat these words even in his preface! But we are now to see what a dreadful meal, or, rather, counter-vomit, he had to undergo, in the work itself.

37. In his 27th Letter, first edition, after describing the origin of tithes, he speaks of the practice as to the distribution of them. The following are his

words, which words he leaves out in the second edition:—"That such was their origin, is not only the true theory; but, that, in former days, the practice flowed in conformity with the principle, has been already proved in the instance of an application from St. Augustine to Pope Gregory, with respect to the distribution of tithes; from ancient canons of the church, and from other instances, where the three-fold or four-fold division of the tithes was directed, as the sees of the Bishop were, or were not, endowed. The writings of the fathers also corroborate the proof of this theory, as well as of the practice; and the evidence of those who first held these fiduciary estates for the benefit of the poor and the church, is evidence of the highest authority, and establishes the most convincing proof. The statute law also proceeded on this idea; or else the legislature looked on the possessions of the ecclesiastics as the property of the kingdom, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV."—Yes! the parsons of Essex and Suffolk did not like to hear of any divisions of the tithes, or any distribution of them." They did not like to hear of fiduciary estates; that is to say, trust-held estates. And so the poor 'Squire found that his safest way was to swallow all this down again.

38. The next is a still bigger mass for poor 'Squire Ruggles to get back down his throat. He has been, in the sentences immediately preceding what I am now about to quote, speaking of the turbulent times (from Henry V. to Henry VIII., and the still more turbulent in and after this last reign) which caused the above-mentioned claim of the poor to lie dormant. Then he goes on in the words which I am just about to quote, and which words the poor 'Squire has wholly sunk in his second edition:—"No wonder that" [during the turbulent times, and after the Reformation] "these claims should have remained dormant, but it by no means follows, as a consequence, that because such rights of charity as these, owing to the rough and unsettled cir-

“ circumstances of the times, were dormant, they should become extinct, especially when so large a portion of the revenue still remained to the church; the possessors of which, however charitable in their doctrines, by degrees withdrew the right-ful and accustomed proportion of their estates from the repair of churches and the maintenance of the poor; and although they still presided in our high court of conscience, and through the ensuing century gave us chancellors, were, notwithstanding, very careful how they permitted such a claim to be established over the estates of the dissolved monasteries: knowing that their own possessions were held by the same tenure, given, at first, for the same purposes, and liable to similar trusts.”—No wonder that the ‘Squire’s “principles” as a friend to the hierarchy, were somewhat “called in question.” No wonder that he was compelled to swallow these words.

39. Having told us, that the claims, though they had been dormant, were not extinguished, he proceeded to prove, that the right still existed in 1793, as good as it was, as complete as it was, in the 12th or 24th century, never having been weakened by any positive law. The following is the passage; most excellent it is; and it is unnecessary for me to add, that it was left out of the second edition:—“We all know, that a claim to the third or fourth part of the ecclesiastical revenue for the benefit of the poor, is nearly vanished in the oblivion of past times; but a right may remain, although the use of it has been long neglected. A maxim of law prevails in ecclesiastical rights, *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesiæ*; the poor are a part of the church; the possessions of the church are the possessions of the poor; the revenues have been so styled by the fathers of the church; they were obtained in the name of the poor, for the love of God; are not the poor, therefore, permitted to claim the benefit of the same maxim? Is not that the law of the part, which is the

“ law of the whole? At least there is as much justice in the maxim for the one, as for the other; therefore, *nullum tempus occurrit pauperibus*. If positive ordinances of the state have not destroyed this right, no length of time should be allowed to weaken it. Let those who doubt the truth of these assertions, find, if they can, an affirmative injunction, that the church should hold its revenues free and clear of those trusts, for the benefit of the poor, which were created by the donors, when they gave their lands and tithes for eleemosynary purposes; no such discharge is to be seen in the Acts of Parliament in the 27 and 31 Henry VIII, which empowered the crown to alienate the possessions of the monasteries: those, therefore, who are possessed of estates, which were formerly monastic, held them *quod hoc*, subject to the same equitable claim.”—Alas! for poor Justice Ruggles! No wonder, good God! that his “principles, as a friend to the hierarchy, were somewhat called in question.” However, here we have law, not only equity, but law also, for going with a demand, if we chose it, on the holders of abbey-lands for a part, at least, of their revenues!

40. One more extract shall finish; and a pretty complete finish it is: for, it contains nothing short of a proposition, to take away from all holders of what is, or what ever was, ecclesiastical property, a full fourth part of the net annual profits of such property! Not a word, not a breath of this, in the ‘Squire’s second edition! “MUM!” says the ‘Squire; but I have found out the first edition: and in that the ‘Squire shall now be heard:—“In any future revisal of the laws respecting the poor, their maintenance, employment, and relief, it may be worth the attention of the legislature to call to mind for what purposes the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom were originally granted, to inquire whether they are employed in those purposes; to investigate the fact, on what trusts and on account of what duties, the clergy originally received the clerical estates; and to

"ask whether those duties and those
 "trusts are now fulfilled; and when
 "they are convinced of the purposes for
 "which those estates were originally
 "granted, and can find no positive law
 "to abrogate those purposes, and per-
 "ceive that the poor stand as much in
 "need of the performance of those du-
 "ties, as they did when the estates were
 "first granted to the church, the prin-
 "ciple on which the legislature should
 "proceed is manifest. I am aware of
 "the nature of such investigations, and
 "fully sensible, that no man can expect,
 "in those whose performances of
 "the duties for which they have re-
 "ceived their estates, is challenged and
 "brought to the test, a favourable
 "audience; nor expect from them a
 "candid interpretation of the motives
 "which instigate to the inquiry; but be
 "that as it may, the present situation of
 "the poor; their wretched state; their
 "increasing misery; the increasing
 "burden upon the people for their
 "maintenance: these warrant the in-
 "quiry; the inquiry brings to light the
 "evidence; the deductions are the con-
 "sequence of a free and candid use of
 "the reasoning faculties; if any error
 "lie either in fact or argument, candour
 "requires an explanation from those
 "who conceive that there is the least in-
 "tention in the writer to mislead the
 "judgment of the public; which ex-
 "planation will be thankfully received;
 "as it will, nevertheless, tend to estab-
 "lish one great object of this investiga-
 "tion, that is truth. Assuming, there-
 "fore, the foregoing state of the mat-
 "ter as fact, would it be a hard com-
 "promise with the possessors of eccle-
 "siastical estates, that those in the pos-
 "session of lay patrons, on whom no
 "parochial duty is incumbent, should,
 "after a medium of the poor-rates has
 "been taken throughout the kingdom
 "for the last three years, bear the in-
 "creased expense of the maintenance of
 "poor alone, until the rate upon their
 "ecclesiastical estates amount to one-
 "fourth of the net annual receipt of
 "their profits, before the lay estates be
 "further encumbered; and that the
 "clergy should be rated in the same

"proportion?"—Not one word of all
 this in the second edition!

41. These opinions, doctrines, and,
 especially, this last proposition, to
 take away a fourth part of the revenues
 even of the lay-impropriators and from
 the abbey-land holders, as well as from
 the parsons and bishops, must have
 obtained for, and secured to, poor
 'Squire Ruggles a comfortable time of
 it! This book came out just before
 high anti-jacobin times, when it was
 pretty nearly as much as a man's life
 was worth to express a doubt of the
 excellence of the church establishment.
 The church-property and all private
 estates in general had been confiscated,
 or nearly so, together, in France;
 plunder, guillotining, burning of nobles'
 houses, putting royal persons in prison,
 and, finally, to death: all these had, in
 France, come along with, in company
 with, a taking away of tithes. "Look
 you there!" said our parsons: "see
 "the dreadful consequences of touching
 "tithes! If you touch tithes, you see,
 "plunder, murder, house-burning and
 "king-killing, and atheism, must fol-
 "low! They must all follow, if you
 "touch tithes." This was the cry of
 the parsons, throughout the whole of
 this then deluded country. Every one
 was called an enemy of God as well as
 of the king, if he but hinted a doubt of
 the wisdom of suffering this church
 clergy to swallow up so many millions
 a year. In this state of things, the
 arrogance of the parsons was beyond
 description. They were as active, as
 they were arrogant. And, at a time
 when a man dared hardly speak his
 mind in private conversation, if his
 sentiments were at all hostile to the
 parsons, judge, reader, of the life that
 poor Justice Ruggles must have led,
 until he publicly, in a second edition,
 published his recantation, and, in the
 face of the nation, did as good as do
 penance for his sins against Tom Cran-
 mer's and old Retsey's church "as by
 law established." Judge of the life that
 he must have led, at a time when not
 to bow to the earth before a church
 parson was to run a risk of being
 deemed an atheist and a jacobin, and

when such deeming had its practical effects always at hand, ready for the victim. As to tradesmen and farmers, they dared not open their mouths to speak of a parson in any terms but those of positive praise. It was during this "reign of terror," real reign of terror, much more real than it ever was in France, that poor 'Squire Ruggles recanted! It is very curious to observe the effect of the reign of terror in this case. The 'Squire wrote the matter of his book in 1792, and published it in a periodical work, called the "ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE." He published the first edition, in the book shape, very early in 1793. Now, observe, the war against France was not begun when this edition must have been in the press. So that the reign of terror had not commenced, and could not have been anticipated, when this first edition, with all the above-quoted passages in it, went to the press from the hands of Mr. Ruggles. But when the second edition went to the press, the reign of terror was in full swing; the act of habeas corpus was suspended; and there was an act to empower the Ministers to imprison, just where and when they pleased, anybody ('squires not excepted) THAT THEY MIGHT SUSPECT of treasonable practices! No wonder, therefore, that Mr. RUGGLES changed his tone, recanted, and expunged the passages which were offensive to the parsons, who now saw plenty of barracks and German troops in the country, and who, to use their own phraseology, made the "enemies of social order and our holy religion" shake in their shoes.

42. Without stopping here to congratulate my readers (which, had I room, I would, in the strongest and fullest terms that our language admits of) on the change which thirty years of war and borrowing money have produced relative to the parsons; without stopping to congratulate my readers on the amazing change in the minds of the people, relative to these same church parsons, I now proceed again to ask, what reason is there that this great mass of property, now used solely by the clergy, should not be applied to

some other public purpose; and, again I come (after my long but most useful digression relating to Mr. Ruggles); again I come to that class of property which is in the hands of the common parsons, or parish clergy. This class of property consists of several sorts, tithes, great and small, land, glebes, tithes in money, parsonage-houses and gardens, compulsory offerings, compulsory fees. These, like all other religious property, whether secular or regular, were made, granted, or established, in trust. The objects that they were intended to effect, were, to make a sure provision for the poor, to build, repair, and ornament churches, to keep hospitality for the stranger, and to support unmarried priests; to be the personal friends, comforters, advisers, admonishers of all their parishioners; and, particularly, to teach all the CHILDREN of the parish their moral and religious duties: and that, too, not by merely the reading of prayers to them and the reading of what are called sermons to them from the desk, or pulpit; but by personal, individual teaching, the church being, at certain appointed times of very frequent occurrence, a real religious and moral school. Are these objects now effected by the means of these several sorts of parish-church-property? Will any man say, that any one of these objects is now effected by the parish clergy? Will any man say, that any one of these objects is now effected, or attempted to be effected, by means for instance, of the 2s. 9d. in the pound, which the citizens of London pay, for tithe, on the rack-rent of their houses? When that tithe was settled, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates; and the poor and church were, of course, to be maintained out of this 2s. 9d. in the pound; and, as Mr. Ruggles most justly observes, there never has been any law passed to release the city-clergy of this claim on the tithes.

43. Besides, as to the public utility of the thing, it is perfectly notorious, that there are now about forty different religions, all professing to be founded on the Bible; it is equally notorious, that a very small proportion of the peo-

ple, even in England and Wales, go to the established church, and that, in Ireland, there is not above one person out of seven that goes to that church. In the Hampshire list of persons taking out game certificates for 1825, there was one parson out of every thirteen persons; so that, if this were the case generally, a thirteenth part of all the sportsmen in England consisted of parsons alone. It is notorious, that there is a very large part of the parishes, even in the finest counties in England, in which the parsonage-houses have been suffered to fall down and totally disappear; and it is equally notorious, that, in more than one-half of the parishes, there are no houses that the parsons deem fit for them to live in, while at the very same time, large, even enormous sums of money have been voted out of the taxes for the "relief of the poor clergy of the church of England." It is notorious that, in numerous parishes, the churches have been suffered to tumble down, and to leave scarcely a trace behind, while the tithes do, nevertheless, continue to be most rigidly exacted by the parsons. It is notorious that many of the parsons have several livings; and that many receive the tithes for years together, without ever setting their eyes on the parish. It is notorious, that a considerable part of the parish-parsons are, at the same time, colonels, captains, or subalterns in the army or navy, and that they continue to receive half-pay as such officers, though the half-pay is held, by the Government, to be a retaining fee for future service, and though the law forbids these men ever to be military or naval officers again. Lastly, (for the enumeration would never end,) it is notorious that a large part of these parsons are justices of the peace, and are, at the same time, rectors or vicars of several parishes each.

44. It being manifest, then, that the revenues received by these persons are not applied as they formerly were, and that they are not applied to any beneficial public purpose, we must determine, that they ought to be otherwise applied; that they ought to be applied

to some really useful public purpose. To what public purpose I will speak of by-and-by, and also of the manner and degree of the alienation, or subtraction.

45. Next come the ENORMOUS REVENUES OF THE BISHOPS, several of whom have died of late years, each leaving personal property to an amount exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, after having lived in the style of princes. Will any man say, that this ought to be, and that, at the same time that these men's gains and accumulations are thus going on, the people at large ought to see one million six hundred thousand pounds of the money raised on them, taken from them, in taxes, or out of public loans, voted away for the "relief of the poor clergy of this same church?" Will any man say, that this ought to be? Will any man say it, let him be who or what he may?

46. At to the deans and chapters, of what use are they to the nation? As far as I have ever heard, it is not even pretended that they perform any duty, any services at all to the public, to either king or people: and, besides, the persons who receive the revenues of the cathedral churches have generally, if not always, a parish-living, besides, at many miles' distance, and, sometimes, two or three such livings! Yet, as this SECOND VOLUME of my work will show, the Chapters have immense estates. And is there a man on earth, except he be one who gains by the thing, who will say that the nation's estates ought thus to be used? Will even Sir James Graham say, that the fundholder, who has lent his money to those, who, in fact, enjoy the greater part of these and all such like estates; will even Sir James Graham say, that a farthing of interest ought to be deducted from the fundholder, while there is any part of this public property unapplied to the liquidation of the debt due to him!

47. The colleges present us with another immense mass of public property, from which the parsons and the aristocracy alone derive, or can, under the present regulations, derive any pos-

sible advantage. The estates of these colleges are very great in worth, and, of course, in yearly amount. This amount is divided amongst parsons, who are the schoolmasters to the aristocracy! As to the nation at large, it can have no share in the benefit produced by these estates, seeing, that the scholars are admitted only on such terms as must effectually shut out all the middle and working classes. And, are we, then, going to back the men who would strip our neighbours, the fundholders, while these estates remain to be used for the exclusive benefit of the aristocracy and their schoolmasters? These estates, like all those which are held by the rest of the clergy, are public property; as such they may be dealt with by the King and Parliament. It would be hypocrisy, calling for the punishment of the cat-o-nine-tails, to pretend that this great mass of public property, or, that the whole of the church establishment, all taken together, is of any use to the public, as it is now employed. It is a large part of the property of the whole country, divided amongst, and enjoyed exclusively by, the aristocracy. That is the real fact. The bishopricks, the parish-livings, the deanships, the stalls, the fellowships, are, in fact, all in their gift. The property is, in short, the public's in right and in name, and the aristocracy's in possession and enjoyment. And, as to its being necessary for the religious instruction of the people, that is the very thing that I have showed to be false, in the very first paragraph of the first volume of this work; to which I beg the reader to turn, if he have it not in his recollection. In short, this is a great and enormous mass of public property, now enjoyed by the few; and the time is apparently not far distant, when all men will be convinced of the necessity of applying it to purposes of a really public nature, or, in one word, to the liquidation of part of the Debt.

48. With regard to the manner of withdrawing this public property from the control that it is at present under, the means would be an act of Parliament, and, provided the provisions of

the act were effectual, the manner might be as mild as the parsons themselves could have demanded, even in "Anti-Jacobin" times, when the workings of our avenging friend, the Debt, were not perceived. The degree would be a matter of more difficulty; or, I should say, it would require a little more thought. There are two opinions with respect to new regulations; the one is, that there ought to remain no church-establishment at all, but that each sect, or sort, ought to be left to provide for its own religious instructors. The other is, that there ought to be an establishment upon an almost apostolical allowance. I am for the former; because, as long as there is an establishment making a part of the state, there must always be a contest going on amongst the divers sects for a preference of some kind or other. Before, however, we can say, what the degree of alienation or subtraction ought to be, we must know which of these two changes would be adopted. But, one thing I am fixed on, and that is, that I, for my own part, would never join in any petition to King or Parliament, for any new modelling or any alienation, or subtraction, of these public revenues, if such petition stopped short of taking and applying to public purposes, nine-tenths of these revenues, taken as a whole.

49. If any one should be disposed to characterise such a deduction as harsh, I here, beforehand, beg leave to observe to him, that I have no desire to see *any deduction at all*, if the nation could continue to pay *the interest of the Debt in full and in gold of standard weight and fineness*. I look upon this immense mass of public property as enjoyed almost exclusively by the aristocracy and its immediate dependents. I do not like this; but, for me, let it still be thus, if the fundholders could continue to be paid as I have just stated. But, is there a man in the world, who will not say, that every shilling's worth of public property ought to be applied to the payment of the Debt, before a thought be entertained of taking from those who have by force lent their money, any portion of their right to a demand of

payment? We have seen, that Mr. Ruggles insists on the right, the legal right, of the nation to demand, that the Abbey-lands, that is, that *all* property seized and granted away by the "Reformation" sovereigns and Parliaments, whether it consist of *lay-impropriations*, *Abbey-lands*, or what not, though now in the hands of lay persons, and deemed *private property*; we have seen, that he, who was a *land-owner*, a *justice*, and, I believe a *lawyer*, insists, that a part of even this property could be *legally*, and might be *justly*, applied to the public purpose of relieving the poor. Now as for me, I never wished to see proposed any measure that shall touch property, which may now fairly be called *private property*. Though God forbid the necessity should arise, I have no hesitation in saying, that I would rather see, even the lay-impropriations and the abbey-lands resumed by act of Parliament, than see an act of Parliament making a great deduction from the property of the *compulsory* fundholder; and most assuredly, I would much rather see a *resumption of grants by the crown* of the lands and houses and mines and other property, which the crown has granted away since the reign of Henry VIII., out of the ancient crown estate; and, as we always ought to bear in mind, which granting away has been the cause of that continual and copious drain, the *Civil List*. But of all the horrible things in this world, would not the most horrible be, to borrow 1,600,000*l.* to *make a present of* to the parsons of the church; and to reduce the interest of the Debt; that is to say, to take away a part of the property of the fundholder; to take, I say, part of his property away *while the clergy were suffered to keep the 1,600,000*l.**! Observe, that, during the years, during all the years, that the Parliament was making the church clergy a *present* of 100,000*l.* a year, the making of *loans* was going on: so that, this 100,000*l.* a year came out of the loans: it was *borrowed money*; the lender is to be paid his interest; and, will any man say, that it is not most horrible to think of deducting from this interest; to think of doing this on

account of the poverty of the state, *while the state suffers the clergy to keep this money?*

50. The thing called QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY, is an annual sum taken from the people, to be given to church parsons, in addition to all their monstrous revenues. What pretty names they give to these things! The crown had for part of its income, the tenths and first fruits of the clergy. QUEEN ANNE was the sovereign when this branch of income was granted away from the crown, in order to augment the value of small livings; but, one good turn deserves another; such "generosity" in the Queen merited a return; but, alas! the people had to make the return; and, accordingly, they have had to pay more to the Civil List ever since, on account of this "Bounty" than the "Bounty" itself amounts to. However here is another great annual sum (in addition to the tithes and all the other things that we have before seen) going from the pockets of the people into those of the clergy.

51. Here, again, we have another effect of the Protestant "Reformation." Before that event there was no Civil List. Poor-rates, Civil List, Queen Anne's Bounty, Septennial Bill, NATIONAL DEBT; all, yea all, are the fruit of the event called "the Reformation;" and, though the rest might, or may be overcome, THE DEBT CANNOT, without making a change in that Protestant church, to establish which on the ruins of the Catholic church, the debt was made! All history, though full of instances of retribution, does not I verily believe, throughout its thousands of volumes, furnish us with one so complete, so striking, and reading to mankind so tremendous a lesson as this. Here, at this moment, is England, famed, during fifty ages, for her liberties and her laws; but, still more famed for the happiness of her people, and the plenty in which they lived; here she is and here she has been for years, avowedly in deep distress, engaged in contrivances for getting rid of her people, who are petitioning to be transported from their native land, in the hope of mending their miserable lot!

Here she is covered with the disgrace of ten times the jail-room that was formerly necessary, and with that of a regulation, which allots to the convicted felon in her jails more and better food and raiment than to the honest labouring man in her woods and fields! And, what is the cause of this? The Debt is the sole cause; for that renders monstrous taxes necessary; they render a great standing army necessary; so that it is the Debt, and that alone, which has made England the most degraded and miserable of countries, Ireland always excepted. And what caused the Debt? An act of Parliament for the making of loans and paper-money. And for what were loans and paper-money made? Why, the very act itself declares, that they were made for the purposes of waging a war, in order "to keep out Popery, and to preserve the Protestant church as by law established;" so that the Debt is an invention and institution as purely Protestant as half-pay parsons are, or as is the tread-mill itself. And, at last, that Debt, that Protestant Debt which was created for the declared, nay, the boasted, purpose of preserving this church, now threatens this very church with destruction; now fixes its eyes on the property of that church as the first thing to fly to in case of necessity; and that such necessity will and must arise, and is even now at hand, where is the man of sense who does not believe? And, where is the just man who will not say, that those who have lent their money for the waging of wars to "keep out Popery," ought not to be bilked of one farthing of their demand, while there is left to the Protestant clergy a single ear of wheat, or a single blade of grass?

53. Here I conclude. I have (in the first volume) given a history of the manner in which church-property had been dealt with heretofore. In this second volume I give an account of the property, show the worth of it, and who has it. In this INTRODUCTION I have endeavoured to show, that it is just and reasonable that the immense mass which still continues to be public property ought to be dealt with again, and legally

applied to purposes really public; and, as a reward for all the labour I have bestowed, I am quite satisfied, with the firm belief that the day is not far off when the knowledge that I have communicated, and when the principles that I have taught, relative to this great subject, will be adopted by persons in authority, and acted upon to their full extent.

Here I had signed my name, and was about to put the date. It was on its way from my mind to my hand, when I stopped my hand all at once, and exclaimed, "Good God! the ninth of July! the anniversary of my sentence of two years' imprisonment in a felon's jail, with a fine of a thousand pounds to the King, and, at the end of the two years, with seven years' bail, myself in three thousand pounds and two sureties in a thousand pounds each; and all this monstrous punishment for having expressed my indignation at Englishmen having been flogged, in the heart of England, under a guard of German troops! Good God!" exclaimed I again; "What! am I, on the anniversary of that day, which called forth the exultation of the Hampshire parsons, who (though I had never committed any offence, in private life, against any one of them) crowed out aloud, in the fulness of their joy, 'Ha! he's gone for ever! He will never trouble us any more!' and who, in a spirit truly characteristic of their corps, actually had, as a standing toast, 'Disgrace to the Memory of Cobbett.'—What!" exclaimed I again, "and am I, on the anniversary of that very day, putting the finishing hand; yea, sending from under my fingers to the press, the last, the very last, words, the completing words, the closing point, of a work which does the Job for them and for all their tribe; of the former part of which work, I, myself, have sold forty thousand copies, containing six hundred and forty thousand Numbers; and which work is now sold in English, in two stereotyped editions in the United States of America; which

"work has been published at Madrid and at New York in *Spanish*, at Paris, Geneva and Alost in *French*, at Cologne in *German*, and at Rome in *Italian*; and all this took place just about sixteen years after these Hampshire parsons had taken for a standing toast, 'Disgrace to the Memory of Cobbett!'" And, then, feeling health and vigour in every vein and in every nerve; seeing, lying before me, manuscript (equal to twenty pages of print) written by me this very day; knowing the effects which in the end that manuscript must have on these parsons, and the great good that it must do to the nation; reflecting, feeling, seeing, knowing, thus it is that I, in justice to our pious, sincere, brave, and wise forefathers, and in compassion to my suffering countrymen, and to the children of us all, send this little volume forth to the world.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 9th July, 1827.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

February 28.

IRISH TITHES.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM said he did not wish to raise a discussion of explanation relative to the intended measure of Government on the subject of tithes in Ireland, given by two members of the Administration, between whose statements no slight discrepancy prevailed, but he wished to remind the noble Earl that Ireland was in the most disastrous condition, and that the sooner whatever measure he had to produce was matured the better. At the same time he desired to know when the proposed measure was likely to come before the House.

Earl GREY—My Lords, all I can say, in answer to the question of the noble Duke, is, that the measure on which his Majesty's Government have agreed is in a forward state; but as the noble Duke knows that it must originate in the other House, some little time must elapse before it can be laid on your Lordships' table. My Lords, I am aware of unhappy circumstances which at present affect a part of Ireland, and I am most anxious to apply a remedy, but I must say the difficulties under which that country labours have not been produced by us—they have existed under previous Administrations, and our predecessors were unable to provide a remedy for them. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, my Lords, it is too much to expect from his Majesty's present Government, considering the short time we

have been in office, that questions which have so long agitated the country should be brought to an immediate and satisfactory conclusion. (Hear, hear.) It is true that I feel with the noble Duke the necessity and the importance of providing peace for Ireland, and our object is to settle one question at least in such a manner as will conduce to the safety of the country and the maintenance of all its institutions. The report of the committee to which the question of tithes has been referred will be presented without delay, and we hope soon to follow it with such a measure as will place the great interests of the country on a proper and settled basis. (Hear, hear.)

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said that the evidence taken before the committee had not been communicated to the other House, and, therefore, it was impossible that the measure to be founded upon such evidence could be introduced yet for a few days.

The Duke of WELLINGTON—My Lords, I have not had an opportunity—I have in a manner evaded the having the opportunity—and I have, up to this time, avoided saying one word on the subject of tithes. (Hear.) It was not, my Lords, my intention to deliver one word on that question until the noble Earl brought forward the measure which he said was in contemplation, and which we all supposed was to originate in the report of the committee to whom so important a topic had been confided. (Hear.) But when I hear, my Lords, a noble Earl state that when the present Administration came into office it found all the difficulties now prevailing in Ireland in active existence, and that no measure had been adopted by any previous Government to remove them, I, who have belonged to previous Administrations, and who was a member of that Government to which the noble Earl succeeded—I cannot, I say, sit by and listen to such assertions without giving a direct contradiction to them. (Cheers.) I cannot refrain from stating the fact, that until the period when the noble Earl took on himself the management of affairs, we never heard of disturbances on account of tithes since the time that the Composition Act, which had been brought into the other House by an honourable friend and colleague of mine, put an end to all difficulties on that subject. (Hear, hear.) And as a proof that I am stating nothing but the fact, so far as the effects of the bill are concerned, I can prove to your Lordships that more than two-thirds of the whole value of the livings in Ireland are governed by the Composition Act. (Hear.) What, my Lords, is the cause of the present state of the tithe question? Why is it that the clergy in Ireland are unable to collect their rights? And why is it that the attention of this House is called, not to consider a measure brought forward on the responsibility of his Majesty's Government, but to consider the subject of tithes as a new question? (Hear.) My Lords, I think I can tell you. It is, my Lords, the encouragement given to agitation throughout

that country. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") That is the true cause of the difficulties under which Ireland at present labours, and I will tell the noble Earl that, as long as that agitation is permitted to continue, he may double and triple the army in it—he may resort to measures of severity, but I tell him it will be in vain; he must first put down that agitation. (Cheers.) A noble Baron the other night said, by way of compliment to the fair play of the people of Ireland, that they were willing to pay rents, and that they had no desire to deprive any man of his property. (Hear, hear.) But, my Lords, I wish to know what property is more secured by the law of the land than tithes? (Hear, hear.) It is a property to the preservation of which the King has sworn. (Hear.) It was not many months since the King swore to defend the properties and rights of the clergy. (Cheers.) Of the clergy, my Lords, above all other classes in the community. (Hear, hear.) My Lords, you will recollect that in the Acts of Parliament by which Dissenters from the church of England were admitted to the full participation of the benefits of the Constitution, an oath was introduced which was intended to secure the property of the church, including that of tithes. (Hear.) Therefore, I say, if there is any principle in our laws, it is one which applies to the possession of church-property, and above all to tithes. (Hear, hear.) I say it is a principle in the law that tithe, above all other property, shall be secure to the owner. (Hear, hear.) I beg your Lordships to understand that I am perfectly aware of all the difficulties which attend the settlement of Ireland at present. (Hear.) I was prepared, and I am prepared, my Lords, to support any fair measure calculated to allay the distractions in that country. (Cheers.) I am ready to support the proposition of the noble Earl. (Cheers.) And to give any little interest which I may be supposed to command to prevent an opposition to it. (Cheers.) But I could not bear it stated that the distractions of Ireland were to be attributed to the Administration with which I was connected, while I know that we did every thing to pacify the country, and to relieve it from the sources of those dissensions which had so long disfigured and disgraced it.— (Hear, hear.)

Earl Grey.—I should certainly, my Lords, at all times be much gratified by the support which the noble Duke may be pleased to give to any measure of his Majesty's Government; but I anxiously hope it will be given in a temper different from that in which the noble Duke has now addressed your Lordships.— (Hear, hear.) I do not think, my Lords, that anything that fell from me was calculated to provoke that warmth. The noble Duke accused me of having charged his Administration with the maintenance of the disturbed state of Ireland; but while the noble Duke was speaking I endeavoured to call to mind the exact words I said, and I think that what I uttered is to this purpose: that the difficulties which

we on coming into office found, had long accumulated under preceding Governments, and that none, including that of the noble Duke, had been able to find a satisfactory remedy for them. (Hear, hear.) I did not say, my Lords, that no attempts had been made to find the remedy, nor did I charge the Administration of the noble Duke with the neglecting having essayed to pacify that country. (Hear.) It is true, I did not allude to the Tithes Composition Act at all. That was passed in 1823, and promised for a time to be successful; but I ask the noble Lords well acquainted with the state of Ireland if that Act has not long since ceased to work beneficially, and if the omission by the House of Commons of the compulsory clause has not produced discontent in many places, and been the main feature of the opposition which has since become so alarming? (Hear, hear.) That the opposition to the collection of tithes has been more systematic and violent since the period of 1830, when we came into office, I am willing to admit, but I say it originated in causes with which we have nothing to do. (Hear, hear.) The noble and learned Lord opposite (the Earl of Eldon) may shake his head, and try to throw the blame on the present Administration, but with every respect to that noble and venerable Lord, I must repeat that the opposition to the collection of tithes arose from causes over which we had no control, and with which, as I said before, we had nothing to do. (Hear, hear.) The question of tithes in Ireland, has ever distracted that country, and it was a source of baleful dissension in it long before either the noble Duke or I were born. (Hear, hear.) It has been a stumbling-block to every Administration, and successive statesmen have in turn directed their attention to it. How various have been the acts of Parliament which were made to regulate the tithes of agistment, and to maintain the collection of them generally, until the Composition Act was introduced by the Administration of the noble Duke; but how signal has been the failure of them all! (Hear.) We have done everything in our power to protect the rights of the church. We have interfered with force when we were called upon to act, and where it was possible to use it, there being many cases which defied the application of force (hear); and we now seek by a change of system to support that property, on the maintenance of which the noble Duke has so warmly declaimed, and which I have, with equal sincerity, always supported. (Hear.) The preservation of the settled institutions of the country has been the constant principle of my conduct, and I hope, my Lords, you will do me the justice to believe that it will continue to be. (Hear, hear.) The noble Duke has said that I may double and triple the army in Ireland, and load the country with measures of severity—as if I had any such intentions in view—but that I might do so in vain as long as encouragement was given to agitation. (Hear,

hear.) This, my Lords, is a serious charge. (Hear, hear.) It is a charge against the Government of the country, nothing less than that of encouraging those agitators whose views are directed against the public peace and the safety of the state. (Hear.) My Lords, after such a charge, I have a right to call on the noble Duke for an explanation (cheers), or for a specific accusation. (Hear.) In what way, my Lords, have the Government given encouragement to agitation? (Hear.) I contradict it as flatly as the noble Duke has contradicted what I asserted. I contradict, my Lords, as flatly as words can, the truth of the statement (hear, hear); and I deny that any encouragement has been given to agitation. (Cheers.) My Lords, I would have put down by lenient measures, if possible, but by force, if it was necessary; and it is my opinion that the application of force will not be the less powerful if conciliation be first tried. (Hear, hear.) My Lords, I will not shrink from the performance of my duty; and when so serious a charge as that of the encouragement of agitation in Ireland be brought forward against his Majesty's Government, I think we have a right to call on the noble Duke to state the grounds on which he makes it. (Cheers.)

The Duke of WELLINGTON—My Lords, I never have made, I never will make, a charge which I am not ready to repeat, and able to substantiate. (Hear, hear.) Some months ago, I beg leave to remind your Lordships, I suggested to the noble Earl, that an act of Parliament, which had been passed for the purpose of putting an end to agitation in Ireland, was about to expire, and I asked him if he intended to propose the renewal of it. (Hear, hear.) The noble Earl replied that he did; but, my Lords, you will recollect that Parliament was dissolved without any further notice of the act, and, of course, it expired. (Hear.) The consequence of it was, that the noble Earl stated in the House, when it met again, that the noble Marquis at the head of the Irish administration felt that he could carry on his government without any additional powers; and the result of the noble Earl having declined to apply to the Legislature for any authority beyond the existing laws was, that agitation began, and that meeting after meeting had been held from that time to the present moment. (Hear, hear.) This is not all, my Lords; the great agitator of all escaped the execution of the sentence of the law in consequence of the expiration of the act of parliament to which I have referred. (Hear, hear.) Well, my Lords, what happened after this? The great agitator, upon whom the bestowling of honours might be supposed to act as the encouragement of agitation, was selected as a person worthy of the favour of the Crown; and the great agitator received the highest favour which any gentleman of the Bar ever received from the hands of the noble Earl and his Government. (Hear, hear.) He received a patent of precedence, which placed

him next the Attorney-General, and above a gentleman who was once Attorney-General, but was still a member of the same bar. (Hear, hear.) If this is not encouragement to that gentleman to agitate, I don't know what other mode can be found to encourage agitation. (Hear, hear.) But it is not alone in this respect that his Majesty's Government has encouraged agitation. (Hear, hear.) And he would ask what was the meaning of the friends of Government taking the course they had done out of doors with respect to the Reform Bill? What was the meaning of the letter of a noble Lord in another house—a letter addressed to the Political Union of Birmingham, in which that noble Lord designated the sentiments of noble peers on this side of the house as the "whisper of a faction?" (Hear, hear.) What was the meaning of two friends of Government collecting a mob in Hyde-park and the Regent's-park, on one of the days in which the House of Lords was discussing the Reform Bill? What was the meaning of these individuals directing the line of march of the assembled multitude?—and what the meaning of the publications in the Government newspapers, libelling and maligning all those who opposed the bill? What was the meaning of all these deeds being allowed by Government, unless they were the encouragers and abettors of agitation? I don't accuse the noble Earl of instigating these mobs—I do not mean to say that he was delighted at seeing my house destroyed, or any other work of destruction committed; but I say some of his colleagues, and some of the friends of Government, have encouraged and incited the people to works of violence. I must say I have long felt this subject strongly. I find the country is in a most dangerous state. (Hear, hear.) I find the country is in a most dangerous state, on account of Government not taking the proper measures to put a stop to confusion and agitation; and, on the contrary, in place of putting a stop to such scenes, allowing some lords of his Majesty's household to encourage and instigate the people to lawless acts. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of ELDON next addressed the House, but in such a low tone of voice that a great part of what he said was entirely lost; at the conclusion too, of some of his observations, he struck a box on the table with such violence that the meaning of the sentence was entirely lost. With regard to England and Ireland, he must say that he was bound to blame Government, not only for neglecting to bring forward measures for putting down agitation, but for neglecting to carry the common law into effect. For his part he was inclined to think that the non-exercise of the common law and the statutes in existence had caused all the misery which now overwhelmed the country. Associations—criminal associations, existed; and he begged to know, when such associations had sprung up in so many quarters, how it happened that the common law was not applied to the originators and

supporters of such associations, and why they were not brought to answer for their deeds? He had read speeches from the Irish papers attributed to the individual alluded to by the noble Duke, and he would say, without fear of contradiction, that if these speeches were truly given, the Irish Government, who had winked at them, ought to be called upon to answer at the bar of the House for not applying the common law to a breach of the law. (Hear.) The country had now come to a situation when he was entitled to ask whether any Government existed or not? It would not be proper at the present moment to discuss, or even advert, to the Reform Bill, further than by making one observation. He was as loyal as any subject of his Majesty;—no man could be more loyal than he had been to the late king's father—to the late king, and to his present Majesty; and he had, therefore, in a conversation with an illustrious brother of his present Majesty, taken the liberty to declare, on his soul and conscience, that, if the Reform Bill passed, in the course of ten years not one of the family of the House of Hanover would be on the throne. (Hear, hear.) With reference to the tithes, he would declare that, in some of the petitions presented against tithes the other night, it was his firm opinion that these petitions were directed not against tithes, but against the clergy, for not one word was said against the tithes of the lay-impropriators. If such was the fact, and he believed it could not be denied, it was evident that the object of these associations was to put down the Irish church. He was now an old man, and had been an attentive observer of passing events, and was distressed to find that the same individuals who in 1790, 1791, and 1792, were endeavouring to convert Ireland into a scene of confusion, and separate it from England, were now actually engaged in a similar plan. (The noble Lord here made some observations about prosecutions instituted forty years ago, and the unwillingness of juries at first to convict; but the manner in which he spoke renders it impossible to give even a guess at what conclusion he meant to come.)

The Bishop of CHICHESTER said that, but for the observations of the noble and learned Lord, he should not have thought it necessary to make any observation or give any explanation relative to the letter in question, and he would first of all say that, though differing from the noble Lord in other points, he must concur with him in expressing his strong disapprobation of the conduct of some to whom he had alluded. With regard to the expression in the letter, he would only say that he did not apply the terms "factious and ignorant" to any individuals; he applied them only in a general sense, and stated that if the House of Lords did again reject the bill in the same way that it had been rejected last session, the constitution provided a remedy for further opposition. (Cheers from the ministerial side, and re-echoed from the opposition.) He would not pretend to dispute

with the noble and learned Lord on the law or constitution of the country; but he thought, when a factious opposition has been made to any constitutional measure in the Upper House, there was a remedy provided by the constitution of the country to defeat it, in the same way as the King had a remedy against factious opposition in the Commons. When the measures of the other House are calculated to disturb the Government, the King has the power of putting an end to such measures by dissolving Parliament, and the King, in like manner, is armed with power to defeat an opposition, when that opposition is at total variance with the best interests of the country. (Cheers.) He would, however, beg the noble and learned Lord to read the letter again, and he would find that the words were meant to apply only to factious opposition, and that it was meant that such a measure should be resorted to only in case of such an opposition, and in order to prevent the recurrence of such violent and tumultuous proceedings which had disgraced the country. He must at the same time say that he wrote the letter in a hurry, and not for publication; that he was earnestly requested to allow it to be published, and he did not like to refuse to publish what were his real sentiments. Had he taken more time to write it, he would probably have guarded against that misconception which the noble and learned Lord seemed to entertain with regard to it.

Viscount MELBOURNE said he would not follow the noble and learned Lord through the topics on which he had touched, but he would confine himself chiefly to the charge brought against his noble Friend and himself. The noble Duke had made several observations which applied to the department which he filled, and he could not, therefore, pass over them without attempting to say something in his defence. The first charge was that the Proclamation Act had not been renewed on its expiration; but why make such an outcry about that act, when the noble and learned Lord opposite laid it down as a thing undoubted that the act was to have no effect? (Cheers.) He told the House that it was nothing but an object of ridicule and derision. It was necessary, however, to bear in mind that the Government was not answerable for the expiration of the act. The act expired on the dissolution of Parliament, and, unless they were to be accused for advising the dissolution, he could not see how they could be accused of causing a result which necessarily flowed from it, and which, in fact, was only accessory to it. (Hear, hear.) As no charge had ever been brought forward against that measure, he must conclude that no censure was imputed to Government on that account; for if the noble Duke had thought Ministers were to blame on that account, he had no doubt that he would have brought forward more freely and openly a charge to that effect. With regard to the renewal of the Proclamation Act, he would appeal to the agitation in Ireland,

and ask whether that act would in the slightest degree diminish the resistance made to tithes? (Hear.) He utterly denied that it would have the smallest effect in destroying the opposition to the collection of tithes, which had not sprung up yesterday, but which had been going on for many years. The next charge was that a favour had been conferred on Mr. O'Connell. It was thought a great injustice that a silk gown should be given to a gentleman who, from his station and practice, and knowledge of the law, was well entitled to it. If the question were put to the Irish bench, he had not the smallest doubt that they would answer in the affirmative. He did not at all take into account the political opposition of that individual, for he did not think that ought to have any influence in granting a reward for professional knowledge and ability. (Hear.) For his part he could see nothing in the conduct of the learned gentleman which could exclude him from the patent of precedence which he had received. The noble Duke had also blamed Government for words used by his noble colleague. He did not recollect the exact words, and was inclined to think that the noble Duke had not quoted them correctly. Even admitting they were correctly quoted, there was nothing new in the phrase. The whisper of a faction was merely applied to political opposition. Both in the House and out of the House such terms were frequently used. It was no new thing to have recourse to such sparring. It was, in fact, if he might use the expression, the common slang applied to opposition, and he thought it was unfair to lay much stress on it. He certainly did not consider the noble Duke entitled to bring it forward in the serious way in which he had brought it. Another charge was that two friends of Government had directed the march of the multitude who had assembled at Hyde-park; but Government surely were not to be called to account, or be answerable for the conduct of all their friends. At the same time he did not see in what respect their conduct was faulty, and what was the grievous offence in pointing out the line of march. But what did the noble Duke mean by publications in the Government newspapers? (Hear, hear.) Did the noble Duke mean the *Gazettes*? (Laughter.) That was the only Government newspaper; and he was not aware that the publication complained of had appeared in that paper. It was too bad to make Government not only responsible for the conduct of their friends, but for the conduct of newspapers which sometimes advocated their cause, and also for the insertion of advertisements. (Hear, hear.) No one could regret more than he did the injury done to the house of the noble Duke, and he must express his hope and belief that the noble Duke in imputing any blame to Government for such an occurrence had done it hastily, and without due consideration.

The Duke of WELLINGTON gave the noble Viscount credit for doing what he could to

prevent the injury done to his property. What he had complained of, however, was, that two persons in the employ of Government had taken an active part at the meeting. (Name, name.) He would not name, but what he stated was sufficiently well known. The noble Earl said the Proclamation Act had expired with the Parliament, and that therefore Government was not to blame for not enforcing it against the individual in question. It ought to be recollected, however, that the hon. Gentleman had been convicted of several offences, and had not been brought up for judgment till Parliament was prorogued. He did not blame Government for conferring favours for professional merit, but he blamed them for the course they had pursued when the individual in question had been convicted of legal offences.

Earl GREY said he obtruded himself again on the House with great reluctance, and the more so as the discussion which had been going on for two hours was so irregular. He was forced, however, to the subject, as the noble Duke had made a serious charge against him and the Government. He had called upon the noble Duke to state the grounds of the charge, and in fact no grounds had been stated. The noble Duke charged them with taking part with agitators, and encouraging persons to disturb the peace of the country, and infringe the laws. The charge had been denied, and no proofs had been adduced. The noble Duke said he did not mean to assert that the Government had actually lent their assistance to agitators—did not blame them so much for encouragement as for neglect. Now with respect to neglect, that had been so well answered by his noble Friend the Secretary of the Home Department, that it would not be necessary for him to detain their Lordships on that point. The first charge was that of allowing the Proclamation Act to expire; but that, as had been said by his noble Friend, expired with Parliament. He did not know if Government could have acted otherwise than they had done. With regard to carrying the conviction into effect, Government had taken the best legal advice, and the opinion of council was, that the persons convicted could not be legally brought up for judgment. The charge of encouraging or winking at agitation was most unfounded. The common law enforced by the Government of Ireland in some of the disturbed districts was most successful. In the county of Clare, where there had been an open insurrection, a Special Commission had been appointed to try the offenders. Many of the unfortunate individuals had been convicted, and some of them had paid the penalty of their lives, and others had been banished from their country for ever (hear), and that part of the kingdom had been restored to tranquillity. So much for Government neglecting to carry the common law into effect. But the strongest proof of encouragement was, the fact that Government had given a silk gown to an individual

who had been convicted of legal offences; but the noble Duke must be aware that it was no new thing for persons convicted of legal offences being appointed to situations and receiving favours from Government. It would be necessary for him to mention only Sir Richard Steele and Dean Swift. He thought it would be most unjust, for such offences, to exclude persons from all the advantages and honours to which they were otherwise entitled. He had no hesitation, however, in saying, that at the time the patent of precedence was given, agitation had subsided, and he hoped Mr. O'Connell would have been disposed to join with Government in pursuing a conciliatory course. For these reasons he had thought it advisable that the learned Gentleman should not be excluded from those honours to which his character as a lawyer and his legal ability certainly entitled him. (Hear.) He must say, however, that in his anticipations he had been grievously disappointed. (Hear.) The noble Duke might take what advantage he chose of the measure; but that certainly should not make him regret, taking the circumstances altogether, the measures he had resorted to. As to the charge of encouraging agitation, or winking at the disturbances which had unfortunately broken out in some parts of Ireland, he must utterly deny it. The assistance of Government had been given in every instance when it could be given, and, in fact, the military had been employed in many cases in a way in which they had never been employed before. The noble Duke had next blamed Government for a letter of thanks which had been written by his noble Friend. The phrase complained of was, perhaps, imprudently expressed; but he should like if the noble Duke would point out the means of controlling the imprudent zeal of friends. He could answer for his own conduct, but he thought it was too much to make him answerable for all the letters and private opinions of others. The truth of the noble Duke's assertion, then, he altogether denied, and, he must add, that one more unfounded, advanced in support of a more serious charge, he (Lord Grey) never remembered to have heard introduced in any debate. He (Lord Grey) professed to have no control whatever over the friends to whom the noble Duke had alluded (hear, hear); and if the noble Duke, when at the head of the Government, possessed any control over such friends, he was undoubtedly much more fortunate than himself. Indeed, the noble Duke, if he had read many of the articles which had appeared in the newspapers that he had termed Government newspapers—which were undoubtedly conducted with great ability—often contained many excellent articles, and much useful information, but which did not always exhibit the most friendly spirit towards him (Lord Grey), or the Government of which he was a member; if the noble Duke, he said, had read many of the articles which had appeared in those newspapers, he thought that

the noble Duke would no longer term them Government newspapers, if by the word "government" he meant that Ministers exercised any control over them. (Hear, hear.) Such were the charges of the noble Duke, and such were the answers which he (Lord Grey) begged to give to them. Agitation had been resisted and put down wherever it could be put down. He now begged to be allowed to say a few words in answer to what had fallen from the noble Earl opposite. In the observations which he was about to make, the noble Duke might, perhaps, suppose that he (Lord Grey) availed himself of an opportunity to attack the conduct of the Government during his (the Duke of Wellington's) administration. He begged the noble Duke to believe that he intended no such thing; his observations would be directed only to a vindication of himself. The present Government had been accused of allowing the spirit of faction to proceed, and illegal associations to be formed, without any attempt to put them down. He (Lord Grey) asserted that these evils were in existence, and rapidly advancing towards maturity, before he and his colleagues came into office. (Hear, hear.) Political unions were formed in the January previous to his becoming a minister of the Crown; but he never heard of any measures, on the part of the then-existing government, to put them down. (Hear, hear.) The Trades Union, which had created the greatest alarm in the manufacturing districts, were in existence before the noble Duke retired; and when he (Lord Grey) and his colleagues came into office, all that they found upon the subject was, a recommendation from the Secretary of State to the Government to give the matter its serious consideration. At that time, up to the metropolis, aye, even to the gates of the city itself, the country was in a state almost of open insurrection. The most destructive fires were of nightly occurrence; agricultural property was no where safe; a lawless mob traversed extensive districts, committing the greatest ravages;—yet nothing was done. (Hear, hear.) When the noble and learned Lord, therefore, said that the powers of the law had not been exercised, let him (Lord Grey) say that not an hour elapsed after he came into office before legal commissions were sent down into the disturbed districts—the civil force was increased, the army augmented, in short, everything done that it was possible for a Government under such circumstances to do. Their exertions were successful. Riot was stayed—tranquillity restored. Then he (Lord Grey) asserted that the accusations which had that night been brought against the Government were unfounded. (Hear, hear.) It had done everything in its power to advance the prosperity of the people, and to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the country. With respect to the disturbances which occurred in the metropolis after the rejection of the Reform Bill, he (Lord Grey) could say no more than that he sincerely regretted them. But he appealed

to his noble friend the Home Secretary, near him, and to the noble Lord, the Commander-in-Chief, who was present, to say whether every attention was not paid by the Government to the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the metropolis, and whether special orders were not given to protect the mansion of the noble Duke from any assault which the populace in a misguided moment might be tempted to make upon it. But said the noble and learned Lord, "there has been no prosecution for libels." The noble and learned Lord was mistaken. There were papers at this moment in Ireland under prosecution for libels. But surely it was strange that the noble and learned Lord should complain of a lack of prosecutions for libel, since no man had maintained more stoutly than the noble and learned Lord himself, the difficulty of successfully proceeding with prosecutions of that kind. It was easy for any noble lord sitting in that House to say that such and such a paragraph in a newspaper was libellous, and that the publishers ought to be prosecuted; but it was quite a different thing to carry such a prosecution into effect. In such cases it is, frequently, if not generally, impossible to obtain the evidence necessary to render the prosecution effectual. When the noble and learned Lord considered this, he (Lord Grey) thought he must at once acknowledge that it was a difficult matter to say whether a newspaper, although containing objectionable matter, should be prosecuted or not. But then it was said that libellous speeches had been published. He (Lord Grey) must be allowed to say that libellous speeches had not been confined to one side. If they had been published by the one party, so had they by the other. But to make them the grounds of prosecutions was generally inexpedient, because it was always extremely difficult to obtain evidence that would prove such offences to conviction. He believed that he had thus answered all the points of the noble Duke's as well as the noble and learned Earl's speech. If the speeches of those noble individuals had, for a moment, been the cause of pain to him, that pain was now removed, and his mind completely relieved of the apprehension that any reasonable man in the country could believe that he had been guilty either of active encouragement to improper proceedings, or of any negligence in the checking of them. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of Roden thought that the noble Duke had stated only what was the fact when he said that the Government had given active encouragement to agitation. If it were then asked who was the great agitator in Ireland, would not every one of their lordships answer, in plain terms, "Mr. O'Connell?" If that were so, was it not a fact that the Government had raised Mr. O'Connell to the highest position to which they could raise him in the exercise of the profession to which he belonged? That fact could not be denied. Then, he (Lord Roden) maintained

that Mr. O'Connell, being an agitator, had received encouragement from the Government. (Hear, hear.) The noble Earl at the head of the Government had stated, in plain terms, that the object of Ministers, in thus elevating Mr. O'Connell, was to prevent him from continuing longer a course of proceeding which was objectionable to them. In point of fact, that was to say that the Government had given Mr. O'Connell a bribe to induce him to relinquish a course which he (Mr. O'Connell) professed to believe it was his duty to pursue. He (Lord Roden) was not a defender of Mr. O'Connell. He had been ever opposed to that gentleman. He knew him not personally, but only in his popular, and as he considered, mischievous character. But he (Lord Roden) must say, that he respected the hostility of Mr. O'Connell, which was open, fair, and undisguised, rather than the cold and hollow pledges of those who professed to be the friends of the Protestants of Ireland. When he stated this, he could not but bear in mind the conduct of Mr. O'Connell to himself, in days that were gone by, and considered it to be unmanly and unfair. That, however, being a matter only personal to himself, he could forgive; but he could not forget that Mr. O'Connell was, to this day, the greatest enemy of the Protestant interests in Ireland. But his opposition was open and manly; and he (Lord R.) respected him for it. He (Lord R.) had always been friendly to the Protestant interests of Ireland, and while he lived he would ever support them. As much time had been consumed in the present discussion, he should postpone the motion of which he had given notice, and which he had intended to have submitted to their Lordships' attention that evening, until to-morrow (29th February).

Lord PLUNKETT said that, connected as he was with the administration of justice in Ireland, he was sure their Lordships would excuse him if, after the observations of the noble and learned Lord opposite, he ventured to address a very few words to them. The noble Lord who had just sat down had declared that, after the discussion which had taken place, he should not bring forward the motion of which he had given notice until to-morrow. The noble Lord would excuse him if he stated that the only effect of the discussion of that night would be to hold out to the people of the country that those who composed the existing Government, were the enemies of the Protestant interest in Ireland. Whether such a discussion was calculated to calm the discontents of Ireland—whether it was likely to restore tranquillity to that unhappy country—whether any good object, religious or political, could arise from it, he (Lord Plunkett) must leave to the consideration of the noble Lords who had considered it consistent with their duty to pursue such a course. Much had been said of the agitators of Ireland. Who were they? Not half so much had the spirit of opposition been kindled in Ireland by its mob

orators as by the declarations of persons standing high in the country, who could not be expected to make light or frivolous accusations, or to sacrifice or pervert the truth for the love of popularity and applause. He had been led to say this most particularly by two allusions which had been made in the course of the present debate—one by the noble Duke, and the other by the noble and learned Lord opposite. With respect to what had been said of Mr. O'Connell, and of the termination of the prosecution commenced against him some time since, he (Lord Plunkett) did not conceive it necessary for him to add one word to what had been said by his two noble Friends who sat near him. But he must take the liberty of saying that Mr. O'Connell had not been legally convicted of any offence. He would say further, that Mr. O'Connell had not by the verdict of a jury been found guilty of any offence. The exact legal situation of that Gentleman was this:—he suffered judgment to go by default on sundry counts contained in the indictment preferred against him. Before the completion of the prosecution, the Act of Parliament under which it was commenced fell to the ground. Thus, by necessity, the matter was ended. The subject had been again and again alluded to in that House, and on every occasion he (Lord Plunkett) had given this explanation of it. He confessed, therefore, that he was surprised to hear any further allusion to it that evening. He maintained that Mr. O'Connell had not been convicted of any offence; and if the noble and learned Lord opposite still entertained any doubt upon the subject, and would make it the matter of a distinct motion in that House, he (Lord Plunkett) should be ready as a lawyer, to meet him upon it, and to show that, under the circumstances, final judgment could not have been obtained against Mr. O'Connell. With respect to the other point which had been advanced by the noble Lords opposite, he (Lord Plunkett), in unison with his noble Friends near him, must maintain that the Government would not be warranted in visiting on a person in his professional character the penalties due to his political errors. "But then," said the noble Duke, "Mr. O'Connell was legally convicted of an offence." He (Lord Plunkett) maintained that he was not, and that the Government were perfectly justified in the course which they pursued with respect to him. He was sure that noble Lords would not regard him (Lord Plunkett) as the advocate of Mr. O'Connell, or of any of the Irish agitators. There was not in that House any person who had been more the subject of obloquy and abuse from those persons than the humble individual who was then addressing their Lordships. He congratulated himself, however, that the best proof of worth, next to the good opinion of all good men, was the calumny of bad ones. (Hear, hear.) He defended the honours which had been bestowed upon Mr. O'Connell, upon the same grounds as his noble Friends who

had preceded him. He (Lord Plunkett) had fixed the Great Seal of Ireland to Mr. O'Connell's appointment, merely in consideration of his professional, and upon grounds perfectly distinct from his political, character or conduct. Persons upon whom a patent of precedence was conferred usually ranked next to the Attorney and Solicitor Generals; but it was not so in the case of Mr. O'Connell. He did not rank next after the Attorney or Solicitor-General, nor even after the first Sergeant. But he was allowed to rank next after the second Serjeant, because then he only came in in precedence to those who were not his seniors at the bar. That Mr. O'Connell was entitled to this, no man who had witnessed his conduct in court could for one moment doubt. He (Lord Plunkett) should have thought it a happy thing for the country if by any mark of kindness from the Government Mr. O'Connell could have been induced to have confined himself to his professional duties, and to have abandoned the reckless and mischievous political course which he had adopted. Unfortunately, however, that object had failed; and as events had since turned out, he (Lord Plunkett) could not but regret that the experiment had been tried. The noble Earl who last addressed the House spoke with considerable warmth against agitators. If he (Lord Plunkett) were asked who was an agitator, he should say a person who was in the habit of collecting large mobs of ignorant persons, and of addressing them in such loose and ambiguous, but still such artful and well-sounding words as were calculated to raise vague and groundless jealousies in their minds—(Hear, hear.) He should say that that man was an agitator who exclaimed to a vast multitude of persons of one particular form of faith, "Form a separate association of Protestants. God knows I mean no injury to the Roman Catholics, but there are a set of persons in the country who wish to overturn the Throne, and to destroy the Protestant interests; therefore, Protestant gentlemen, I call upon you to form a Protestant association for the purpose of performing those acts of loyalty which it is the duty of every good subject and sound Protestant to perform." He (Lord Plunkett) maintained that any person who collected ignorant assemblies, and addressed them in such ambiguous language—not ambiguous indeed, but violent language—ran a risk of exciting those passions of party which had already existed to so unfortunate an extent in Ireland, or, at all events, of preventing any effectual remedy from being applied to them. Mention had been made, in the course of the debate, of the resistance which had occurred to the payment of tithes in Ireland, and the noble Duke complained that the laws had not been duly administered in that country. The noble Duke had expressed his belief that the law was the same in Ireland as in Great Britain. Resistance to the payment of tithes was undoubtedly recognisable by the common law of Ireland. But it was one thing

for a noble Lord in that House to say that prosecutions should take place, and another, and a very different thing, to carry those prosecutions into effect. It must be remembered that there were such things as witnesses and jurors, and a public, before whom the trial must be brought. A thousand prosecutions might have been commenced; but to have obtained the necessary evidence to ensure conviction in any one would have been almost hopeless. He (Lord Plunkett) was not the public prosecutor in Ireland; but, filling the situation that he did, he had not been insensible to the resistance of the laws which had occurred in so many instances, with respect to the payment of tithes. He had communicated with the Attorney-General upon the subject, and had again and again considered with that learned Gentleman the feasibility of carrying on prosecutions. In no one instance did it occur to the acute and well-stored mind of the Attorney-General that prosecutions could successfully be made. If this statement were not satisfactory to the noble Lords opposite, he (Lord Plunkett) was willing that this test should be taken. Let the noble and learned Lord point out any one case in which he thought that a prosecution could be undertaken, and he (Lord Plunkett) felt satisfied that he should have little difficulty in convincing the noble and learned Lord that it was not a prosecution upon which he, as an old and experienced lawyer, would enter.

The Earl of RODEN said, that if the noble and learned Lord alluded to him, or to any Protestant meeting in Ireland, when he spoke of persons assembled for the purpose of agitation, he (Lord Roden) must beg leave to deny that he had ever made himself a party to anything in the shape of agitation. On the occasion to which he supposed the noble and learned Lord alluded, a meeting was assembled for what he conceived to be the constitutional purpose of addressing his Majesty, and of petitioning the Houses of Parliament for the removal of those grievances of which the Protestants of Ireland thought they had a right to complain. He (Lord Roden) had seen it asserted in a public print as coming from the mouth of a noble Lord that such meetings were lawless and senseless.

Lord PLUNKETT—If the noble Lord alludes to me, I beg to state that I never used those expressions.

The Earl of RODEN—I saw them in a public print, but if the noble Lord denies—

Lord PLUNKETT—I assure the noble Earl, that I did not use that language. On the occasion to which I suppose he is alluding, I said that I regretted the course which had been adopted by persons of high station in the country for the purpose of protecting the Protestant interests. And I certainly did say, that there was a great difference between the meetings of the factious agitators on the one hand, and the good Protestants on the other, because the first had some grievances to complain of, while the meetings of the latter seemed to be without sense or meaning.

The Earl of RODEN thought that the meetings of the Irish Protestants were plain and intelligible enough to those who would understand them, but there were none so deaf as those who would not hear. At all events, it would shortly be his (Lord Roden's) duty, to present to his Majesty an address signed by upwards of 230,000 Protestants, and adopted at a meeting, which to the noble and learned Lord, he supposed would have been quite unintelligible.

The Earl of GOSFORD said that he knew many Protestant gentlemen of Ireland—sensible men, and men of wealth and rank, and of the highest respectability—who had not attended at these meetings, and who dreaded the violence and extravagance of language there made use of. (Hear, hear.) He protested, therefore, against the assertion of the noble Earl, that these meetings were attended by all the wealth, knowledge, property, and respectability of the country. He declared that that was not the case, as would be shown perhaps on some future occasion; and if one-tenth part of what was said at these meetings was correctly given to the public, he thought it was the duty of every Christian to pause before he joined them. Some of the speakers at these meetings were not content with condemning measures and insinuating motives, but actually assigned a purpose which the proposers of these measures had in view, and declared that that purpose was the destruction of the Protestant interest, and the raising of Popery on its ruins. If people of talent, of wealth, of rank, and of influence in the country, would talk in that way, there could be no surprise that a strong prejudice was excited. He knew that many of those who had been present at these meetings had expressed their regret for the warmth of the expressions there used. He felt as warmly as any man in existence for the welfare of the Protestants in Ireland; but he could not see that their welfare was promoted by the violent expressions employed by some among their numbers.

Lord WICKLOW wished the noble Earl who had just sat down had been at a meeting which took place in the neighbourhood of the spot where he resided, and he would then have seen that the feelings he had just expressed would have been scouted at all such meetings. The noble and learned Lord opposite had called these meetings factious—he had called both sides factious, but had condemned one as dangerous and the other as senseless and impotent. It was a matter of regret that he should thus convert himself into a partisan. The noble and learned Lord saw he was attacked from all parts—in other words, that he was censured by all parties. That that censure was a proof of abuse or of malice was an erroneous opinion; but it was a proof that the Lord Chancellor ought not to be a political character. The late Chancellor, during all the political excitement in that country, was never the subject of attack or abuse, because he never mixed himself up with the troubles of Irish

politics. On the subject of the promotion of Mr. O'Connell, it was curious to observe how the noble Viscount and the noble Earl at the head of the Government contradicted each other. The noble Viscount said that the promotion was given solely on account of Mr. O'Connell's legal knowledge—the noble Earl's representation made it appear that it was given to influence Mr. O'Connell's opinions. How could these statements be reconciled with each other? As to the administration of the law in Ireland with a view to suppress agitation, he should mention two facts. He had been assured by a magistrate, that there was an Irish gentleman, a Member for a county, who addressed the people of his county to excite them to refuse the payment of tithes; the magistrate sent some persons to verify this fact, and then reported it to the Government, together with another recommendation of the same gentleman, that if the distrainers of tithes came they should attack them with sticks. The answer of the Government to the communication was, that the informants might themselves prosecute the person referred to. Another case was this:—There was an officer in his Majesty's service on half-pay, who had placed himself at the head of a large body of people. That fact had been communicated to the Government, who took no notice of it. If the noble Earl opposite doubted this, he would give his authority; but he objected to do it in this public manner at such a critical time as this. (Hear, hear, from the Treasury Bench.) He did not understand the meaning of that cheer from noble Lords opposite—they might be indifferent to the lives of people entrusted to their charge. (Order, order, order.) He had perhaps spoken in stronger terms than he ought. (Hear, hear.) The evil at present was, that the present Government were not thought favourable to tithes. He had before mentioned a motion made in 1824 by a member of the present Government. He had been called on to produce the proof. He had found it, and also another debate on the same subject in the preceding year. The resolution he had referred to was in these terms—"That the church-property was set aside by the State for the maintenance of the State religion, and that it was in the power of Parliament to apply it in any mode that was best calculated for the support of that religion." When that resolution was moved, the noble and learned Lord opposite had given it the character of desperation and folly. In the following year a motion was brought forward, declaring that "it was expedient to inquire whether the present charges of the church of Ireland were not more than commensurate with the duties performed, both in regard of the number of persons employed, and the emolument received by them." Among the names of the minority on that occasion, were those of Brougham, Ellis, Rice, and several others who now formed part of the Government. The efforts of these opponents of the church did not, however, then create

any alarm—they excited only the ridicule and scorn of the friends of the establishment, as they were met by the opposition of a vigorous Government. It was, in his opinion, the duty of the Government to say that they were determined to maintain the Established Church of the country. This the present Government had not done, and he blamed them for the omission. On the occasion to which he had referred, the noble and learned Lord opposite said he would not sail in the same vessel with the proposer of that motion and his friends; and now he was in the same vessel with them, and now it became his duty to guide the rudder, if rudder there was any, so as to save the vessel from destruction.

The Earl of Gosford explained.

Earl GAMBURGH had never said that the object of giving the patent of precedence to Mr. O'Connell was to influence him in favour of the Government. He had only said that giving it as he had done for professional eminence, he should have been glad if at the same time it had produced a conciliatory effect on Mr. O'Connell's mind. When the noble Earl said that the Government ought to make declarations with respect to the stability of the church, he forgot the King's speech, which was constitutionally to be considered as the speech of the Ministers, and in which that recommendation of the noble Earl had been anticipated. (Hear.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR apprehended, that if he began by stating that he should not occupy their Lordships' attention long, they would have a right, from their observation of the debate of to-night, to draw this conclusion, that he intended to speak at considerable length. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) He could, however, assure them, that he should only say a few words on what the noble Earl had now for the second time brought before the House. He had, he could truly say, with no personal disrespect to the noble Earl, dismissed the matter, once before mentioned, from his thoughts. He had entirely forgotten the terms of the motion when the noble Earl, on a former occasion, described it as tearing up by the roots, or pulling down (he forgot which) the established church of Ireland; but he was sure that the motion was nothing of the sort then described. He had told their Lordships so at the time, and he might appeal to them—nay, he might almost appeal to the noble Earl—whether his assertion had not been fully borne out. With the gentlemen with whom he had then been associated he had acted cordially. They might have been opposed to a vigorous Government—the noble Earl was pleased to say they were—but that they were the ridicule and scorn of that Government, he, from a constant uniform knowledge of the campaigns in which—for the rights of the people of England, for the rights of the people of Ireland, for the advantage of the established constitution itself—they had been engaged, he begged most solemnly to deny. (Cheers.) That they were ever ridiculed and scorned by any Ministry to which they were

ever opposed, he most humbly, but most confidently, in the presence of all around him, denied. (Hear, hear.) He had, however, lived to see an opposition in another place, of which he should say nothing but this—that, with the advantage of talents and of high names, they were pursuing a course of conduct most dangerous to the peace, prosperity, and stability of the Government and of the settled institutions of the country. How they carried on political warfare all might see, and he must say that, in all his observations of Parliamentary contests, he had never beheld more rancour, more political rancour, than he had seen displayed towards the present Government by the present opposition. (Cheers.)

The Earl of **ROSEN** disclaimed the use of personal attacks. He had not used the words scorn and ridicule in the manner imputed to him. He did not say that the opposition had been the scorn and ridicule of the Government, but of the friends of the church, when they saw that opposition met by a vigorous Government. As to the spirit of the opposition, it had been as bitter and malevolent in former times as any that now existed.

Lord **LORTON** was convinced that the present evils in Ireland arose from the system of concession, and till that was put an end to, there would be a war of interests in the country.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

ALLEN, J., Tiverton, Devonshire, druggist.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

JOHNSON, W., Manchester, innkeeper.

MINSHULL, W., Cholsey, Berks, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, J. and W., Barewise-mill, Halifax, cotton-spinners.

BARRY, J., Mincing-lane, wine-merchant.

BURTON, J. jun., Wakefield, Yorkshire, wool-stapler.

COLNAGHI, M. H. L. G., Cockspur-street, printseller.

COOK, T., Warminster, Wilts, gunsmith.

DAVENPORT, B., Dunster-court, Mincing-lane, merchant.

GEORGE, E. W., Wardrobe-place, Doctors'-commons, builder.

HARRISON, S., and F. H. Graham, Alfred-place, Newington-caneway, upholsterers.

HARTOP, J., Regent-st., dealer in British lace.

HUMPLEBY, W. H., Borough-market, Southwark, plumber.

LOTT, S. F., Eaſter, hatter.

NEWPORT, H., Bognor, Sussex, wine-mer.

SMART, R., Thornhill-Arms, Upper Southampton-street, Pentonville, victualler.

SMITH, S., Witney, Oxfordsh., bacon-curer.

STEEL, W. and J., Newcastle-under-Lyme, ironmongers.

STODART, F., J. B., and F. jun., Carlisle and Manchester, manufacturers.

WILSON, J., Leeds, linen-draper.

TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1832.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

HUGHES, E., E., and H., Manchester, cotton-spinners.

KEER, G. B. sen., Framlingham, Suffolk, common-brewer.

WAGSTAFF, J., Denton, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

MORRIS, S., and W. Harrison, Tottenham-court-road, linen-drappers.

OSBORN, J., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, ironmonger.

BANKRUPTS.

BARHAM, C., Devereux-court, Strand, hotel-keeper.

BISHOP, J. S., Birmingham, factor.

BOWER, W., Levenshulme, Lancashire, cotton spinner.

BROCKBANK, J. B., Manchester, slate-dealer.

CASEMENT, J., Toxteth park, Lancashire, painter.

CLARKE, G., Blackburn, Lancashire, miller.

COOKE, S., Manchester, timber-dealer.

DEANE, G., Newton, Lancashire, innkeeper.

DRESSER, J., Kensington, linen-draper.

FAWCETT, R., Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted-spinner.

FOWLER, E. N., New-road, St. George's-in-the-East, victualler.

GARFIT, J., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, wine and spirit-merchant.

GORDON, S., Liverpool, merchant.

JACKSON, J., and S. Jones, Chester, linen-drappers.

JEFFREYS, W., Shrewsbury, scrivener.

LONGSHAW, S. and T., Grappenhall, Cheshire, tanners.

MANNING, S. J., Surrey Canal-wharf, Old Kent-road, stomachic-bitters-manufacturer.

MAY, J., Great Yarmouth, victualler.

STEPHENSON, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship-owner.

WALL, G., Hillingdon-end, Middlesex, nurseryman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 5.—

In the course of last week the arrivals of all descriptions of grain were tolerably good, with a moderate supply of flour. The wind being contrary, the quantities of corn fresh up this morning are small.

The finest samples of wheat sold readily today, at the terms of this day se'nnight, but for all other qualities the trade has been very slack, at no alteration in prices.

Barley that is fit for fine malt sells freely at last quotations, but the middling qualities still find a very dull trade. Beans firmly maintain their last quotations. Boiling and grey peas

both experience a very dull sale, but with no alteration in value.

The prices of oats remain firm; there is, however, not much briskness in the trade. The slackness still continues in the flour trade, as Irish parcels are offering on very low terms.

Wheat	62s. to 64s.
Rye	36s. to 40s.
Barley	24s. to 28s.
— fine	34s. to 38s.
Pearl, White	32s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
— Grey	32s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	38s. to 42s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoes	25s. to 26s.
— Poland	17s. to 24s.
— Feed	15s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 48s. to 50s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... —s. to —s.	
Pork, India, new —s. 0d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new —s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 94s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 84s. to 96s.	
— Cork ... 90s. to 92s.	
— Limerick ... 90s. to 92s.	
— Waterford ... 78s. to 84s.	
— Dublin ... 80s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 56s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 60s. to 66s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 54s. to 58s.	
— Edam ... —s. to —s.	
— Gouda ... —s. to —s.	
Hams, Irish ... —s. to —s.	

SMITHFIELD.—March 5.

The price of beef since our last has been looking downward; and 4s. is quite the top of anything to-day, with a very heavy trade.

Although we have no alteration in the price of good sheep from last Monday, yet the dead trade, generally, is so bad, that buyers are very reluctant to comply with the salesmen's terms. Being on the eve of Lent makes, of course, some difference.

Veal is short, and not being much in demand, it is the turn lower.

Beasts, 2,576; sheep, 18,270; calves, 87; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 9.

The arrivals continue large for the season of the year. The market dull at Monday's prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½	

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. d.	
Colours	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth ...	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats	12 0
Figured Silk ditto	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets ..	1 10 0
Barogau ditto	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery	4 4 0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing, for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS; a New Agricultural and Trading NEWS-PAPER, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs and Markets to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; Quantity on hand, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of all men of business throughout the Empire.

N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns, and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Cornfactors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers, Newsmen, and Clerks of the Roads, throughout the Empire.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 75.—No. 12]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 17TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.



"Hampshire Parsons, I tell you that you will not have the tithes many years longer; and that I shall see you with salaries such as your founders gave to the Catholic priests when the tithes were taken from them! Mind, I tell you this. You now exult at what you deem my banishment for life. I shall return, Parsons; and I shall see you in a state very different from that in which I saw you in March last, when you thanked 'honourable House for dungeon-bill.'—*Register, Long Island, 5th July, 1817.*

TITHES.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Nottingham, 12th March, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

Look at the TITLE of this article; then look at the MOTTO; then think of my long and constant and strenuous LABOURS on the subject; and then look at what is now PASSING in the two Houses of Parliament! In the *last Register* you saw *all the law* as to this great matter. Keep that Register with great care: there you have an answer ready to give to any one who shall pretend that the nation has not a right to *resume* the tithes and all the other property now in the hands of the clergy and of the lay-impropriators. I am going to notice what has recently taken place in *Parliament*, which is of importance, because it lets us see the designs of the Ministers, and prepares us for counteracting those designs. But, before I enter on this matter, let me beg you always to bear in mind that

the *tithes*, as well as the *bishops' sees* and the *college-property*, and, in short, nearly all that is called *church-property*, are, in fact, THE PROPERTY OF THE ARISTOCRACY; that it is enjoyed by them, and is not used for the purposes of *charity or of religion*. When I was at LEEDS the other day, I found that the *great tithes of that parish* belonged to the Duke of DEVONSHIRE; those of BARNSELY I found to belong to the Duke of LEEDS. And thus it is over a very great part of the country. Those tithes which they do not actually collect themselves, they give to their sons, relations, and dependents, whom they make PARSONS, and then they make those parsons *magistrates!* I dare say, that there are several *single noblemen* who own, each of them, the *tithes of a hundred parishes!* Let this always be borne in mind; and if it be, we shall not be deceived by any of the crocodile cries about "the *poor* clergy." The "*poor*" clergy have no share in the tithes, or in any thing else. The people are *taxed* for their relief. They will *gain* by the abolition of tithes. So let the people not be deceived as to this matter.

The designs of the Ministers are pretty well depicted in the following REPORT. The report to the LORDS was inserted in my Register, dated at York, which I call the YORK REGISTER, and which contained matter most important, relative to this GRAND AFFAIR; for a grand affair it is; it involves the whole: compared with a bill for *extinguishing tithes*, I look on the *Reform Bill* as a mere nothing! Let us first take this report to the Commons, and read it with attention. It is called a *report of a committee*; but it is, as in all such cases, a statement on the part of the Ministers; it is *their* paper, and expresses *their* designs; and as such we must read it and consider it.

REPORT.

"The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland, and the state of the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon from time to time to the House, have considered the matter referred to them, and have agreed upon the following—their first Report:—

1. "In the prosecution of the inquiries of your committee into the very important subject which has been entrusted to them, evidence has been adduced to establish, beyond a doubt, the existence of an organized and systematic opposition to the payment of tithes in several parts of Ireland. In some instances it appears that this opposition has been accompanied and enforced by acts of violence; but in most it appears to have been effected by a species of passive resistance to the operations of the law, in which the inhabitants of whole parishes, some voluntarily, and some from intimidation, have been induced to join.

2. "The protection of the military and police, so far as it is authorised by the existing laws, appears to have been afforded to the clergy of the established church in their endeavours to enforce their legal rights; but your committee regret to be compelled to add, that while the assistance thus afforded has led to collisions with the peasantry, deeply to be lamented in their immediate as well as in their ulterior results, the object sought has been only very partially attained.

3. "Although, under warrants of distress, payment of the demand has been in some instances enforced, such cases bear a very small proportion to those in which the evasion of the law has been successful. The nature of the opposition given is such as to elude the mere application of physical force, so long as the law remains unaltered: and it appears that the clergy, unwilling to risk the effusion of blood in attempts, probably unavailing, to recover their dues,

have latterly so far acquiesced in the total cessation of their income, as to abstain from taking active steps, and to await with patience the decision of Parliament.

4. "In making, however, this temporary submission to the dictates of an imperious necessity, it is in evidence that many of them have been reduced to a state of the deepest pecuniary distress: and that more especially in the dioceses of Ossory and of Leighlin, in which the opposition to the payment of tithes commenced, and in that of Cashel, several clergymen, with large nominal incomes, are in actual want of the ordinary comforts of life.

5. "Your committee cannot but be of opinion that they should be wanting in the duty which they owe to the House, were they to postpone, till the final close of their inquiries, calling the attention of Parliament to the distressing circumstances in which a highly respectable class of men are placed by the success of the combination to deprive them of their legal income; and suggesting such temporary measures of relief as in their view appear calculated to meet the exigency of the case.

6. "But however strongly your committee might have been led to this conclusion by the circumstances to which they have already referred, they feel that there are other considerations connected with the same subject, which yet more imperiously press for the early attention of Parliament.

7. "Your committee are deeply impressed with the danger which must threaten the whole frame of society if a combination against legal impost be permitted ultimately to triumph over the provisions of the law. They cannot but feel how small is the step from successful resistance to tithe to resistance to rent and taxes; and how great is the temptation held out by the experience of such success in one case, to a similar opposition to the payment of other pecuniary demands.

8. "If the sanctity of the law be systematically violated, if the proof be once afforded that turbulence leads directly to relief, and that popular combina-

tion is sufficiently powerful to overbear legitimate authority, the most effectual security of all property is shaken, the framework of government and of society is disorganized, and a state of confusion and anarchy must ensue.

9. "Your committee have too much reason to apprehend that the general success which has hitherto attended the resistance to tithe, has already given proof of its tendency to produce this effect. Not only is the opposition to that species of property rapidly extending, not only has the same cessation taken place in the *payment of the lay impropriations*, the resistance to which cannot rest upon the same religious scruples which have been urged with respect to ecclesiastical tithes, but intimidation and violence of a similar character have, in some few instances, been manifested against the recovery of the landlord's rent: and your committee are deeply impressed with the necessity of resorting, without delay, to such measures as may enable the executive government, by a vigorous interposition of its authority, to put a stop to a system ruinous to the tranquillity and welfare of the empire.

10. "In recommending, however, to the consideration of the House, the adoption of immediate measures for the enforcement of the law, and for relieving the urgent distresses of the clergy, your committee cannot shut their eyes to the absolute necessity of an extensive change in the present system of providing for the maintenance of the ministers of the established church. Into the details of such a change, involving, as it necessarily must, the most complicated interests, and considerations of peculiar delicacy, your committee are not, at the present stage of the inquiries, prepared to enter; but they do not hesitate to express their opinion, that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those to lay-impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or in exchange for, or an investment in land; and while the revenues of the church are thus effectually secured, the clergy should, as far as

possible, be removed from all pecuniary collision with the occupying tenants of the land:

11. "Your committee have thought it necessary, thus early in their inquiries, to express the strong conviction on their minds of the necessity of such a change, not less for the security of the church, and the interests of religion, than for the tranquillity and contentment of Ireland, while they accompany this opinion by an equally strong expression of the necessity of strengthening the hands of the Government for the suppression of an illegal and dangerous combination.

12. "Your committee, looking to the proved inadequacy of the present legal remedies to meet the exigency of the case; to the distress of the clergy; to the danger arising from an unchecked resistance to legal demands; and to the precedents in cases of similar resistance, in Ireland; are of opinion, that it is expedient that the Lord Lieutenant, with the advice of his Privy Council, should be authorised to advance out of the Consolidated Fund, to the incumbents of benefices of which the tithes or tithe composition may have been withheld, or to their representatives, upon a petition, verified by affidavit, sums of money proportioned to the incomes of each, according to a scale diminishing as those incomes increase.

13. "That, as a security for the repayment of the sums so to be advanced, Government should be empowered to levy, under an act to be passed for this purpose, the amount of the tithes, or tithe composition, due for the arrears of the whole or any part of the preceding year, without prejudice to the claim of the clergy for any arrear which may be due for a longer period; reserving to itself, in the first instance, the amount of such advances, and paying over the remaining balance to the legal claimant.

14. "Your committee would strongly recommend, however, that the execution of measures of severity, resting for their justification upon the pressing necessity of the case, should be preceded by the fullest notice which can be given of the intention to carry them into effect.

each individual parish ; that a deduction should be made in favour of all persons who, after such notice, may voluntarily pay in the amount of the debt due by them respectively ; and that provisions to that effect should be introduced in any act which the legislature may think fit to sanction, in pursuance of the recommendations of your committee.

15. "Your committee, in the mean time, will devote their unremitting attention to the prosecution of the important inquiries entrusted to them by the House ; but they earnestly entreat the House to bear in mind, that the satisfactory operation and permanent maintenance of any plan that can be adopted must depend upon mature previous consideration of its practical details. An arrangement is to be made, not merely of a prospective nature, and attaching to new and unsettled relations between the parties concerned, but an arrangement by which existing, and frequently conflicting interests, are to be affected, and which is to be general in its operation throughout a country wherein the tenure of land is peculiarly complicated and various in its character. Your committee venture, however, to express a hope that the ultimate result of their inquiries may be the establishment of a provision for the clergy, more easy of collection than the present, less burdensome to the occupying tenant, and, above all, more productive of that harmony and good feeling between the clergyman and his parishioners, which, especially in Ireland, are essential to the interests of religion, and to the peace and prosperity of the empire."

We have only to read this report to be convinced of the imbecility of the creatures that have drawn it up. That which they recommend was noticed in the YORK REGISTER ; and I have not yet seen that any of their hirelings have been bold enough to attempt to defend a project for giving the aristocracy a direct share and ownership in every man's estate ! Indeed, it is beastly nonsense to think of this ; and SCOTT ELDON is perfectly right in saying, that the *extinguishment of tithes*, is, in fact, the

extinguishment of that thing called "church-property." He is right in saying, that the extinguishment *must extend to England* ; and he would have been right, if he had said, that the *rest* of the church-property must follow the same fate. Perhaps the Ministers, *seeing this*, will so contrive, *that the Reform Bill shall not pass* ! I do not care a straw about that, as relative to this matter. The tithes will be abolished ; I can tell them that ; whether the Reform Bill pass or not. *That* is a point *settled* ; and, what is more, it would be decided *more quickly* and *more completely*, if the Reform Bill were to be again rejected. The minds of *all* men are made up as to this matter.

I cannot help laughing at a passage in *paragraph 9* of this stupid and childish report ; namely, that the people *refuse to pay the lay-impropriators* as well as the parsons, though the resistance *here cannot rest upon religious scruples* ! Silly creatures ! Just as if the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION had not taught every man in the whole kingdom, that the lay-tithes rest on the foundation as those which the parsons swallow ; and just as if the bishops and deans and chapters are not amongst the greatest of the lay-impropriators ! All appears to be madness : look which way you will, not a particle of sense is to be perceived. If there were only the rudest common sense at work, the whole system of church-exaction would be given up at once in England as well as in Ireland ; but it seems to have been resolved, that an irritating dispute shall be carried on, till, at last, a general convulsion shall put an end to it ! Well ! I always said, that "the *THING* would go to pieces in the hands of the Whigs ;" and, really, they seem to be in a fair way of verifying my predictions.

In a debate, the report of which will be inserted in another part of this Register, if there be room, the Duke of WELLINGTON said, that a bill which would extinguish tithes in Ireland, would, if the King gave his assent to it, be a *violation of his coronation oath*. The duke is, as I have often said, over-

burdened with nothing but our money. It is, when men ask what it is, that can have made this great country so little an one, and so miserable, when it was formerly so famed for its happiness; when men ask this, it is quite answer enough to say: "Wellington was recently its prime minister." This man *ought* to have known, that, in 1798, an act was passed which compelled the clergy to *sell* part of the church-property, and to pay the proceeds *into the Exchequer*; and that, under that act, the bishops and deans and chapters *sold* part of their *tithes*, which were thus *alienated from the church for ever*. Yet, the assent which the King gave to *that act* was not deemed a violation of the coronation oath! This "*great statesman*" had *forgotten* this, or he had *never heard* of it, or he was *unable to compare* the two measures one with the other; and the latter is the most likely. However, it is sheer nonsense that he is talking upon the subject; and, if it were a violation of the oath, it would be all the same; for, the thing *must take place*; it is a case of necessity; the thing is in fact *done*. If the King had taken an oath not to suffer St. Paul's to be thrown down, and if it were to be thrown down by thunderbolts, his oath would not be violated; and he has just as much power to resist thunderbolts as he has to resist the refusal to yield tithes, which will not, I am convinced be yielded, in any part of the kingdom, in another year. It is manifest, that the *Corn Bill* must exist as long as tithes exist. I have long been saying, that the system must be *knocked* to pieces, or *taken* to pieces. It is now a nice question, which of the two it shall be; and I everywhere perceive that men become daily more and more indifferent as to which it shall be. There must, however, be a beginning, in either way; and the tithes is the thing to begin with.

POLITICAL UNIONS.

THE tax and tithe-eaters are all in an uproar from their dread of the POLITICAL

UNIONS. Well they may; for those are combinations of the people, which, if there be no reform, will certainly so act as to supply the place of reform. I have before me two PETITIONS, one from the ISLE OF ELY, and one from HAMPSHIRE. To the first I will here (repeating an article before published from the *Church Reformers' Magazine*) give the *best answer* in the world. This petition has *no names* to it: the names below were, I warrant, all at the bottom of it.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, the undersigned, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others, owners and occupiers of houses and of lands, of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the warmest assurances of our loyalty to your royal person, and our attachment to the venerable institutions of our country.

"We feel that this declaration of our sentiments is imperiously called for at the present moment, when a disposition unhappily exists to forego the practical blessings which we enjoy, in the hope of obtaining doubtful and uncertain objects; more especially when attempts are made to attain these objects by means altogether unknown to the constitution, and incompatible with the free discharge of the duties of the legislature. We refer particularly to those Political Unions, many of which have avowed their determination to exist as permanent bodies, for the express purpose of watching and controlling the deliberations of Parliament.

"We utterly deprecate the existence of these associations as inconsistent with the principles, and tending to the subversion of, the British constitution; and we most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty may confidently rely upon our readiness, at all times, to obey the call of your Majesty, and, if need be, to co-operate with the recognised and responsible authorities of the realm in the suppression of such associations.

"With respect to the particular measure of parliamentary reform which it is the professed object of these Unions to promote, we venture, Sire, most respectfully to observe, that, although not opposed to a safe and temperate revision of the representative system, we cannot but regard with feelings of alarm and dismay the sudden and extensive changes at present contemplated.

"Under a deep sense of the evils to be justly apprehended from these changes, we, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, most humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty to maintain unimpaired that constitution under which (through the favour of Providence) we have hitherto enjoyed the most signal and unrivalled blessings.

"And we, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

ART. 4.—State of the Church in the Isle of Ely.

The following letter, from a correspondent, exhibits in a very striking point of view three of the most crying abuses of the church,—useless and burdensome dignitaries and offices, non-residence of the clergy, and the enormous

value of church benefices; and therefore we make no apology for inserting it. It is an epitome of the ecclesiastical state of the whole kingdom. Our correspondent has, however, we perceive, omitted the minor canons of the cathedral of Ely, and has not stated how many pluralists are included in the list of incumbents. We have endeavoured to supply this deficiency in regard to the chapter of Ely, by an additional statement, showing the total value of their respective preferments.

(To the Editor of the Church Reformers' Magazine.)

SIR,—I beg leave to send you the following statement of the condition of the established church in the Isle of Ely. You will find that throughout that opulent, extensive, and populous district, there is in reality but *one resident incumbent*; for the incumbents of the two small vicarages of Whittlesey can only be considered, as far as regards the keeping of hospitality, as curates to the lay-impropriators. There may perhaps be some trifling inaccuracies in the statement, but the annual incomes of the several livings are very far from being exaggerated.

Name.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
Dr. B. E. Sparke.	Bishopric of Ely.	£. 12,000	Resides for about a month at Ely, occasionally.
J. Wood.	Deanery of Ely (<i>Mastership of a College and a Rectory, total value, 3650l. per annum.</i>)	1600	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
G. Jenyns.	Prebend ditto, (<i>two Vicarages, 1950l. per annum.</i>)	800	Ditto.
H. Fardell.	Prebend ditto (<i>three Rectories and a Vicarage, 2900l. per annum.</i>)	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal house.
E. Parke.	Prebend ditto.	800	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
W. W. Childers.	Prebend ditto (<i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, 1400l. per annum.</i>)	800	Ditto.
G. O. Cambridge.	Prebend ditto (<i>Archdeaconry and two Rectories, 3100l. per annum.</i>)	800	Ditto.

Name.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
H. T. Dampier.	Prebend ditto (<i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, 1600l. per annum.</i>)	800	Ditto.
J. H. Sparke.	Prebend ditto (<i>Chancellorship and three Rectories, 3100l. per annum.</i>)	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal house.
E. B. Sparke.	Prebend ditto (<i>two Rectories and a Vicarage, 1900l. per annum.</i>)	800	Ditto.
— Cambridge.	Elm R., a sinecure.	2000	Non-resident.
J. Jackson.	Elm V.	800	Ditto.
W. G. Townley.	Upwell, Outwell, Welney R.	3000	Ditto.
E. Peak.	Manea-cum-Coveney.	800	Ditto.
The Prebendaries of Ely take the great tithes of these seven places.	Stutney. Chettisham. Ely, St. Mary. Ely, Trinity. Thetford. Witchford. Witcham.	value unknown.	There are no resident incumbents or curates in these places.
— Sparke.	Littleport.	1200	Non-resident.
H. Baber.	Streatham.	1200	Ditto.
H. Law.	Downham.	1200	Ditto.
Mr. Serjeant Pell (<i>Lay Impropiator.</i>)	Wilburton.	800	A resident curate.
J. Blick,	Wentworth.	400	Non-resident.
E. Leathes.	Sutton-cum-Mepal.	1500	Ditto.
A. Peyton.	Doddington, March, Wimbington, Benwick.	2000	Ditto.
— Chatfield.	Chatteris.	1200	Resident.
— Sparke.	Wisbeach.	3000	Non-resident.
H. Sparke.	Leverington.	4000	Ditto.
E. Cook.	Whittlesey, St. Mary.	—	Resident.
—	Ditto St. Andrew	—	Ditto.
Archdeacon of Ely.	Haddenham.	400	Non-resident.

I presume the above list will require little comment. A society ought to be immediately formed to collect information respecting the amount and application of the revenues of the church ; unless, indeed, the Government would (as they ought to do) issue a commission for that purpose, which must be done sooner or later. I am, &c.

ELIENSIS.

These would be pretty negligent fellows, indeed, if they did not do their best to prevent parliamentary reform; for, if that reform take place, and they retain these incomes *a year* after it has taken place, I am the most deceived man alive. These, therefore, would be beasts indeed, if they did not do all in their power to prevent reform. Their insolent petition ought to be *carefully kept* by every man in Cambridgeshire. The day will come (and it is *not distant*), when it will be useful to have this petition; and, if possible, the people of that county should get a list of the *names of all those who signed it!* The day cannot be far off when that list will be wanted.

The HAMPSHIRE enemies of reform have been more bold. They have given us more than *two hundred* of their names; and these, please God, *we will keep, in order to have them to refer to upon future occasions.* I take the list, as well as the impudent and stupid petition, from the *Morning Post newspaper* of about ten days ago. I insert it just as I find it. Pray, reader, go over the list, and look at the *titles* that the upstarts have put to the end of their names. I have read the list carefully, over, and I can find but *fifteen* who are not *tax-eaters, tithe-eaters, paper-money makers, or attorneys*; and even these *fifteen* have, I dare say, some public money in their eye. What a gang of *parsons!* With them it is neck or nothing! My Hampshire friends will laugh at seeing the names that I have put in *italics*; especially that of one GREEDY, GRASPALL, VULGAR fellow, who, having raked a parcel of money together, wants to be thought *an aristocrat*; and I wonder he had not got his name printed in GREAT CAPITALS, like the pensioned and sinecure tribe at the head of the list. Only think of "*Botley-Parson,*" too, being alarmed at the existence of *political Unions!* When I go into Hampshire, I will make particular inquiry into the character of all this gang, except those whom I already know. Only think of SCOTT, the old *Fulham Brick-burner*, having become *aristocrat*, and wanting to preserve

the "*ancient institutions!*" Well said, Old Clay-moulder! But, why cannot you be *quiet?* You have got *Rotherfield Park*; and nobody asks any questions; and yet you cannot be quiet! I will find out all about you and your *lofty pedigree*; and I will publish the account for the amusement of the Chopsticks of TISTED and SELBORNE. In short, I will publish, on a quarter of a sheet of paper, the whole of the names and the petition, and will add to it an account of the *pensions and public-money* and *tithe-money* that the fellows receive annually. And I will send this paper all over the country for the people to read and keep. Do, pray, reader, look at JARVIS of FAIR-OAK! You recollect, that he *supported* the REFORM BILL, at the county-meeting in April, 1831! *What* has made him *change?* Has he smelled out, that reform would *take away his half-pay!* It most assuredly would take it away; and I cannot help thinking that he has smelled this out. This whole band get, as nearly as a hasty calculation can bring me to the mark, about THREE HUNDRED ANDEIGHTYTHOUSANDPOUNDS A YEAR, out of the taxes and the tithes, and by the paper-money tricks of one sort and another. This is something *to wish to keep*; they think (and I know) that they cannot keep it, if there be a reform of the Parliament; and, therefore, they, in fact, petition that they may not have these pounds taken away from them, and that they may not be compelled *to go to work for their bread.* This is what the gang are afraid of; and, therefore, they cry out. They see, in the vision of their fears, the spade prepared for their hands, or the whip for their backs: they know, that real representatives of the people will not leave them one single farthing of what they now get out of the public; they feel, in imagination, all the torments of the lash, laid on them to make them work; and, like the bawd in Swift's poem, they scream at the thought: their petition is a *scream* of horror at the idea of being compelled to work for their bread. Oh! but I shall see them work in spite of their screaming; and even the GRASP-

ALLS must look pretty sharply about them, if they have not cause to *philosophize* a little on the vanity of heaps of dung attempting to swell themselves up into mountains of aristocracy.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

We, the undersigned, loyal and dutiful subjects of your Majesty, Inhabitants of the county of Southampton,

Most humbly represent—

That your Majesty's faithful and dutiful subjects offer their humble and grateful thanks for your Majesty's royal proclamation suppressing illegal combinations, and the determination so graciously expressed to your Parliament to prevent their future continuance.

"That we contemplate with equal indignation and alarm the institution of Societies in different parts of the kingdom, united and organized under leaders assuming to themselves the powers hitherto possessed only by the constituted authorities of the realm, and which, contrary to law and the uniform practice of the British constitution, assume to themselves the right of preserving the public peace, of giving protection to life and property, and of controlling the decisions of the legislature and the Government, thereby paving the way for the formation of armed bodies willing to overturn our happy Government in church and state, and to render this great country one wide scene of anarchy, devastation, and violence.

"That your Majesty's faithful and dutiful petitioners are convinced that if any particular bill be passed into a law through the demands of such association, the authority of Parliament will be at an end, and the power, be it what it may, by which so melancholy a triumph shall be achieved, must become to all intents and purposes supreme in the state.

"That your Majesty's faithful and dutiful petitioners are likewise convinced that no changes can with safety be introduced into the constitution of this great and free country, unless ma-

tured by calm and cautious deliberation; and that every measure advocated by clamour, and tending to destroy men's reverence for established institutions, necessarily operates in diminishing their respect for the Government by which these institutions have been hitherto supported.

"That your Majesty's faithful and dutiful petitioners therefore humbly but earnestly entreat, that your Majesty will not permit your Parliament to be placed in a position destructive of its salutary powers and authority, constrained in the exercise of its deliberative functions, and subjected to the baneful influence of so new and alarming a power, but that your Majesty will preserve to it the full and free consideration of every subject recommended for its determination; and that, above all, we may obtain from its wisdom such decisions as shall preserve to your faithful subjects that blessing, without which all others would be worthless—a government sufficiently strong to protect their persons, and to preserve to them the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and other legal rights.

WELLINGTON
BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS
DOURO
CHANDOS
CARNARVON
CAVAN
NORMANTON
SYDNEY
RODNEY
BOLTON
PORCHESTER
STUART DE ROTHISAY
MONTAGU
FITZHARRIS
ASHTOWN
Henry Paulet
George Isaac, Hereford
Right Hon. W. M. Pierrepont
Right Hon. W. Sturges Bourne
Right Hon. G. H. Rose, Bart. M.P.
Hon. H. W. Hare
Hon. Cranley Onslow
John Pollen, Bart.
Fitzwilliam Barrington, Bart.
Henry Rivers, Bart.

Archd. Dickson, Bart.
William Heathcote, Bart.
 Henry Neale, Part.
 Henry Onslow, Bart.
 Graham Hammond, Bart.
 Richard Bassett, Knt.
 Henry Fane, G. C. B.
 Wm. G. H. Joiliffe, Bart. M. P.
 W. H. West, M. P.
 W. A. Mackinnon, M. P.
 Eyre Cootte, M. P.
Charles Baring Wall, M. P.
A. Baring, M. P.
 Charles Yorke, M. P.
 Hylton Jolliffe, M. P.
 George Burrard, M. P.

The following between brackets are in the
 Commission of the peace and Magistrates of
 the County.

[E. Knight, jun. Chawton Park
J. W. Scott, Rotherfield Park
 Abel Rous Dottin, Bugle Hall
 John Hornby, Hook
 J. B. Purvis
 D. Quasier, Little Green
 George Burrard, Yarmouth
 Henry Atkins, Cueton
 James Worsley
 W. J. Yonge, Rockbourn
 A. B. Drummond, Cadland
J. Fleming, Stoneham Park
E. G. Jones, Swathley Grange
 James Ede, Ridgway Castle
 James B. Hay, Midanbury
 R. Bethel Cox, Quarley
 James Blunt, Nether Wallop
 Wm. Abbott, Warrford Park
 M. Hawker, Cattlesfield
 M. Campbell, Hampton House
W. Long, Preshaw House
 John Harwood, Drane
 Thos. C. H. S. May, Breamore
 Wm. H. Beach, Oakley Hill
 Stephen Terry, Dunmer House
 John Orde, Winslade
 J. H. Beaufoy, Upton Gray
 S. G. Hatton, Thurston
 J. Monro, Lymington
 Henry Budd, Foley
 W. Sloane Stanley, Paultons
 H. C. Compton, Manor House
 H. Weyland Powell, Foxlease
 Richard Pollen
Robert Wright, Itchen Abbas
R. N. Jarvis, Fair Oak House

George Eyre, Warrens
 W. L. Sclater, Tangier Park
 A. R. Drummond, Cadland
 John Shedden, The Elms
 R. Swinton, Warsash House
 John Portal, Freefolk House
 Wm. Greenwood, Brookwood
 W. L. W. Chute, The Vine
 Edward St. John, Ash Park
 Wm. Kingsmill, Sidminton
 George Duke, Appleshaw
 G. H. Ward, Northwood Park
 John Hambrough, Steephill]

John Hunter Hornby, Esq., Hook
 William Hornby, Esq., Hook
 James Katon, Rear-Admiral
 Wm. Harrison, Vicar of Farnham
 C. J. Cursten, Captain, R.N.
 H. Vincent Bayley, Archdeacon, West-
 meon Rectory
 John Jennings, Clerk, Westmeon
 J. N. Harrison, Clerk, Fareham
 J. Prevost, Captain, R.N.
 R. Cruikshank, Esq., Anglesey
 J. H. Hatton, Vicar of Lechford
 G. M. Shirley, Rear-Admiral
 W. Love, Captain, R.N.
 W. Clepeott, Esq., Holdenhurst
 C. Harbin, Solicitor, Ringwood
 W. D. Farr, Esq., Ilford
 R. B. Crozier, Captain, R.N.
 J. Dornford, R.N.
A. H. Trevor, Major, Shanklin
 T. Penruddock, Esq., Winkton
 G. N. Jackson, Captain, R.N.
 A. Quartley, Surgeon, Christchurch
 S. S. Taylor, Esq., Southampton
 W. Sneyd, Rector of Newchurch
 James Rose, Major
W. Warner, Botley
 C. Chamberlayne, Esq., Southampton
 A. Poulton, Solicitor, Portsea
 John Halsy, Admiral
 Richard Durnford, Clerk, Goodworth,
 Clatford
 A. Du Cane, Captain, R. N.
 W. Bettinge, Clerk, St. Paul's, South-
 ampton
 D. G. Hewett, Esq., Closewood
 James McLeod, Major-General
 W. Wilson, D. D. Vicar, Holyrood
 John Shugar, Solicitor, Portsmouth
 F. Shelton, Esq., West End
 J. H. Hardman, Esq., Hill Villa

- John Clerk, Esq., Carlton Crescent, Southampton
 C. Tinling, Rear-Admiral
 T. Shipcott, Vicar of St. Michael's, Southampton
 Philip Austin, Alverstoke
 Peter Dickson, Esq., Southampton
 E. Barnard, Rector of Alverstoke
 J. Temple, Esq., Pennington House
 H. M. Wardle, Esq., Priestlands
Richard Baker, Rector of Botley
 John Hide, Esq., Milford
 C. M. Roberts, Esq., Everton
James Warner, jun., Botley
 J. D' Archy, Lt.-Col. Milford House
 Samuel St. Barber, Banker
 W. S. Oke, M. D. Southampton
 Thomas Mears, Rector of All-Saints, Southampton
 G. Lowther, Esq., Ashley Mount
 R. H. Farmar, Lieut.-General
 R. Atchison, Capt. R.N., Rushington
 W. Hicks, Banker
 J. Sparrow, Esq., Bramshot House
 J. H. Waddington, Esq., Shawford
 Charles St. Barbe, Banker
 T. Chamberlayne, Esq., Craiberry
 F. Beadon, Rector, North Stoneham
 T. Naghton, Esq., Crofton House
 E. I. Ridge, Major
 T. Griffiths, Esq., Northbrook House
 H. Woodcock, D.D., Michelmarsh
 H. Sissmore, Clerk, Winchester
 F. Le Blanc, Blackbrook House
 W. O'Brien, Capt. R. N.
R. Missing, Esq., Titchfield
 T. Harwood, Esq., Deane
R. J. W. Wright, Clerk, Southwick
 C. S. Bonnet, Clerk, Avington
 W. F. Digweed, Esq., Monkton House
 Charles Stamer, Lieut.-Col., Woodside
 W. Towsey, M. D. Lymington
 W. W. Rooke, Esq., Woodside
 T. Watkins, Clerk, Winchester
 K. Hockings, Capt. R. N.
 Charles Pilkington, Rector of St. Lawrence, Winchester
 M. Sealy, Rector of Farley Chamberlayne
 P. Taylor, Major, Boldre
 Richard Jennins, Esq., Milford
 W. Apletree, Esq., Basingstoke
 T. Symonds, Capt. R. N.
 C. Earle Harwood, Deane
 R. Adams, Esq., Wainsfords
- H. Richards, Clerk, Winchester
 T. Renton, Rector of Wellow
 T. Steward, M. D., Lymington
 W. J. Williams, Clerk, St. Cross
 A. De La Tour, Esq., Milford
 H. Huntingford, Winchester
 M. Maddison, jun. Banker
 Geo. Hollis, Solicitor, Winchester
 F. A. Hide, Esq., Milford
 J. Woodburn, Clerk, Winchester
 Wm. Footner, Banker
 Harry Lee, College, Winchester
 Chas. M. Deane, Banker
 J. C. Compton, Rector of Minstead
 J. P. Hammond, Clerk, Dyndhurst
 W. H. S. Stanley, Esq., Paultons
 P. J. J. Lee, Clerk, Winchester
 J. Lyons, Capt. R. N.
 S. Maddock, Clerk, Ropley
 Joseph Gubbins, Major General
 N. Fletcher, Clerk, Lee
 Charles Troughton, Overton
 John Ford, Clerk, Romsey
 Bryan Troughton, Overton
T. Woodham, Solicitor, Winchester
 Jas. Lampard, Solicitor, Winchester
 N. Birnie, R.N., Boldre Hill
 J. Tenvey, Clerk, Romsey
 John Burney, Esq., Southampton
 H. Heywood, Esq., Southampton
 D. Williams, Vicar of Romsey
 T. Beckly, Clerk, Lymington
 T. Robinson, Rector of Milford
 J. Browne, Clerk, Milford
 A. J. Brine, Clerk, Boldre
 Geo. N. Jackson, Capt. R. N.
 Charles Harrison, Esq., Southampton
 J. N. Clark, M. D., Southampton
 Hen. B. Trelawney, Esq., Southampton
 W. Knight, Rector of Steventon
 C. Murray, Clerk, Ask Rectory
 C. Wallington, Clerk, Worthing Rectory
 W. Hasker, Clerk, Baughurs Rectory
 T. S. Chudleigh, Major, Southampton
 G. T. M. Purvis, Esq., Blackbrook
J. E. Paddon, Solicitor, Fareham
 Thomas Wilson, Major, Titchfield
 P. Halkett, Admiral, Uplands
 W. C. Chads, Capt. R.N. Fareham
 H. D. Chads, Esq., Fareham
 W. Eyre, Clerk, Sherfield-upon-Lodur
 T. Seard, Clerk, Bishop's Waltham
 H. Danvers, Clerk, Shidfield
Wm. Gunner, Banker

W. D. Harrison, Clerk, Fareham

J. Seymour, Banker

Charles Harwood, Esq., Dean

W. H. Gunner, Solicitor. Bishop's Waltham

R. H. C. Rycroft, Esq., Mannydown Park

T. S. Moody, Esq., Southampton
&c. &c. &c.

Exceeding 1,400 signatures of the
highest respectability.

SURPLUS POPULATION.

THE following petition will speak for itself. It was sent, according to its date, to Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD, to be by him presented to the House of Commons.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, and Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, "Labourer of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, in the City of London."

Most humbly Showeth,

That your humble petitioner has recently made particular and personal inquiry amongst the farmers in the East Riding of Yorkshire and those of Lincolnshire, with regard to the number of labourers in agriculture, as compared with the quantity of employment for such labourers, and that he finds, that, during the last harvest, the labourers were so deficient in number, that, in numerous instances, a considerable part of the crop was spoiled for want of hands to cut and carry it in due season and condition.

That, while these facts are notorious, your humble petitioner cannot behold, without feelings of indignation mingled with those of scorn and contempt, projects on foot, not only for checking the breeding of the labouring people, but also for getting away out of the country a part of those of them who are now able to labour; and that he is convinced, that future ages will never believe, that in this state of things, a bill was actually proposed to your honourable House to

mortgage the lands of the country, in order to defray the expense of sending the labourers away, and that this mortgage-project has now been succeeded by a royal commission, for the purpose of facilitating, by means of an expenditure of public money, the migration, to parts abroad, of labourers from England and Wales.

That, while the Government is thus proclaiming to the labourers of England, that the inadequacy of their wages and their consequent hardships, arise from the excess of their numbers, these labourers behold the country annually overrun by crowds of Irish labourers, who come hither, and who, feeding and lodging like cattle, work at an under-price, and thus rob the English labourers of the best part of the fruits of the labour of the year; and that the English labourers, with clear justice and reason on their side, and warranted by the declarations of the Government, vigorously protest against this injurious intrusion.

That, as if these things were not sufficient to characterize the minds of those from whom public measures now emanate, we have before us the facts, that, within these few years, immense sums of English taxes, amounting, as your humble petitioner believes, to millions, have been expended by the Government for the express and avowed purpose of creating employment for the people of the barren highlands of Scotland, and thereby preventing them from quitting the country; and that there is, at this very moment, a board of commissioners sitting, authorised to employ ships and to use other means, in order to get English people away out of their country, and that thus the English working people are compelled to pay taxes, in order to keep the Scotch people at home, and also compelled to pay taxes in order to furnish the means of their own expulsion from their native land.

That your humble petitioner sincerely believes, that, in describing the freaks of mental imbecility, the most poetic imagination never conceived anything equal to that of which we here behold the ruinous reality; that he is most

anxious to see removed this disgrace to the mind of the nation; and that he, therefore, most humbly prays, that your honourable House will not give your countenance to any of the aforesaid projects for getting rid of the working people of England and Wales, and that, at any rate, you will not suffer another shilling of the people's money to be expended in the furtherance of any such projects.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Nottingham, 13th March, 1832.

Birmingham, 14th March, 1832.

I LEFT Nottingham this morning, after lecturing there, at the play-house, to very numerous and attentive audiences. It was intended to keep my *birth-day* (9th of March) by a DINNER, at Nottingham; but, though the dinner was ordered, a mistake of myself and friends at Sheffield prevented it by having announced a Lecture at Sheffield for the evening of that day; and this being the case, and I wishing to get on homeward, I wrote forward to say, that I should go on straight from Sheffield to Birmingham. But, later in the day (8th March) a gentleman happened to say, in my hearing, that they said at Nottingham, that if I went there, and *said any thing against Denman*, I would *not be suffered to go out of the town alive!* Oh! oh! "Now," said I, "*I must go to Nottingham.*" Having lectured at Sheffield on the 9th, after dining with a friend, I set off, *at one o'clock in the morning*, got to Nottingham about six, went to the market, and sent off for London *a ham weighing seventy pounds*, and was, by about nine o'clock, at the house of a most excellent friend! I instantly advertised for two lectures at the theatre, for the 12th and 13th. On the Sunday (11th) I went to church, and sat in full view of my lords, *the judges* (there to hold the assizes); and, I not only gave my two lectures; but, at the close of the last, spoke out plainly on the *conduct of Denman with regard to me!* and I also spoke as plainly of the death of poor Cook of

Micheldever! Denman not being present, I told the audience that I would not go further, but that it would be base in me not to say, being where I was, that which would clearly imply, that I hoped that their fine and famous town would never again return *that man* as its representative. I begged the audience to give no marks of their opinion as to what I was going to say; but, when I came to "*carpenter a' 30s. a week,*" and exposed that cruel lie, they were not to be restrained. In short, I did *justly and well*; and, instead of being driven out of the town, I took my leave amidst as hearty applause as I ever received in all my life, which was particularly gratifying to me, as the conduct of this town has always, since I first heard of it, been the theme of my admiration. It will not again, I am very sure, be the instrument in the hands of a set of base pretenders to patriotism.

There is one thing which seems to distress the whole town of Nottingham. A poor man, tried at the last assizes for arson, was kept for the decision, as to some point *by the judges*. They have decided against him, and he is now to be executed; and that, too, it is said, only on his *own confession*, obtained in a way that I do not precisely recollect. But this I know, that every soul in the town appears to be in sorrow on his account. I never witnessed a feeling of lamentation so general. I do hope and pray that his Majesty will be applied to to spare the life of this man. It surely must be good policy (leaving *mercy* out of the question) to exercise lenity in a case like this. Besides, there have been *so many executions*, during the melancholy twelve months just past! It never can be wise to render these scenes so familiar! It ought to be recollected, how *humane*, how free from all blood-mindedness *the people* have shown themselves, when they had the power of life and death in *their hands!* God Almighty forbid that they should ever be otherwise; and to keep them what they are, a lenient course is certainly the most effectual. I do hope that the advisers of the King will take this view of the matter. WM. COBBETT.

WORTH GREAT ATTENTION.

(From the Leeds Mercury.)

IT is rumoured in London that ministers are desirous of securing the powerful aid of Mr. MACAULAY; and that with a view of enlisting his great talents most effectively in the service of the public, they have requested his acceptance of office. Should this be correct, which seems very probable, and should Mr. MACAULAY accept office, the administration will have strengthened its hands by obtaining the active support of one of the ablest and most upright of our senators; and Mr. MACAULAY, we think, will do himself honour by joining the most patriotic and virtuous Ministry this country has ever known. There can be no greater benefit to a nation than to have wise, honest, and disinterested men occupying the important offices of state; and in the present circumstances of the country, nothing is more essential for extending the liberties of the people, and securing grand reforms in the representation, the church, and the public departments, than the upholding of the existing administration, which has with unparalleled boldness grappled with the worst abuses, and manifested a determination to stand by the cause of the people against every form of oligarchical corruption and tyranny. We doubt not the Electors of Leeds, who will owe their political existence to this reforming Ministry, will be proud to have an opportunity of testifying their gratitude for the inestimable gift, as well as their regard for the most eloquent advocate of that measure, by returning Mr. MACAULAY as one of their members at the first election. So public-spirited an administration may safely count on public support. That support Leeds and Yorkshire have already given in every possible way, and they will never withdraw it so long as Ministers are true to their principles of economy and reform. After the Augæan stable of the representation shall have been cleansed by their Herculean hand, the Irish church will call for their reforming energies; and we have seen that Mr. MACAULAY has pledged himself to a "complete reform" of that extravagant establishment. It

is above all important to prevent the return to power of that party which has created the greater portion of the national evils and burdens, which defends every abuse, opposes every reform, maintains with blind bigotry an unjust, intolerant, and corrupt ascendancy in Ireland, with the whole system of tithes, and which by its foreign policy would enlist England in support of despotism over the whole continent. We should be glad, therefore, to see the vigorous and manly powers of Mr. MACAULAY devoted to the support of that Ministry, which is identified with the cause of liberty and reform. In office his power to do good, and to promote the interests of his constituents, would be much greater than if he were out of office; and whilst we are convinced that no Ministry and no constituency would ever reduce to subservience a man so independent as Mr. MACAULAY, the town of Leeds would be enabled to exercise a just, proper, and powerful influence over the political and commercial measures of Ministers, if one of their own body were our representatives. Such a connexion between a patriotic administration and popular constituencies is in the highest degree calculated to ensure good government.

MR. ADEANE.

(From the Cambridge Paper.)

Sir,—I, a few days since, addressed to you some observations on the conduct, or rather language, of an open and professed foe to the Reform Bill; I now, with reluctance, request admission in your columns to some few remarks on the conduct of one who was returned to Parliament at the last election as the friend and supporter of that bill. Upon seeing in your paper the account of a canvass by the "son of a noble Duke" for votes in favour of the bill, when returned to the Commons, with certain proposed amendments from the Lords, and of a list having actually been obtained of reformers in the House of Commons, presumed supporters of the Government, who had promised to vote for the bill when thus mangled and cur-

tailed of its fair proportions, and had signed a declaration to that effect, I strongly suspected that the name of Mr. Adeane, the member for the county of Cambridge, would be found amongst such signatures. This suspicion was caused by his so frequently voting against Ministers during the present discussion on the bill. It is confirmed by his vote last night in favour of Lord Chandos's proposition for depriving the metropolitan districts of their intended representatives. This gentleman, who appears to have let slip no feasible opportunity of siding with the enemy, stated lately in the House that he should scorn to sit there in the character of a delegate. Without staying to animadvert either upon the uncalled-for arrogance or wisdom of this observation, or to inquire what clear distinction exists in the hon. member's mind between the terms delegate and representative, or for what conceivable purpose he was returned to Parliament save to represent the sentiments and opinions of his constituents, especially upon the all-important question of the Reform Bill, I will merely observe, that this same high and lofty spirit scorned not to be elected member for the county of Cambridge by the votes of the reformers, and in the character of a real reformer scorned not to appear before the freeholders in county meeting assembled with the bill in his hand as his title to their then and future favour,—scorned not to enter the doors of St. Stephen's under the banners of those reformers whom he has since apparently courted every opportunity of deserting and weakening! Let the freeholders of Cambridgeshire ask themselves this simple question, if other imagined friends and supporters of reform had acted as Mr. Adeane has, would not the Reform Bill have been lost? They will then, I trust with Philo-Radical, do their duty; they know how to requite scorn and treat fickle friends, and will not condescend again to return as their representative one, "not with them, but against them,"—one who has pursued a line of conduct calculated to shipwreck the bill, and, by driving the present Ministry from their

vantage-ground, to leave the people of England only the alternative of a national convulsion, or of such a modicum of reform as the Tories might please to dole forth. —Your obedient servant,

A CAMBRIDGESHIRE FREEHOLDER.
Feb. 29.

HORRIBLE STATE OF THE IRISH IN LONDON.

(From the *Sun Newspaper*.)

IRISH POOR IN SOUTHWARK.
To the Editor of the Evening Mail.

Sir,—In mercy, as the friend of the suffering and deserted poor, do say something for the Irish poor of Southwark. Their terrible wretchedness (starving, sick, dying, as they are) makes me in despair turn to you, that some generous souls may be made acquainted with their forlorn state, and be moved to befriend them. These poor people have no claim for parochial relief. I make no complaint,—each parish has too many of its own poor, but so it is. *Potatoes and salt, and water*,—such is the food and drink of the poor Irish in Southwark, even when sickness is on them. Cholera cases form an exception; there is *no want of attendants then, nor of alms to relieve their wants*. I wish it were in all cases of sickness the same with these wretched people. Many and many of these poor have *no bed to lie on*; they sleep at night on the floor without any other covering than the clothes—such as they are—which they have on them during the day. Others are almost in a state of nudity, and are compelled to keep within doors; these are *poor widows, with their destitute children*.

In very deed so disastrous is the condition of many whom I know, that they seem stupefied and bewildered, and hardly know what they do. Imagine, what is often a reality, a poor widow and her children in Glean-alley, or the by-courts in the Mint or Kent-street, in an unfurnished room, without fire, without clothes, without food, without hope in this world! The misery amongst

the poor Irish in Southwark is so exceedingly great, that no one would believe me did I attempt to describe it.

It is not surprising that in a very unhealthy season like the present many of these hapless people should sicken and die: the wonder is, how they live at all, under so many privations and such extreme suffering.

I send this letter, in the fervent and confident hope that you will do something for the Irish poor, as of all in London they stand most in need of your kind and powerful patronage. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

THOMAS DOYLE,
Catholic Chapel, London-road.
Feb. 29.

This ought to be published in Ireland. It would tend to keep the Irish *at home*, and make them *compel* the landowners to employ or relieve them. London will very soon be unable to keep them even on potatoes.

WM. COBBETT.

WATERTON.

My readers will remember, that, in the YORK REGISTER, I inserted and exposed a shameful piece of *plagiarism* on the part of this man, who, it seems, lives near WAKEFIELD. When I arrived at Wakefield, to lecture there, on the 5th March, which I did to a very large and respectable audience, I found the following *handbill* circulating about the town. I insert it, without any comment, the bare insertion being sufficient punishment.

"To MR. WM. COBBETT.

"SIR,—I see in your last Register that you do me the honour to abuse me in your well-known low scurrilous manner, for simply omitting to mention that I took the most material parts of a paper, which appeared last week in the LEEDS PATRIOT, out of your HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION. I most readily acknowledge, that nearly the whole of that paper was composed of facts which I found in your work; *which very facts you*

yourself have taken from writers, sometimes without mentioning their names.

"Those facts being *purely historical*, I consider it presumptuous in you to monopolise them as your own property; at the same time I give you full credit for your industry in collecting them.

"I will here candidly acknowledge the reason *why* I did not mention your name. It was because I was aware how much the public has been disgusted by the violent and vituperative language in which you invariably indulge; and I was fearful that the article in question would get but a *small share of attention paid to it, if it bore the name of COBBETT!*

"By affixing my name and address to the article, I put it in the power of everybody to ask from whence I drew my authority: and to a civil inquirer I should have answered unhesitatingly—FROM COBBETT'S REFORMATION.

"I am, &c.

"CHARLES WATERTON.
"Walton-hall, March 5th, 1832."

BUCKINGHAM.

THE following article from the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* seems to settle the matter as to this man. I agree with the writer in every part of the article.

"MR. BUCKINGHAM.—In common, we presume, with editors in general, we have received from this gentleman a pamphlet, entitled—'*Mr. Buckingham's Defence of his public and private character, against the atrocious calumnies contained in a false and slanderous Pamphlet.*' The defence is accompanied by a circular, requesting that the editor who receives it, after perusing the pamphlet, will 'express his honest opinion of the case, in a paragraph from his own pen, in an early number of his paper;' and further requesting, that, when 'it is done with,' the pamphlet may be '*placed in the most public news-room of the town for general perusal.*' Not having read the '*false*

and slanderous pamphlet,'—not being acquainted with the atrocious calumnies contained in it,—not requiring the force of any calumnies or allegations, nor the evidence of any facts other than those which Mr. BUCKINGHAM has himself placed before the world, to convince us of the utter *charlatanerie* of Mr. BUCKINGHAM's pretensions to public confidence, and to the important trust of a seat in Parliament for the important town of Sheffield, we do not think ourselves bound to read Mr. BUCKINGHAM's defence, nor to pronounce an opinion upon it. It is sufficient for us, that Mr. BUCKINGHAM offers such vouchers for his claims to public confidence as BADINGTON MA

THOMAS DEN-
MAX, as Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX; it is sufficient for us, that, till reform was perfectly certain, the public never knew that Mr. BUCKINGHAM was a reformer; it is sufficient for us, that, in the crisis of the agitation of that question, Mr. BUCKINGHAM was preparing to leave his country, to sail at the cost of French as well as English subscriptions, on a voyage of discovery; it is sufficient for us, that Mr. BUCKINGHAM, never having yet made any public sacrifice to England, appealed some years ago to the charity of his countrymen as a ruined man,—that his appeal was answered by a subscription for 5,000*l.*,—that he is now again appealing to the public for another subscription,—and that he appeals for this second subscription partly on the ground, as expressed in the resolution of his friends in London, that his undertakings, since his return to England, have failed for want of public support, and partly on the ground, as expressed by himself, that, since his return to England, he has spent 10,000*l.* (of his own we presume) in the public service; it is sufficient for us to know that the project of the voyage round the globe was put an end to by the following laconic reply to an application for the assistance of Government, addressed by a secretary of the treasury to Mr. Buckingham:—

"Sir,—The lords commissioners of 'his Majesty's treasury, having had under their consideration your plan for effect-

"ing a voyage round the globe, I am
"commanded to acquaint you that my
"lords regret that Government *cannot*
"afford you any assistance in the pro-
"posed undertaking. I am, sir, your
"obedient servant,

"J. STEWART."

"It is sufficient for us to know that this project being thus extinguished, was succeeded by a project for establishing a gigantic club-house, of which Mr. BUCKINGHAM was to be the '*director*,' or Beau Nash: to be supported by contributions varying from one hundred guineas to one guinea; and that it formed a part of the '*prospectus*,' that to these funds '*Royal personages and nobles of distinction in every country should be invited to contribute*,' by this sturdy patriot, this Andrew Marvel of the wise men of Sheffield. It is enough for us to know that the public having again proved apathetic, and Mr. BUCKINGHAM having then discovered that '*the same causes that prevented the obtaining the adequate funds for the proposed voyage round the globe, namely, the entire absorption of all public interest by the political events of the times*,' and the consequent unwillingness of all parties to pledge themselves to the support of any great undertaking, *until the Reform Bill should be finally settled and passed*, operated equally to prevent the raising of sufficient funds for the erection and support of the proposed institution; it is enough for us to know, that, *on this discovery*, Mr. BUCKINGHAM *at last appeared before the world as a reformer*, to be convinced that Mr. BUCKINGHAM is aware of the secret, that no quackery can be successful which does not appeal to the predisposition of the patient; and that he seeks a seat in Parliament in the same spirit in which he has entered on all his enterprises, that is, in the hope of finding it a profitable adventure.

"Having now 'done with it,' we shall send the pamphlet, according to the desire expressed in Mr. BUCKINGHAM's circular, to the Manchester Exchange-room, 'where merchants most do congregate;' but not with the expectation that it will at all promote Mr. Buck-

INGHAM's views of finding a field of profitable adventure in a reformed Parliament. If the electors of Sheffield should have the weakness to send him thither, particularly after having had before them his project of relieving the distresses of the nation by raising the revenue to 80 millions, and of rendering that revenue permanent, and preserving too the 'institutions of the country,' by establishing a graduated scale of prices for patents of rank, and abolishing all other sources of revenue; if, after witnessing this miserable abortion of a project, the electors of Sheffield should choose to signalise their wisdom by making Mr. BUCKINGHAM their representative, it will not at all retard the march of a real reform, and, during the progress of that march, will afford us new subject for laughter at the profundity of the '*intelligent classes*' of society."

DESPERATE PUSH.

ALL over the country there are meetings going on to get the means of stirring up Ireland in a new way. The real enemies of the peace of Ireland seem bent upon destroying the effect of a plan of education for Ireland, which the Ministers have adopted; and they are bawling about, all over the country, "SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION FOR IRELAND." The proceedings of one of these meetings, as reported in the last LEEDS INTELLIGENCER, would, as the saying is, *make the devil laugh*—It will explain the whole matter, and also the characters of the leaders in the concern.

SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND. MEETING AT LIVERSEDGE.

On Monday last, a Meeting of the friends of Scriptural Education was held in the National School Room at Liversedge, in pursuance of the following notice:—

"SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION.—A Public Meeting of the friends of Scriptural Education, will be held at the Liversedge National School Room, on Monday, March 5, 1832, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of agreeing

to an Address to the Throne, earnestly requesting, that in the National Education in Ireland, the whole and unmutated volume of the Holy Scriptures may be used.

"February 21th, 1832."

The Rev. HAMMOND ROBERSON, incumbent of Liversedge, presided. A number of clergymen from the surrounding neighbourhood and several ladies, were present. The chair was taken soon after eleven o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN said, that he should have been extremely glad to have seen the chair occupied by some person better qualified than himself. He acquiesced, however, in the persuasion that nothing would occur which would require any particular qualifications in the Chairman. The business before them was perfectly simple, and was directed to one point; it was a public meeting of the friends of Scriptural Education, "to agree to an Address to the Throne, earnestly requesting, that in the national education in Ireland, the whole and unmutated volume of the Holy Scriptures may be used;" it was to request the free use of the Sacred Scriptures in the education of the children in Ireland, who are educated wholly or in part at the national expense. (Hear.) As it was an affair of a solemn nature; as it, of course, directed their minds to the Almighty God, he trusted that no one, especially one who came forward with any public expression, would forget the more immediate presence of that great Being who was every where present, but more especially so when people were assembled with any religious view. (Hear.) He entreated that what was said might bear directly upon the point in question, and tend to unite the meeting in one common sentiment. That would not only relieve him, their chairman, from any trouble in the exercise of his office, but would give an impulse to the expression of their sentiments which always accompanied the expression of sentiment well embodied and unitedly brought forward. (Hear.) In that case, they would carry their address in this cause, in a style and manner becoming Protestant British sub-

jects, and they would command attention from those who had given injudicious counsel. To err was human, and men were seldom led to correct their mistakes by any reproachful language, or any thing like a sarcastic reproof. Difference of education, difference of circumstances, led men to different views on the same subject; and they were not to use reproachful epithets because people who had been applying their minds to the same subject with themselves, saw that subject in different light, or felt somewhat differently from themselves (Hear.) Every man who was master of his subject, and understood well what he was about, was aware of difficulties, and was ready to attend to those who, like himself, had studied and examined the subject; least of all was he disposed to be harsh and unkind to those who differed from him. These ideas, of course, he wished to impress the minds of so respectable a meeting as he saw before him, and in order that they might properly understand the business before them. When they recollected that the subject before them related to religious education; when they regarded the character to whom they proposed to convey the expression of their sentiments, and when they considered the parties who might be said to be adverse to the measure, and the propriety of whose opposition they were so unhappy as not to perceive, they must feel that they would betray their cause by any thing unguarded, any thing wanton, or any thing irrelevant. (Hear.) The cause they advocated needed no such aid. They wanted help, indeed; they wanted help, but it was the help of the good spirit of God, to give them a right judgment in all things, and a right temper of mind, that with a manly firmness and right sentiments they might embrace and ever hold fast that which they believed to be good. (The venerable chairman then, in a most impressive manner, invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the occasion, and afterwards made a number of interesting observations upon the importance of education.) He said, that education was the training of youth, the formation of

the infant human being. All were born weak and ignorant; for their bodily support they were entirely dependent upon others for a long time; their minds, in like manner, were incapable of exertion, or of understanding a subject. They grew by degrees; they knew not how, but by the use of food and exercise. Their minds, likewise, grew. The bodily food was administered by other. The mind was strengthened and enlarged by the instruction and discipline which were administered by those who had the care of them in their youth. An uneducated being was a barbarian; left to grow up without education and discipline he was a savage. The idea, then, of leaving children to grow up without some direction being given to their minds—without some principle instilled which should form the character, was, in his opinion, and he knew not how to express himself in language sufficiently strong, the most senseless, the most inconsistent, and the most absurd idea that was ever expressed by any human being, and all nature cried out against it. They must give the direction to children; they cultivated their bodies, they gave them proper food, they gave them proper exercise, and watched them with proper care; and to think that their minds should be left uninstructed, undisciplined, contradicted all nature. If they examined the whole system of nature, they would find that it was a system of progress, beginning from the seed, and so on till the plant was brought to maturity; the same was the case with respect to human beings; and if it were necessary to have a good soil for the plants, how much more was it necessary that the seed should be good. From a letter lately written by his Majesty's Chief Secretary for Ireland, they learnt that it was intended to take away the Bible from the system of education in that country. It was something like taking the glorious sun from the universe; it was forbidding mankind to breathe the vital air, as it was that which formed the mind and character from beginning to end. Great Britain ranked high among the nations, and he felt himself exalted in being a British sub-

ject; but what was it that had raised the British nation to its present eminence? Why, the free use of the Bible. (Hear, hear.) The Bible, as it was read, studied, repeated, and heard, from time to time, and over and over again, formed the character of British men. It was not one reading of that good book that was to form a man's mind; it was the repetition of it, and the influence arising from the repetition of the sentiments it contained. It was thus that the human mind and character were formed, and therefore it was of the utmost importance that the people should not read the Bible by bits and scraps; it was no longer the Bible then. (Hear, hear.) If they would form any correct and decided opinion, they must read it from beginning to end, they must compare scripture with scripture, and inquire into the meaning of each passage as it presented itself. He was not expressing sentiments, he begged it might be understood, that had been crammed into his mind just on the spur of the occasion; for nearly fifty years he had been practically and industriously engaged in the business of education. When he began he saw that there was a great want of system in the mode of education; he thought himself exceedingly clever, as most young men did, and amongst other sentiments which he entertained was one, that it was better not to read the Bible. On that principle he began, but in his progress on this subject he had differed a little from what was usually done. Instead of fixing his theory and sticking to it, he very soon began to think that he should bring his theory to practice and study the subject. He had studied it in an experimental manner with an anxiety, with a sincerity, with a diligence, which he looked back upon with some satisfaction. However small his abilities might be, he had turned them to that subject to the best of his power, and he had many years ago said to the parents within his influence "Whatever you do for your children, if you regard their temporal or eternal welfare, make them thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, with the Bible as it is given us; the

history of the Bible throughout, its theology, its chronology, its geography, its promises; its prophecies and their completion; its doctrines, not as they are suggested by this or the other pamphlet, not as they are suggested by this or that preacher, not as suggested by this or that wisacre—(hear)—who knows not why; but its doctrines as they are delivered in the book itself—(hear)—its precepts, and their application to those to whom these precepts were first given: thus they will learn to understand the Bible, and an influence will be wrought into their character from this reading and studying of the Bible." But it was said that readers of the Bible, sincerely honest men, formed different sentiments. It would be most extraordinary if they did not. And why? Because they came to the Bible without any previous preparation; they read it partially, and after they had formed their opinions; and they turned over its pages to find one text to support this doctrine, another to support that doctrine, and a third to support another set of principles. The subject before them was national education, and they were met in a national school. For the last two or three years he had himself conducted that national school, and upon national principles, and he and the person who assisted him had taken care to throw out of the national school all the nice pamphlets and bits of scripture, and had introduced the Bible. They had commenced at Genesis and St. Matthew, and had carried the children forward, reading the two Testaments collaterally; and this they had done long before they heard of the letter of his Majesty's Irish secretary. Children who could not say their letters when this system was commenced, could now read the Bible; and he hoped they could not only read but understand it. He would detain them no longer; they had heard that the object of their meeting was to agree to an address to the throne, and the reasons for that proceeding would be detailed by other speakers.

The Rev. G. S. BULL, incumbent of Bierley, in moving the first resolution,

said, that as one of the younger of the brethren whom he saw in such numbers around him from very distant parts of the district, he felt considerable diffidence in taking so prominent a part on that occasion, and most gladly would he have given his task into other hands, but he thought that in some matters they might have too much diffidence as well as too little; and he could not help thinking that perhaps some of his elder brethren, whose shoes' latchet he was not worthy to unloose, would have done well to part with their diffidence and have taken place; but he was willing to do what he could to set before the meeting a fair and clear view of the subject. The resolution which he had to move had already been so ably anticipated by the remarks which had fallen from the chairman, that he was spared a part of his work, in endeavouring to uphold and support the allegations it contained. He need not remind that meeting of that famous and often-repeated saying of Chillingworth's, that "the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants." He need not tell them that it was on that principle their fathers stood at the stake, and suffered the loss of their property, and of even life itself. He need not tell them, therefore, that they had a right to expect of a Protestant government, that it should, by every means and in every way, promote and facilitate the distribution of the sacred Scriptures and the instruction of youth in its sacred doctrines, its cheering promises, and its holy precepts. But he stood forward to show to the meeting that for some cause or other, and under some influence or other, these principles appeared to be in the present case departed from. He should endeavour to make good that assertion by reading a sentence or two from the official letter of the chief secretary for Ireland to his Grace the Duke of Leinster, which had been laid on the table of the House of Commons, and printed by order. The letter was consequent upon a decision of the House of Commons recently adopted, upon the recommendation of his Majesty's Government, to withdraw the grant of 25,000*l.* per annum which had been given to the Kildare-street Society in Ireland, and to transfer that sum, with 5000*l.* additional, namely, 30,000*l.* to a board of commissioners appointed by Government for the National Education of Ireland. It was owing to the reasons alleged for the withdrawal of that grant from the Kildare-street Society, and for placing it in other hands, that the present meeting had been called together. It was stated by the Secretary that "his Majesty's present Government are of opinion, that no private society deriving a part, however small, of their annual income from private sources, and only made the channel of the munificence of the Legislature, without being subject to any direct responsibility, could adequately and satisfactorily accomplish the end proposed; and while they do full justice to the liberal views with which that society was originally instituted, they cannot but be sensible that one of its leading principles was calculated to defeat its avowed objects, as experience has subsequently proved that it has. The determination to enforce in all their schools the reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, was undoubtedly taken with the purest motives, with the wish at once to connect religious with moral and literary education, and, at the same time, not to run the risk of wounding the peculiar feelings of any sect by catechetical instruction, or comments which might tend to subjects of polemical controversy. But it seems to have been overlooked that the principles of the Roman Catholic church (to which, in any system intended for general diffusion throughout Ireland, the bulk of the pupils must necessarily belong), were totally at variance with this principle; and that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to a church which denies, *even to adults, the right* of unaided private interpretation of the Sacred Volume, with respect to the articles of religious belief. Shortly after its institution, although the society prospered and ex-

tended its operations under the fostering care of the Legislature; *this vital defect* began to be noticed and the Roman Catholic clergy began to exert themselves with energy and success against a system to which they were on principle opposed, and which they feared might lead in its results to proselytism, even although no such object were contemplated by its promoters. When this opposition arose, founded on such grounds, it soon became manifest that the system could not become one of national education." He had been copious in his extract from Mr. Stanley's letter, because when they were met together for so important a purpose, it behoved them to go upon very safe ground, and because he ought, in fairness, to give them the premises from which his own conclusions were drawn. The meeting would observe that the pith and marrow of the subject was, that the Government assisted the Kildare-street Society with 25,000*l.* per annum, and that it was established on the liberal basis of allowing the Scriptures to be read without note or comment. Mr. Stanley declared that that simple principle was *a vital defect*, inasmuch as it prevented the diffusion of education in Ireland. Why? Because the Roman Catholic priesthood objected to the free use of the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Stanley therefore said, that such a society would no longer be supported by Government. He (Mr. Bull) would beg leave to deny the allegation that the system of reading the Scriptures without note or comment had tended to retard the progress of education in the Kildare-street schools; and he would bring proof that it had not. The Parliamentary grants were first given to this society in 1816, and he would read an account of the schools of the society as stated the other night in the House of Lords. In 1815 there were only 8 schools and about 500 children; in 1818, 65 schools and 4,527 children; in 1825, 1,490 schools and 100,000 children; and in 1831, there were 1,654 schools and 137,530 children. Really that did not look like a failure, more especially when it was admitted by those who justified the withdrawal

of that grant, that one half of the children educated by this society were Roman Catholics, to say nothing of the Roman Catholics educated by other societies. In 1812, a board of commissioners was appointed to inquire into education in Ireland, and their report stated that there were 200,000 children under instruction, and out of that number there were only 20,000 Roman Catholics; but in 1825 another board was instituted, and they reported that there were then 730,000 children under education in Ireland, and that 460,000 of them were Roman Catholics. Did that look as if the Roman Catholic children were not receiving education in Ireland? Did that go to support the allegation of the Right Hon. Secretary for Ireland? No, it did not. On the contrary, he would assert that the Roman Catholic population had participated largely in education in Ireland, not only through the medium of the Kildare-street Society, but otherwise. He would go further: it was a fact, that at the commencement of the Kildare-street Society, many Catholics of distinction joined it. Mr. O'Connell was a member of the Kildare-street Society, and an active promoter of it. It was stated in the House of Lords by the Earl of Wicklow, that when he was Vice-president of that Society, a great number of letters was received from Roman Catholics, congratulatory of the system adopted, and that two Roman Catholic bishops had very recently sent letters of approbation with regard to its principles and proceedings. When that was the case, he thought that the allegation of the Secretary had not been substantiated; and therefore he (Mr. Bull) had justified his objection to the withdrawing of the parliamentary grant to the Kildare-street Society, on the ground of its having failed in its object. But to enter more particularly into the history of this matter, he would state that in 1824 there was a grand interference with scriptural education in Ireland, which emanated from Rome, and he held in his hand the Encyclical from Pope Leo XII., printed by Coyne, the Roman Catholic printer, of Dublin;

and it was in a great measure directed against the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. The Pope reminded the clergy of the decision of the Council of Trent, and then proceeded, "You are aware, venerable brethren, that a certain society, commonly called *the Bible Society*, strolls with effrontery throughout the world, which society, contemning the traditions of the Holy Fathers, and contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, labours with all its might, and by every means, to translate, or rather pervert, the Holy Bible into the vulgar languages of every nation; from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared that what is ascertained to have happened as to some passages may also occur with regard to others; to wit; that by a perverse interpretation the gospel of Christ be turned into a human gospel, or what is still worse, into the gospel of the Devil!!!" He also adds—"Behold then, venerable brethren, the tendency of this society, which moreover, to attain its ends, leaves nothing untried, for not only does it print its translations, but also wandering through the towns and cities, it delights in distributing them amongst the crowd. Nay, to allure the minds of the simple, at one time it sells them, and at another with an insidious liberality it bestows them." This letter is approved of by the Irish Roman bishops. They write "to all the faithful" thus—"On receiving this letter, replete with truth and wisdom, we at once recognised the voice of HIM for whom our Redeemer prayed 'that his faith might not fail,' and to whose ardent charity he entrusted the care of his entire flock * * * we exclaimed therefore, '*Peter has spoken by Leo.*'"!!! From the time that this encyclical letter was issued the Roman Catholics began to withdraw from the Kildare-street Society. In fact, the system to which they were attached began to totter, from the circulation of the entire Scriptures, and the prelates of that church said, "There must be no more scriptural education; we will harass the Government, and we will make them withdraw their support from the Kildare-street Society." It was in fact a system of what they call in Ireland "botheration" that had induced his Majesty's Government to withdraw their support from the Society, and pronounce it "vitally defective," because it circulated the Holy Scriptures without note or comment! Oh! that the church to which he belonged might ever have that "vital defect" of circulating the word of God pure and unadulterated as it came from the hand of the Deity, without note or comment! (Amen, amen.) If the Christian church, in its several divisions, had no greater "vital defect" than that, it was built upon a rock, and the gates of hell could not prevail against it. (Hear.) It had been said that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were opposed to a scriptural education; he would admit that the Roman Catholic priesthood were against it, and that they had been "bothering" the Government about it, but the Roman Catholic laity and peasantry were favourable to it. He would read some extracts from a series of resolutions which are embodied in a petition to the Legislature, and which had been furnished to him by the Rev. Mr. Daly of Powerscourt, who said that it had been signed by 1,500 Roman Catholics, and probably would be signed by many more before it was presented. ("It was signed by 15,000 Roman Catholics.")

"We, Roman Catholics and adult scholars in the King's-court district, in connexion with the Irish Society, having through the means of that society been instructed to read the Sacred Scriptures, and thereby to value them as the word of the living God, feel it an imperative duty to come forward at this momentous period, when the Scriptures are about to be removed from our national schools, publicly to express our firm, sincere, and heartfelt sentiments on this important subject. * * * * * We beg leave to assure our rulers, that the opinion that education societies in Ireland, by enforcing the reading of the Scriptures in the schools, had defeated their object, *is not founded in truth*. We most truly and solemnly declare, that the Irish peasantry in general are sincerely

attached to the Scriptures, and instead of objecting to send their children to Bible schools, the very circumstance of the Bible being read in a school would induce many of them to prefer that school. In proof of this statement, we would refer to the thousands of the Roman Catholic youth in the London Hibernian, Baptist, and Kildare-street Schools. We would refer to the thousands of the adult Roman Catholic population at present in the scriptural schools of the Irish Society. *We would refer to the waylaying, abuse, and murders, to which Irish masters and scholars have been often exposed.* * * * There are thousands and tens of thousands of Roman Catholics whose cry may never reach the ear of the British Senate, who from sincere love for scriptural education, in defiance of every species of hostility, continue to send their children to the Bible Schools. Under these circumstances we trust that a British Parliament will ever use its influence to stop the progress of scriptural knowledge in Ireland, to deprive the Irish peasant of the book of God, or withdraw its usual aid from any society, because the Bible is read in its schools. Believing that the Holy Scriptures contain the mind and will of the Lord to his creatures, that they were given for our learning, that they are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, we consider them the only sure basis for the education of youth, and we are convinced, that pure and entire as they came from the Deity, and were given to man, they are the property, the privilege, and the birth-right of every human being, WITH WHICH NO POWER ON EARTH HAS A RIGHT TO INTERFERE."

Was there a man in that assembly who would wish to stop such a petition as that on its way to the British Parliament? Was there a man who would not hold up all his hands for it, if he had a hundred? He would not believe that there was a man present who would not say "God speed it well." (Applause.) There was but one other point to which he wished to direct the attention of the meeting. It appeared to

him that there would be no end of "botheration" if they began to give way in the matter of the Scriptures. Dr. Doyle had recently issued a circular in which he appeared to approve of the new plan of education, but he had put in what might be called a caveat, or caution. He said—"Should bad men succeed the present Commissioners, and attempt to corrupt our youth, we are not dumb dogs who know not how to bark. We can guard our flocks, and do so easily, by excluding the Commissioners, and their books, and their agents, from our schools." (Hear, hear.) Dr. Doyle seemed to say, "You are doing all right at present; but we will put you out of office in a short time if you don't do our way." That was the system now adopted. It had been asserted by Lord Plunkett in the House of Lords, that the Scriptures were not excluded, for parts of them were admitted; and his Lordship thought proper to justify a selection of parts of them by a reference to the services of the Church of England. It was astonishing that his Lordship should use such an argument. It was true that selections from Scripture were used in the Church of England; but let his lordship point out a school in the kingdom, bearing the name of Protestant, from which the "whole Scriptures" were excluded. A selection of the Scripture was all very well, but he would protest against any selection merely to please the Roman Catholics. The assertion of the defenders of this measure, that the respective religious instructors of the children were admitted two days in the week, and that then they might use as much of the Scriptures as they pleased, was practically without any weight. Such a system every person conversant with youthful education must know was impracticable. It was a mere *ignis fatuus* in the scheme—a vain illusive light which would surely mislead those who followed it. Supposing that it were "expedient" to make this change, he should oppose it on the ground that it was unbecoming in a Protestant Government to sacrifice "principle" to "expediency" in a matter of such vital import-

ance as the free circulation of the whole and unmutated volume of the sacred Scriptures. With these sentiments he confidently left his resolution in their hands. (Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE SCOTT, of Heckmond-wike, said that Mr. Bull had given the number of scholars in the schools, but he had not stated the relative number of Protestant and Catholic teachers.

The Rev. Mr. BULL said, that the return he had quoted did not state the number of teachers, much less make the distinction which Mr. Scott had asked for. It was a fundamental rule of the Kildare-street Society, that the appointment of the teachers should not be influenced by religious distinctions.

Mr. SCOTT said, that was not an answer to his question, but the chairman decided that it was.

The Rev. W. MADDEN, Incumbent of Woodhouse, near Huddersfield, seconded the motion. He said he could not but feel particularly thankful to the chairman, and to God who had put it into his heart, for the friendly admonition which he had given them in the commencement of his address, for they were well aware that there was nothing so much calculated to move the heart, to stir the feelings, and to rouse the energies of man, as religious questions. Upon the subject before the meeting, which was one of vital importance, every sincere Protestant must have his feelings greatly excited, but at the same time he was aware that it was necessary that they should enter upon it with calmness and discretion and sobriety, so as not to give occasion to any adversary to find fault with them. No exaggeration or vituperation could aid their cause. He should therefore deprecate any indiscriminate censure of ministers. He had no doubt that they would join in the sentiments of the resolution, and say that the Bible was the greatest boon ever bestowed by God upon his creatures in this earth. He doubted not that they would also maintain that no impediment should be thrown in the way of its distribution amongst all classes, and that every one of them would most readily set their hand and seal to the sen-

timents contained in the resolution. But their conduct was grounded upon the expediency of yielding a part, in order that they may retain a part in the education of the people of Ireland, and it was upon that ground that they had met them. They could not concede the propriety of yielding principle to expediency. He conceived it to be of the highest importance to human beings that no man, or set of men, should sit down to select any part of the Bible in preference to any other part, for the information of any portion of God's creatures. (Hear.) It was on that ground that they were going with a petition to the foot of the throne, to beseech his Majesty not to sacrifice the principle which had been the basis of the prosperity and happiness of England. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ALEXANDER DIXON, of Speen, said he believed that there was not one individual present but would be glad that every poor Irishman should have his Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible to read; but it so happened that in Ireland as in England there was a diversity of feeling, and though they might be glad to have the Bible read in every school, he feared that here were insurmountable obstacles to it. ("No, no;" "hear, hear.") [Here the chairman called Mr. Dixon to order, and apprised him that the meeting was not called to discuss any political or controversial topic, but merely to agree to an address to his Majesty.] Mr. Dixon, however, proceeded to contend that the newly-constituted Board of Education was more unobjectionable, because less sectarian, than the Kildare-street Society. He observed that the New Board had been formed in pursuance of the report of a committee appointed by a former Government. He proceeded thus—We have a king, God bless him, (Amen)—may he long live to reign over us—(Amen)—who is of a liberal mind, and we have for ministers men who are not disposed to rule for a few at the expense of the many. (No politics.) The Rev. Mr. Bull rose to order, and although the chairman decided that Mr. Dixon was out of order, he insisted upon being

allowed to proceed, in which he was seconded by some twenty or thirty fellows, who kept setting up most uproarious shouts every now and then at the beck of Mr. Dixon. The interruption was continued for upwards of an hour, the chairman insisting that Mr. Dixon had no right to proceed, and the dissentient party being determined that none other but Mr. Dixon should be heard. The Rev. Mr. Gregg gave out the two first lines of the Doxology, and the whole was sung three times over, amidst the jeers and sneers of the dissentients, with a view to calm the excitement which prevailed, but all was in vain; they were determined that the business should not proceed. It is almost impossible to describe what took place during the uproar, and as our space is very limited, we shall merely add that it was terminated about half-past two by the chairman adjourning the meeting to Heald's Hall, there to be resumed at half-past three.

Shortly after the appointed time the venerable chairman reopened the business. Prior to the first resolution being put to the vote, he took the sense of the meeting as to the correctness and propriety of the construction which he had put upon the advertisement at the commencement of the meeting in the forenoon. The meeting decided, by a unanimous vote, that his construction of it was strictly correct; it being a public meeting *of the friends of Scriptural education, who were already prepared to address the throne for the entire and unmitigated volume of the holy Scriptures to be used in the national education in Ireland*; and consequently that any interference of persons *opposed to such an address* was a most unwarrantable intrusion upon the privileges of a meeting convened in those terms, and for that specific purpose. Some discussion then took place as to the course to be adopted most advantageously, namely, whether the business should be forthwith proceeded in, or postponed to a future day. In the course of the conversation it was stated that a number of operatives were present from Honley, Holmfirth, beyond

Bradford, and other distant places, who would not be able to attend on another occasion, on account of the distance and loss of time; and it was consequently resolved to proceed with the business immediately.

The first resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. C. H. LUTWIDGE, Incumbent of St. Paul's Church, Huddersfield, proposed the second resolution. He said that he little expected that in the year 1832, any body in a Christian country would have been called on to stand up in defence of the word of God; and little did he expect to find persons ready to league themselves with Belial against Christ. (Hear.) When he recollected that the object of the Kildare-street Society in Ireland was in fact the object of the Bible Society, when the objects were so catholic, it filled him with a considerable degree of surprise to think that any Minister of the King in a Christian country should abolish the grant which had been acted on for years, and in its stead introduce a board formed of materials so discordant one to another as must cause the fabric soon to fall to pieces. Who would believe that that board was to consist of Protestant, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and that even a Socinian was to sit at that board even with Christians? and who could suppose that that board was likely to put forth any selection that would give a fair view of the Scriptures? The principle of Protestantism was the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible; and they entered into that room from which they were driven by a cabal of wicked men, to support that principle. He maintained that as fallible men they had not a right to leave out one word of the word of God, when it is recorded in that word "that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." Were they not then deteriorating from that profit which the Scriptures were able to afford their readers, when they attempted to keep back any part of the great charter of

their salvation which the God of everlasting happiness and bliss had given them? For his part, he would not dare to be guilty of such a thing. He put it to those friends present, who were compelled to labour for their daily bread, whether they, as parents, as Christians, and as men, would consent that their children should be furnished only with the mutilated Scripture? If not, why should they consent to rob their Irish brethren of what they themselves would on no account part with? He contended that the Irish, as a people, were not opposed to receiving the sacred Scriptures, for it was in evidence that the parents of children had in many cases received Bibles at the hands of the teachers of those children; and he would assert, that the only persons who opposed the circulation of the word of God were the priests of the idolatrous and Babylonish professions, which dare not come to the light to be judged by the word, because they knew that their tenets are not only opposed to but contradicted by that word. What would they think of a proposal to teach a man with extracts from the Douay translation of the Roman Catholic Bible, which stands a note to this import, "If it were not for the confusion that it would introduce into Ireland, it would be a very happy thing for a general massacre of all the Protestant heretics to take place?" It was here requested that Mr. Ludwidge would state the reference to the quotation. Mr. L. replied, that he was not prepared to state the exact chapter or verse; that a friend on whom he could depend had stated that such notes did exist, but it would be, he agreed, desirable not to advance any thing that could not be literally substantiated.

The Rev. J. C. FRANKS, Vicar of Huddersfield, said that he was glad that Government had withdrawn the grant from the Kildare-street Society, and had transferred it to the Board of Education in Dublin, and his reason for so saying was this—at Bradford there had been a great deal of equivocation as to whether Roman Catholics would or would not allow the people to read the Bible with-

out note or comment. After what had recently taken place, that could never be denied again. It was well known to be a fact, though they had always heard it denied by the Catholic priest, that the children of Roman Catholics, who were desirous of attending the schools of the society were zealously kept back by anathemas from the altar. We saw the professors of a religion calling itself Christian, preventing the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. They had lately heard from the principals of Stoneyhurst College that the decrees of the Council of Trent were the rules for the government of the church: and they had now that declaration acted upon, so that the priests would not let the people read the un mutilated book of the Scriptures. The question for the meeting to decide, was, whether they would permit expediency, or that Protestantism which was founded upon the Bible, to predominate. He was quite aware that it was possible to make extracts from the Bible that would not clash with the doctrines of the church of Rome, but would rather appear to favour them, though he knew not of any part of their creed that was according to the Scriptures, and therefore he should contend for the un mutilated volume being used. It was matter of convenience, it was matter of economy, to give children a parable by itself, because a penny pamphlet would last nearly as long as a 2s. 8d. Bible; but as soon as they were fit to receive the Testament it was placed in their hands. Mr. Franks read an able extract from the Irish Magazine for March, with a view to show that each member of the Board of Commissioners might strike out of the class-book those doctrinal parts which were opposed to his views, so that all the parts which went to establish any particular or general fact would be removed, and that the worst portions only of the Catholic Bible might be retained, and that it was not even compulsory on the board to use any portion of the Scriptures whatever, not even in the education of Protestant children. He concluded by observing that the great principle, which he trusted they would never abandon, and which, as

Christians and members of the church of England they ought ever to hold fast, was that the Bible and the Bible only was the religion of Protestants, for whatsoever was not contained in or could not be proved by it was not part of the faith of Christians, and in order that men might believe that which pertained to their salvation, they should possess the whole Scriptures, which Christ had called upon them to search. (Hear.)

The Rev. G. S. BULL said that although Mr. Lutwidge was not prepared to substantiate the quotation he referred to, yet he would with permission read two extracts from the celebrated Romish doctor, Cardinal Bellarmine, the Venice edition, 1599, vol. ii. p. 500. At the conclusion of a long dissertation respecting the laity, he adds, "Lastly, it is a blessing to obstinate heretics to be taken out of this life, for the longer they live the more errors they conceive, the more *persons* they pervert, and the more damnation they obtain to themselves." Just before that he says, after quoting some very great authorities on the subject, "We collect, hence, that it is lawful for heretics who are rebels to the church, to be cut off from the church, *and delivered over to the secular judge to death.*" It was needless to inform the meeting that all were heretics who did not belong to the *Holy Romish Church*. The original work he had in his possession, and had made the translation himself.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. W. H. BULL, incumbent of Sowerby, near Halifax, proposed the third resolution, in a very able and interesting speech, which we have no room to report. He read an extract from Dr. Doyle's catechism, and an answer given by Dr. Doyle before the Committee on Education, to show that if an Irish peasant were to persist in reading the Bible in the authorized version, after having been prohibited by the clergy, he would be denied admission to the sacrament of penance, by means of which alone a Catholic believes that he can be released from sin.

The Rev. T. D. GREGG, incumbent of Earlsheaton, in seconding the resolution, after expressing his regret at the earlier occurrences of the day, proceeded thus. It appears to me that in considering the merits of the question before us, we seem too much to forget that our principles are known and ascertained, and that it is this ascertainment of our principles which peremptorily mark out the course which we should adopt. Philosophers, as they call themselves, or infidels, may boast of the liberality or enlightenment which prevents them from seeing anything peculiarly objectionable in the Roman Catholic religion. We cannot, as Protestant Christians, claim a share in any such enlightenment or liberality. Our church declares in her 22nd article, "that the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, &c., is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God." And again, in the 31st article, "that the sacrifice of masses in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." These, sir, are our principles, known, understood, avowed. It is not with us a debateable point whether the Roman Catholic religion is right or wrong. That was settled long ago. We hold it to be a system of gross and pernicious error—and this opinion lies at the very foundation of our present proceedings. Let us be consistent with ourselves. The question is—Should we consent that one jot of truth should be sacrificed to gratify or conciliate the ministers of error? Suffer me to put a case in illustration. Suppose a number of men blindly infatuated or knowingly deceitful, either themselves believed or desired to persuade others to believe, that twice five were eleven, twice six thirteen, twice seven eighteen, &c. Suppose these men expressed a great horror of the multiplication table which recorded their lies, and threatened to take away their children from our public schools except we

banished from them the obnoxious document. Should we yield? Would there be anything resembling common sense or consistency in our preparing a selection from that multiplication table, leaving out that which disclosed the errors of our opponents, lest the rising generation should arrive at the dangerous discovery that twice five are ten? (Cheers.) I perceive that I need make no application of this parallel. Is it not the very way to make sceptics of the Protestant children of Ireland to let them see that there is anything which can warrant a withdrawal of the Bible at certain seasons from their perusal? Circumstances compel me to be very brief; but before I conclude, I shall beg to set before the meeting a view of the case which, as far as I can judge, is not without some importance. Perhaps there is nothing calculated to afford greater surprise than the astonishing effects which we sometimes find to arise from texts of Scripture the most apparently uncalculated to make any impression on the hearer. I recollect having read of a person who, on one occasion, strolled into a church when the lesson for the day was reading—it was the chapter in Genesis which gives an account of the life and death of the very early patriarchs. There is given a brief account of each individual, which terminates with his age and death in this way—"all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years, and he died—all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years, and he died—" and so on; each lived to a great age and after all "he died." The simple repetition of this circumstance arrested the attention of the listener. "What!" he reflected, "all died." Even after such a lengthened existence, each yielded to the great law of nature and he died. And I must die—and am I fit to die?" The arrow was fixed—it could not be shaken out—the sinner was converted. I constantly hear authentic accounts from the persons concerned of similar effects arising from the application of the word of God to the heart. I am sure many around me could add the weight of their testimony

to what I allege. (Yes, yes.) And shall we, Sir, with such knowledge of this wonder-working and astonishing, and something like magical effect of which every passage in the word of God is capable, shall we, I say, venture in obedience to the enemies of light and truth to abstract one single text from the marvellous, and miraculous, and mysterious volume of the oracles of God? (Cheers.) Sir, I rejoice that we have been opposed. The opposition which we have encountered will rouse a spirit in the breasts of the Christians of this country that will bring them to a man to supplicate against this unadvised curtailment of the Bible which they love. The Rev. gentleman concluded by announcing a meeting in support of the views set forth in the address, to be held on that day week (Monday, the 12th of March) at Dewsbury, the admission to which meeting would be by ticket, in order to secure the uninterrupted and quiet expression of the feelings of those who favoured Bible education.

The address and resolution were adopted unanimously.

JOHN BROOKE, Esq. of Dewsbury, proposed the next resolution, which was seconded by JOHN WHITACKER, Esq. of Woodhouse, and passed unanimously.

The Chairman left the chair, and it was taken by the Rev. J. C. Franks.

The Rev. JAMES FAWCETT, incumbent of St. Mark's Church, Woodhouse, near Leeds, proposed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Roberson, for his kind attention to the business of the day, and the accommodation he had afforded.

The Rev. J. C. BODDINGTON, incumbent of Horton, near Bradford, seconded the proposition, and it was carried with three times three cheers.

At the recommendation of an operative "God save the King" was sung, with an additional stanza for the Queen.

At the close of the proceedings a gentleman suggested that in order to show that the meeting was not a political one, the 18th and 19th verses of the 22d chapter of the Revelation of St. John should be read. We subjoin the passage—"I testify unto every man

"that heareth the words of the prophecy
 "of this book, if any man shall add
 "unto these things, God shall add unto
 "him the plagues that are written in
 "this book: and if any man shall take
 "away from the words of the book of
 "this prophecy, God shall take away
 "his part out of the book of life,
 "and out of the Holy City, and from
 "the things which are written in this
 "book."

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

EVANS, W., Carmarthen, draper.

KEYTE, S., Minories, oilman.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

GRAVES, H., and W. S. Gooding, Strand, tailors.

PRATT, T., Exeter, druggist.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWDLER, T., Shrewsbury, horse-dealer.

CROSBIE, T., Birmingham, caster and fire-brass-manufacturer.

DE METZ, A. L., Walter's-buildings, Hol-loway, bill-broker.

FRY, J., Bristol, tailor.

JARVIS, E., Stoke Damerell, Devonshire, sail-maker.

REYNOLDS, J., Royston, Herts, carrier.

STUART, J., Plymouth, builder.

THOMAS, T., Southampton-row, Blooms-bury, and High Holborn, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

SANSON, J., Edinburgh, cloth-merchant.

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

LEWIS, G., Vere-st., Oxford-street, broker.

MERCER, J., Thrapston, Northamptonshire, innholder.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

ARMITAGE, J., and J. Greenwood, Clayton and Swamp, Yorkshire, stuff-manufacturers.

PARKINSON, E. C., Bradford, Yorkshire, apothecary.

WARING, J. and J., Lepton, Yorkshire, fancy-cloth-manufacturers.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

JONES, E., Canterbury, grocer.

SKIDMORE, J., Nottingham, bobbin-maker.

WILSON, H., Sun-street, woollen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, J., Tiverton, Devonshire, druggist.

BARTHOLOMEW, J., Derby, upholsterer.

BAYLEY, G., Bristol, silk-merc.

BINCKES, W. T., Great Newport-street, Long-acre, leather-cutter.

BROSTER, R., Stockport, grocer.

CAMPBELL, W. F., Hatton-garden, jeweller.

CARRINGTON, J., Seething-lane, Great Tower-street, bricklayer.

DEAN, J. F., Drakelow-mill-farm, Derbyshire, miller.

EMERY, E., Great Bell-alley, painter.

FIANDER, H., Sloane-sq., Chelsea, plumber.

FRANCIS, J., Brightonstone, Sussex, mercer.

MARKS, E., and W. Carrington, Mark-lane, malt-factors.

MILLICAN, J., Maryport, Cumberland, iron-monger.

OSBORNE, J., Bishopsgate-street Within, cheesemonger.

PEARCE, W., Lostwithiel, Cornwall, timber-merchant.

RINGSLEY, J., Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, corn-factor.

ROBINSON, W., Hartley-castle, Westmoreland, butcher.

SMITH, J. and C., Bath, grocers.

THOMPSON, A., St. Helen's-place, merchant.

TODD, T. and T., Birmingham, factors.

TOMSEY, J., Little Marylebone-st., victualler.

VERITY, W. jun., Birkenshaw, Yorkshire, worsted-manufacturer.

WILKINSON, J., Sheffield, tavern-keeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

ALLISON, A., Glasgow, tavern-keeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 12.

—Since this day se'nright our supplies have been moderately good as to English, Irish, and Scotch wheat, English malt, and English, Irish, and Scotch barley. Our supply of Irish oats has been abundant. Of foreign wheat and flour, English and Scotch oats, and pulse and seed, from various quarters, the supplies have been but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, but the trade, as to each kind of corn, malt, pulse, seeds, and flour, was very dull, at last week's quotations. Many of the country buyers merely wanted small parcels of seeds, or seed oats and barley; and the demand for the meal part of the latter having been greatly decreased by the low prices of Irish and foreign flour, may account for this dullness. Feed oats, beans, peas, meal and grinding barley, were less inquired for than on several past Mondays. In rye there appeared to be nothing doing.

Wheat	53s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	21s. to 33s.
— fine	35s. to 44s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers	39s. to 44s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	31s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 27s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 48s. to 50s.
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to 130s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to 88s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 84s. to 92s.
— Cork ... 88s. to 90s.
— Limerick ... 88s. to 90s.
— Waterford ... 88s. to 90s.
— Dublin ... 76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 56s. to 76s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 61s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.
— Edam ... 44s. to 54s.
— Gouda ... 48s. to 52s.
Hans, Irish ... 58s. to 65s.

SMITHFIELD.—March 12.

This day's supply of sheep, lambs, and calves, was limited; of beasts moderately good. The trade was throughout dull; with mutton and veal at an advance of 2d. per stone; with beef, lamb, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,581; sheep, 17,400; calves, 80; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 16.

The supplies continue large, but principally of an inferior quality. The market dull and the prices of Monday barely supported.

THE FUNDS.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 75.—No. 13.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 21TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO THE ELECTORS OF BIRMINGHAM.

Cotteridge Farm, King's Norton,
March 20, 1832.

GENTLEMEN,

I INSERT, below, an address of Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, in which he offers himself to you as a member to represent you in Parliament; and, under the present circumstances of the country, I should think it an instance of great baseness in me not to say thus openly, that I think him eminently calculated to serve you in that capacity. Of his devotion to the good of the country, we have a decided proof in the well-known fact, that he was one of the *victims* to the cause of reform, in 1819. The enemies of the people know well who are the people's best friends; and they have known how to handle them accordingly. This *alone*, however, would not be a sufficient recommendation; this *alone* would by no means amount to a *proof* of a man's fitness for the trust; for, a man may *change*; he, though *acting rightly* for awhile, may *never have had a good motive*; he, possessing by nature all the vulgarity of rural life, joined to all the stupid pride of the foolish part of the aristocracy, may have squandered away the savings of a father's life; may have spent, in the indulgence of his upstart vanity, the fortunes of himself, his brothers and sisters, and even of his children; and, unable to get his wife to give up hers, he may have abandoned her and taken up with another: he may,

thus reduced to real insolvency, have turned *patriot*, having first been cast off by those amongst whom he had spent his money; he may have become a *tool in the hands of the people's foes*; he, when pressed by want, arising from his own laziness and vanity, may *sell himself* to the haters of reform, and may, in fact, depend on them for food and raiment; he may, by BRAZEN LIES about RE-ACTIONS, encourage the haters of reform to oppose it, relying, on the one hand, on the *chances of a scramble*, or, that failing, on the *keep* of the successful opposers; he may be a BRAINLESS FOOL, so illiterate, of such beastly vulgarity, so notorious a LIAR, that even *truths* come blasted from his tongue; he may *under a head as grey as a rat*, present to you the *fooleries of childhood* duly co-mixed with *malignity*, which it has required half a century to mature; he may be the most *bragging bully*, and at the same time a *coward* so consummate and so often chastised, as to know, by the feel, a stick of *ash* from one of *hazle*, or, like the hero in Hudibras, a shoe sole of *neat's leather* from one of *beaver's skin*.

In Mr. EDMONDS, you will know, from the evidence of your own experience, that you have precisely the contrary of this loathsome picture, in the drawing of which I claim not the merit of *originality*. Always steady as a rock to the principles with which he started; always possessing the only *real* independence, namely, that which arises from a man's own industry; having great capacity for efficient and, most useful exertion both with pen and tongue; being in the prime of life; having too sound a judgment not to see, that he must blast his name for ever by yielding to any of the allurements which power has in store; being, in short, industrious, able, frank, courageous, not greedy of gain, and having in his own talents and pursuits a security against penury; being, besides, a native of your important town,

and well understanding all its great affairs and all its various interests; and, though last not least, being of temper and of manners calculated to conciliate even those who may be opposed to him: in Mr. EDMONDS you have these qualities and this character; and, in any man, what *more* can you want to have?

"A *man of property*" will answer the thoughtless and the selfish. And what do you want "a man of property" FOR? What FOR do you want such a man to defend the rights and promote the interests of the *industrious classes*? The first thing that "a *man of property*" thinks of, is, to keep himself *as much above* the middle and working classes as he now is: the next thing, is, to raise himself *as much further above them* as he can: these objects will not, be you well assured, get out of his view by his going into the House of Commons: they will always (unless he be a rare man indeed, and *one such rare man* Birmingham has, I believe, the honour to possess,) be *his very first objects*. If it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, I am sure it is still easier for that animal thus to pass, than for a rich man to enter the House of Commons without acting for the benefit of the rich, rather than for that of the poor.

"*Experience*," they say, "makes even fools wise." And what does experience tell us upon this subject? We want a *reform* only because *rich men*, and the *nominees of rich men*, have brought millions of us to the verge of starvation. And are we to be *rescued from this state by rich men*? Do we seek a *remedy* in the very thing which has been the *cause of our disease*? Besides, what has been the conduct of the *rich "reformers"* in Parliament? Oh! what a *victory* it was to elect Mr. PAGER, the rich banker and *reformer*, for Leicestershire, and ousting the member of the Duke of Rutland! What a *victory* to elect the rich *reformer*, Mr. DENISON, for Nottinghamshire! What a *victory* to beat the Duke again, in Cambridgeshire, by electing the rich *reformer*, Mr. ADEANE! Mr. STRUT, the rich re-

former of Derby, and a score of others might be added; but has any one of them shown the smallest disposition to take one single ounce from *those burdens* which are pressing the industrious millions to the earth, and to get rid of which is the object, and the only *rational* object, that we have in view in seeking a reform of the Parliament? Has any one of them objected to that *pension-list*, that *sinecure*, *grant*, *retired-allowance*, and *dead-weight list*, which contains the names of the *rich whom the poor are compelled to support*? Has any one of them ever objected to the annual payment to HANOVERIAN and other *foreign half-pay officers*, to whom have been sent nearly, or quite, TWO MILLIONS OF ENGLISH TAXES since the peace, though the half-pay is deemed a *retaining fee for future services*, and though the law *forbids those men to be employed in our service*? Has any one of them ever complained of this flagrant waste of the people's money? Has any one of them ever made an attempt to repeal SURGES BOURNE's hated bill? In short, has any one man of them discovered the smallest degree of feeling for the industrious classes? Never, and never will they: it is not in nature that they ever should. And, therefore, if these great towns be weak enough, or, rather, base enough, to prefer *rich men* to represent them, they will soon find that they have forged chains for themselves and for all the rest of the country.

If we wish for an instance, which shall, in one single man, give us proof complete of the soundness of my reasoning here, have we not BURDET? Have we not this fellow, with *twenty thousand acres of land*, and with, probably, *two hundred thousand pounds in the funds*? This one is *rich enough*, at any rate; this is "a *man of property*" enough to satisfy the very basest of all mankind. And what has he done? Why, after having for years deluded the people, by his bawlings against "THE GREAT FAMILIES," and for the "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*," we see him now actually endeavouring to stifle the POLITICAL

UNIONS; while from his lips never comes there one word against any of those votes of money which are the cause of our ruin and our suffering. We see him pelted from the hustings with turnips and cabbages by his oppressed constituents, after having seen him pledge himself to support CANNING, at the very moment when that impudent tax-eater was declaring, *that he would oppose reform to the end of his life!*

Here, then, we have a proof of the inefficacy of riches to secure to us good representatives. BURNETT's conduct has arisen from his riches. Had he been poorer he might have acted a better part: he has too much, and is too fond of it, to suffer him to wish to see the power of riches diminished. Thus, it is a great mistake to suppose, that *riches and independence* mean the same thing or that the latter is the effect of the former. The man *really* independent is he who feels that he has *within himself* the means of providing for all his *real* wants, and whose life has been, and whose character is, such as to curse him with no *imaginary* wants. *That* is the only truly *independent* man; and such a man you see in your indefatigably industrious townsman, Mr. EDMONDS. If, indeed, he were a great hulky beast, whose shoulder-of-mutton fists were made for the plough-handles, and whose broad back was fashioned to a hod or a knot, but whose laziness had never suffered him to earn one single penny since he was born, and whose vanity and brass united, made him think himself entitled to live, in some way or other, *upon the labour of others*: then, indeed, you might inquire, and you ought to inquire, into the amount of *his property*. If he presented to you the *beau-ideal* of a sturdy beggar, having his bulky, ill-formed carcass carried about the country, passed along from town to town, by the means of *subscriptions* wheedled out of the pockets of the thoughtless; then, indeed, you might reasonably inquire how he could ever be *independent*; and, in fact, it would be the duty of the magistrates of Birmingham to take him up, and make him give an account of *how he got his*

living, he having no visible means of honest livelihood. But, in the talents, the rare industry, the self-dependent powers of Mr EDMONDS, you have a better security for independent conduct, than you could have in all the riches of the richest man in the land. .

Mr. TENNYSON is talked of as a member for BIRMINGHAM; and who and what is Mr. TENNYSON? He has lately been in *public pay*, and has quitted it on account, he says, of *ill-health*. This was the *true* ground, or it was a *false* one. In either case here would be enough for Mr. TENNYSON; for you want both *health* and *honesty*! But there is another objection to Mr. TENNYSON; namely, that he is in Parliament *now*, and has been there *for several years*; and that he has never made an effort to *take away the pension list*; never opposed the *yearly grant to Hanoverian and other foreign officers*; never objected to the *grants to the clergy out of the taxes*; never objected to the *military and naval academies*; never protested against military and naval half-pay given to *rectors and vicars of the church*; never attempted to cause any of those changes which are absolutely necessary. And *why* should you suppose that he would *change* his course of conduct? He is a *tried* man; he has been tried and found wanting. You know what he *has been*; and therefore, if you were to choose him, you would *stamp his past conduct with your approbation*; and that would amount to a declaration on your part, that you were *content with the squanderings*, and that you wished them to *continue*; or, in other words, that the people of Birmingham do not feel themselves oppressed by the taxes and rates and the Corn Bill, and that they want a *reform* merely for the sake of *his name*! To those who propose Mr. TENNYSON to you, put these questions. *Will he distinctly pledge himself,*

To move or support a motion for the abolition of tithes in England?

To move or support a motion for the repeal of the malt and hop tax?

To move or support a motion for the repeal of the Corn Bill?

4. To move or support a motion for the sweeping away of the pension, grant, allowance, sinecure, and dead-weight lists, with the few exceptions which strict justice would call for?

If they do not answer in *the negative* for him, he will do it himself. Upon what ground then, with what decency, with what *honesty*, is any man of this town to propose to you to elect Mr. TENNYSON, while another man is ready to give these pledges?

Gentlemen, I am aware that I may have taken a liberty too great in thus appearing to think it necessary to address you on a subject, on which I know you, and the whole nation knows you, to be such *competent judges*; but I trust that my anxiety that your example might be such as to direct in the right path all the other towns, and all the counties in the kingdom, will be my apology.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble and
most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MR. EDMONDS'S ADDRESS.

"To the Inhabitants of Birmingham,
"and its vicinity.

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

"You will, in all probability, be soon
"called upon to exercise the important
"privilege of electing two members of
"Parliament. Efforts are now making
"to induce you unawares to pledge
"yourselves to vote for gentlemen,
"STRANGERS TO THIS TOWN; whose
"chief recommendation is their *wealth*
"and *station*; who are comparatively
"unknown to you; and whose principles
"are not of that decided character
"which is indispensable in your representatives. Under these circumstances,
"I venture respectfully to pray, that
"you will reserve your pledges till you
"have before you all the candidates for
"your choice. Members of Parliament
"are not to be chosen in mere compliance to wealth and rank. Votes are a
"trust, a solemn trust, created and con-

"ferred for the general benefit of the
"nation, and in particular for the protection of those multitudes who are
"not included in the provisions of the
"Reform Bill.

"The enlightened inhabitants of Birmingham and its vicinity will be
"guided in their choice of representatives by EXPERIENCE; they will require something besides wealth and
"rank, or even that regard for the constitutional liberties of the country
"which CONVENIENTLY discovers itself
"at the 'eleventh hour,' just when the
"cause of reform is about to triumph;
"but which existed without ENERGY,
"without ENTHUSIASM, without DEVOTION, when that cause demanded the
"aid of every patriot; and when its
"advocates were subjected to every
"species of OPPRESSION, PERSECUTION,
"and CRUELTY.

"Aware of the serious circumstances
"of the country, you will require that the
"men of your choice should have the
"capacity to take an efficient and determined course in the settlement of those
"IMMENSE QUESTIONS, CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL, which a Reformed Parliament MUST presently entertain; and,
"in the discussion of which, courage,
"decision of character, perseverance,
"and benevolence, of the highest order,
"are necessary; and without which, a
"mere GENTLEMAN would be tossed
"about like a FEATHER upon the ocean
"of Parliamentary Debate.

"With the firm conviction that I
"possess many of these essential qualities, and that I feel the awful responsibility under which a representative
"discharges his duty; it is my UNALTERABLE purpose to offer myself for
"the representation of this town and
"its neighbourhood. This step has received the sanction of all classes, and
"of several of the MASTER MINDS of
"the day; so that my return is scarcely
"PROBLEMATICAL—I believe it to be
"CERTAIN. I found my hopes of support, not certainly on my being a
"RICH MAN, but on my having, for
"many years, steadily and perseveringly advocated the cause of reform,
"and opposed RELIGIOUS and CIVIL

"oppressions and impositions of every description—and on my having done so, with all the faculties of my head, and all the energies of my heart.

"I have the honour to be,

"Fellow Countrymen,

"Your most obedient

"and devoted servant,

"GEORGE EDMONDS."

"*St. Mary's Square,
19th March, 1832.*"

A LETTER

to

MR. GEORGE WOODWARD, NEW YORK:

*On Corn, Hogs, Mangel-Wurzel Beer,
Cholera Morbus, Fast-day, Tithes,
Emigration, and Peter Thimble.*

*Cottredge-Farm, near Birmingham,
16th March, 1832.*

MY DEAR SIR,

FIRST to business, and then a little dish of politics; but, first of all, as to the *date* of this letter. This farm is about five miles from Birmingham, and is in *Worcestershire*, which I believe is your native county; of which, I do assure you, I think the more highly, on your and your family's account.

Now then for another favour to beg of you: on the 21st of December last I caused twenty quarters of corn to be bought for me at Liverpool, to be sent coastwise to London, and in about a week I was told by my correspondent, that it was bought *and shipped*. Now, mind, this was *before the 1st of January*. Well, I have just got a letter from London with these words in it, "We have *yet heard nothing* of the Liverpool *"corn!"* It is useless to storm, especially against wretches so torpid as the mariners of Liverpool. What a set of sailors! No wonder that JONATHAN beats them at sailing; no wonder that an English ship cannot sail *so cheap* as an American ship! I deserve this, however; for I have been served in the like way *twice before*; and even when I was giving the order for this corn I hesitated, observing, that perhaps the *shortest* way was to *write to New York* for the corn. Nay, if any Liverpooles will bet me

three sovereigns to one, I will bet that this letter brings me the corn from New York to London *before* the above-mentioned shipment of corn will arrive from Liverpool, though bought, paid for, and shipped before the first of January!

I request you to send me *in common flour barrels*, forty quarters, or 340 bushels, of the best *yellow corn*, the very best that you can purchase; and ship it as soon as you can to me at London, and by a *Yankee ship*: for God's sake keep clear of the *Liverpool navigation!* I want the corn for my horses and pigs, but also to make puddings, bread, and other things for the table. Therefore, get it quite *fresh and sweet*, and send it in barrels by all means. Perhaps it ought to be got in the *car*, and shelled for the purpose. Mr. Tredwell will tell you about this; and he will help you to choose the sample. The great fault of all the foreign corn is, that it has generally been *heated*, more or less, in the ship; and that makes it *musty*. Putting it in barrels, and in April too, will prevent this; and I beg you to get the very best *yellow corn*, that has not a rotten grain in it. After this year I shall not want foreign corn at all; and in another year or two, there will be no importation of it. The white corn is more *steely* than the yellow; and, therefore, I wish to have the yellow. The farm, at which I now am, will have two statute acres of corn this year; and I will bet any man ten sovereigns that they will yield thirty quarters, or 240 bushels of shelled corn.

Draw upon me for the amount of the corn at sixty days sight, or at thirty days if you like. Pray, as soon as you get this, write to me about *THE WOOD*; tell me what you have done about it. It will be soon enough for me to have it next winter. Avoid "*Via Liverpool*" as you would avoid all that is slow and ruinous in maritime operations. If *you* had to do with these people, you would go mad.

I left home on the 17th of December, and have been preaching politics in all the great towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire: I am now come hither; and shall go to that *Dudley* of which you

used to talk so much. We are all in a state of complete uncertainty as to the passing of the *Reform Bill*; but we are sure of having a *reform*; and I do hope that I shall yet see you all in England. Remember me in the kindest terms to Mr. Tredwell, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Harris, and to all other of my friends that you know, and to every member of your own excellent family. Above all things, remind Charles and Thomas of our two days laughing, at Grasshopper Lodge, when we got Peel's Bill and the report and Ricardo's evidence! Tell them to remember that I then said: "Now, I'll go home; for the tiger has drawn his own teeth."

I send you this order for corn *in print*, to *save postage*; for I pay as little as I possibly can towards the feeding and clothing of "*Lady Julianna Hobhouse*" and the like. I pay as little as possible in this way. I never use any liquor that pays a tax in any shape that I can see. The *malt-tax* is, however, my master as yet; for *servants* will not drink water, and they ought not to do it; and you cannot always have milk for them. However, I think, that I shall be able to match my Lady Juliana here. Before I left home I caused a barrel of *mangel-wurzel beer* to be brewed. I once tasted some very good at EYE, in Suffolk; and the other day (2nd March), I tasted some very good at Mr. STRICKNEY'S, at Ridgemont, in the Holderness country, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Now, if I find *my barrel* as good as that, I shall, at Lady-day, make a bargain with four Chopsticks, three men and a boy, to serve me for a year, at such and such wages, to be boarded and lodged of course, and to have no drink *but mangel-wurzel beer*. The maids shall be upon the same terms; and thus I shall chouse my Lady out of about thirty pounds a-year! Now, mark how this will *work*. In consequence of my withholding this sum from my Lord ALTHORP'S "*charity*"-box, I shall be able to give my servants *higher wages*. We shall share in the effect of the subtraction: I shall have more money to apply to other purposes; and they will have more to buy clothes with, or to save

against their day of marriage. When I get home, and have tasted the beer, I will give my readers a full account of it, and of *the manner of making it*. We know that *sugar* will make beer; and we know that *mangel-wurzel* will make *sugar*. It remains to be seen what *the cost* of making beer will be in the latter case. I suppose not more than a sixth part of the cost of *malt-beer*. Mr. BRIDGE, of Holford, says, that he made *a pint* of ardent spirits from *a gallon* of mangel-wurzel juice; and I see no reason why *very strong beer* should not be made of that juice. Let me get some *good ale* from it, and deposit a hundred bottles of it at my shop to be distributed; and send half a dozen to a clever friend in each country; and my Lady Juliana will, if her name be still on the "*charity*"-list, have to look sharply about her for her allowance. My opinion is, that *farmers* may all make their own *sugar*, as well as their own beer! I have no doubt about the matter. But I will *try it all before the end of May*, and make the result known to my readers. It is, perhaps, not possible to make sugar *for sale with a profit*; because that implies the purchase of the root, the conveyance of it, and the inconvenience of disposing of the pulp when the juice is out, besides buildings and labour *for the purpose*. Whereas the farmer *grows the root*, has it *on the spot*, has the brewhouse, and all the implements; has the servants without any cost on this account; has the cattle to eat the pulp, and hogs to eat the wash; I will try the whole thing thoroughly, and will give an account of the result. You will get this Register before the end of April, and I shall expect my corn in *June*. By-the-by, it was I who *introduced the mangel-wurzel into the United States*, and also the *Swedish turnip*, as a field-crop, and as food for cattle; and also the fine Sussex hogs. Apropos of hogs: at Nottingham, the other day, I bought, in the market, a ham that weighed 70 (seventy) pounds, avoirdupois! The hog weighed, when dead and dressed, forty-five score and two pounds, or 902 pounds; which is the weight of a good, large, fat *De-*

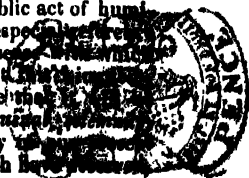
vonshire ox, and about the average weight of two Scotch oxen. To attain to these weights the oxen must be *four or five years old*; and this hog was but *three*. This hog was bred by Mr. FILLINGHAM, of Soyston-hall, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, and was fattened by Mr. Michael Fisher, Penny-foot Style, near Nottingham. Great praise is due to Mr. Fillingham: anybody can give a hog food to fat him; but how few will take the pains and have the patience to rear the frame! This hog was worth *6d.* a pound (and the lard, about seventy pounds, perhaps was worth *10d.* a pound), all through, *22l. 11s. 6d.*: and almost any large farmer might, if he would, have a hundred of such hogs to kill every year, each hog having cost him not more than *seven* pounds at the outside. But to do this requires *fore-sight as to food*; and it requires that care and that patient attention which are wholly incompatible with the decanter and late hours: he who would have a stock like this must go to bed with the lark, and with the lark he must rise. This sort of farming implies that scores of tons of mangel-wurzel and Swedish turnips are at hand, even in May; and that heavy crops of lucern, cabbages, and corn-tops, are at hand throughout the summer; and to have these, implies attention and well-applied labour; and not a parcel of grass-land, which is left to produce what it pleases, and in which the animals are left to cut their own victuals, to swallow it, wet or dry, and to digest it as they can. I know many a farm of 200 acres which does not produce so much as I could cause to be produced upon twenty acres of the same farm! Once more, send the corn as quickly as you can. I want it in part to rear some pigs, which I shall make to weigh fifty score each, if I can.

Do not be frightened about the *cholera morbus*: it is a lie altogether; but it has served for a pretence for the passing of a law which would put to shame the legislative invention even of the Algerines. However, "out of evil comes good;" and out of this cholera-morbus lie comes the driving of

the tax and tithe-eaters out of the WEN. I wish the devils had a good sweating *fall-fever* of America; that would put an end to their "*vested insolence!*" What monsters these are, too: they complain of a surplus population: they have all manner of schemes for getting the people out of the country, and making their number less; and yet they would subject us all to the basest slavery, in order to prevent us from dying! One would have thought that they would have hailed this disease as a great blessing; but there is in their conduct *every thing* characteristic of supreme folly. However, again I say, good is coming out of evil: fear of catching the disease has induced the tax and tithe-eaters to give up something to those whom taxes and tithes have brought to the verge of starvation. It has been and is driving great numbers of the devouring *cor-morants* from the WEN; it is thinning the gaming-houses, the stews, and the assemblages of pickpockets, who, when dispersed in the country, will not so easily find shelter from the hand of justice. It is driving the parsons away out of the Wen; and it is the only thing, but an abolition of the tithes, that will ever drive them to their livings; still, it sends them away from this hellish Wen. They are lads that will *devour* wherever they be; and it is better for them to devour anywhere but in the WEN. In short, this disease has done, and will do, a great deal of good. Even the "*FAST,*" which we are going to keep on Wednesday next, will do a great deal of good; and, if you doubt of this, read the following circular letter of the Bishop of London to his clergy, and read it, I beseech you, with all possible gravity of countenance. While you are reading it, look as pious as if you had the *toothach*.

London House, Feb. 28, 1832.

REVEREND SIR,—A day having been appointed for a general and public act of humiliation before God, with an especial reference to the new and grievous disease which has been pleased to visit this country, there is good reason to hope that the people observed with *more than usual solemnity* under a deep sense not only of the danger, but of the sins which have provoked



if they have not called down, this infliction of the Divine pleasure. The disease which is now making progress in this metropolis is, as you are no doubt aware, most malignant and fatal in the *poorest and most distressed districts*. Want of *sufficient food, clothing, and warmth*, appears to be, next to intemperance, the chief predisposing cause of its attacks. Under these circumstances, it seems to be particularly required of us that we should *sanctify our fast*, not only by bringing before the Lord contrite and penitent hearts, and a spirit of supplication, but in the way which he has declared to be most pleasing to himself, by an *increased measure of charity to our poorer brethren*; "dealing out our bread to the hungry, and bringing the poor that are afflicted to our house."—Isaiah lviii. 7. I have, therefore, earnestly to recommend that you should cause a collection to be made in your church or chapel, after the sermon on the day appointed for the general fast, and that you should remit the proceeds thereof, or such part as may not be required for the necessities of your own parish, to the general fund which will probably be raised for the relief of the more distressed districts of the metropolis. That you may be strengthened by the HOLY SPIRIT to the faithful discharge of your important duties in this season of fear and trial is the earnest prayer of your affectionate brother in CHRIST,

C. J. LONDON.

There, now! think of that, Master Woodward! We have had fasts enough before; but never had we fasts, until now, accompanied with such earnest exhortations, on the part of the bishops, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked! Do pray look at this whole thing; and then remember the dreadful denunciations that used to thunder from the pulpit, the horrible anathemas on "*sedition and blasphemy*" that the bishops and clergy used to pour forth on those occasions. You can see that every thing here is upon the change; every thing is upon the *work*, like wort in a tun-tub! Not only the cholera is softening the heart, but the universal cry throughout England for abolishing the tithes, is also producing its most salutary effect. I shall presently, in another part of this *Register*, insert an article from a very excellent newspaper called the *Brighton Guardian*, giving an account of a lecture delivered in the Isle of Wight upon the necessity of abolishing tithes in Eng-

It was delivered on the 6th inst., which very day I was, at nearly a hundred miles distant from the Isle of Wight, labouring in the same

righteous cause, at the town of Barnsley, in Yorkshire. So that, whether they pass the Reform Bill or not, here we are, all of a mind with regard to this most important matter. If I had my choice given me in the following question, "*Will you have the Reform Bill, and not an abolition of the tithe-system; or will you have an abolition of the tithe-system, and not the Reform Bill?*" I would answer without hesitation, Give me the latter, by all means. Judge you, then, of what importance I deem this matter, and judge you how delighted I must be to behold what is now passing in Ireland. Tell Mr. Clark that he may begin to make his preparations for coming back, for that the land in England will soon be as free as that in America.

Do, pray, look at my petition, presented the other day to the House of Commons, on the subject of *emigration*. I defy the history of the whole world, I defy a recital of all the freaks of all the madmen that ever lived, to produce anything equal, in point of folly; I defy all the nurseries in the world to produce any instance of childishness, equal to that which is recorded in the aforesaid petition! Here is a country, the farmers of which justly complain that there is not a sufficiency of labourers to get in the harvest in due season; and here is a Government, having a Board of Commissioners paid by the public, the business of which Commissioners is to contrive the means of sending the labouring people out of the country at the public expense, upon the alleged ground that they are too numerous! Need you wonder, then, at hearing that the country is in a state of misery and confusion!

You have heard and read a great deal about the FIRES; and, you know what a kind intention this Whig Government had towards me with regard to those fires. It is these fires which have, in fact, produced the whole of the apparently wonderful changes which have taken place within these fifteen months; and I will tell you how they began. Take the map of England, and you will see, in the north-eastern point of the County of Kent, a little circuit, called the ISLE OF THANET.

It is a spot of about ten miles in diameter, pretty nearly as flat as a pancake, and in the month of August, covered all over with beautiful crops of corn of all sorts, or with crops equally beautiful of turnips, clover, sainfoin, lucern, or some other herbaceous or root crop. Now, mind, while our wise Government has been proclaiming, in all sorts of ways, that the misery of the working people arose from their *excessive numbers*; while Ricardo and Brougham and the whole of the Scotch crew, have, in order to prevent taxes from being repealed, insisted that the misery of the working people arose, not from the weight of taxation, but from an over quantity of working people; while the Government, led by the nose by the impudent and ignorant Scotchmen, have been proclaiming, in all manner of ways, that the working people suffer only on account of their excessive numbers; while this has been dinned in the ears of the working people, they have seen, every year, thousands upon thousands of Irishmen, sent over by the base and cruel SQUIREARCHY of Ireland, to come here and wipe away the *cream* of the English labourers year, by doing the harvest work *at half-price*; and by sleeping and feeding like hogs. In the month of July, 1830, just after the harvest had begun in the ISLE OF THANET, several scores of these wretched slaves poured into the Island, and agreed to work at less than half-price, were lodged in barns by the farmers who agreed with them, and fed them upon potatoes. Instantly the English labourers received notice that they must work *at the price of the Irish*. Feeling the injustice of this, and having before them the proclamations of the Government, declaring that all their sufferings had arisen from their excessive numbers, and seeing no redress from any other quarter, they took the giving of the redress into their own hands. They armed themselves with what they called BATS; they went to the several barns, where the poor Irish fellows were *snoozled* in among the litter and rubbish, roused them up, and told them, that they must *march out of the Island*. The poor Irish fellows remonstrated, but re-

monstrances were in vain. At last, it came to actual force; and though the attacked party had hooks and knives, these were of little avail against the *bats*, which are green sacks four or five feet long, the thickest end being about the size of your wrist, which is not a small one. The invaders were thus marched in bands to a bridge at one corner of the Island, on the Canterbury road, and were compelled to cross the bridge, with an injunction not to return into the Island on pain of the *bat*, of which several of them had just had a taste by way of warning.

The invaders being driven out, the "*Kentish boors*," as Dr. Black called them, returned to their work, and carried through the harvest completely, at the prices at which they began it. But, as is always the case, under similar circumstances, one victory points out the way to another. The same principle which pointed out the necessity of driving out the Irish invaders, pointed out the necessity of putting down *thrashing-machines*. Here also the proclamations of the Government applied; for, if the sufferings of the working people arose from their numbers being excessive *in proportion to the quantity of employment*, the thrashing-machines, which took away the labour from men, and *gave it to iron and to horses*, must be an evil which ought to be abated. Therefore, upon precisely the same ground that the Kentish men had expelled the Irish, they resolved upon expelling the thrashing-machines in the Isle of Thanet; and as these were inanimate substances, the breaking of them to pieces was the readiest means of expulsion. To this end the men assembled in large bodies, some carrying *bats*, and others sledge-hammers and crow-bars. Those farmers who were wise, at once consented to the breaking: those who were not wise, locked their machines up in barns, and applied for soldiers to defend their premises; and those premises, without, I believe, one single exception, in the eastern part of Kent, were set on fire; and the flails were once more heard in the barns. The labourers had now discovered that their *wages* also

might be raised. In the Isle of Thanet, they reared a *banner* or standard, on which was inscribed: "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES;" words as terrible to the present system of taxing and tithing, as were to King John and his satellites the words which the barons inscribed on their banner. The barons declared that the *laws* of England should not be changed; and the men of Kent declare that the *food* of England shall not be changed. "*Meat and bread, or fire.*" seemed to be the general resolution of the labourers in the east of Kent. In the greater part of the cases the employers gave way; they yielded to the dictates of self-preservation if not of justice. From the north-east corner of Kent, the demands of the labourers spread swiftly over the whole of that beautiful county, over Sussex, and then over Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and across into the important counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and into Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire. The last harvest has been comparatively little visited by invaders from Ireland, who have scarcely shown their faces in the southern counties; and, in Lincolnshire, where the invasion was considerable, *troops of horse soldiers were employed* to protect the poor creatures against the *bats* of the natives, who, as the newspapers told us, not only attacked the invaders in a most furious manner, but who, in one instance, proceeded to do that to them which they knew to be the most effectual way of preventing them from being instrumental in adding to the evils which the Government and Peter THIMBLE (who is their great guide in these matters) had ascribed to a "surplus population!" You will be glad to learn, that this was, however, a *newspaper lie*; and that Englishmen were incapable of such barbarity, though goaded on by provocation to a greater extent than human beings had ever before experienced. Notwithstanding the troops of horse, the invasion was, in fact, rendered useless to the farmers, who employed the invaders, who had to return back to their *Squires* with very little Lincolnshire money in their pockets;

with very little indeed purloined from the labourers in Lincolnshire. It is impossible that the invasion should not now be put an end to. You will participate with me in feelings of sorrow for the lot of these poor creatures from Ireland, who have no *poor-laws* to protect them; but you must also participate with me in the joy which I feel, that the labourers of England are better off than they were before. The Irish, thus penned up in their own island; thus prevented from coming to carry away the *cream* from the English labourer's milk-pan, will compel the landholders of that country to make just provision for them, so that they may not starve amidst that great abundance which has sprung up, and which is always springing up, in their own fertile country, and under the labour of their own hands. There is no question that this expulsion by the English labourers has had a great hand in producing that *resistance of the payment of tithes*, which is the first great step in the producing of measures (measures now actually proposed) which must legally put an end to the whole of this prodigious hierarchy, which is the main cause of the *Corn Bill*, and of numerous other evils that afflict the country. manifold are the evils which have been produced by keeping the two countries in a state of half-hatred of one another: these evils will now cease; for, never will the English be prevailed on to think ill of the Irish, because they resist the payment of those tithes, which the English themselves are so impatient to be freed from.

The fires of which you have read, as having taken place in the last fall and this winter, are from the *lowering of wages*. The formidable attitude of the chopsticks, and the numerous fires blazing at the same time, induced *the farmers to promise to keep up the wages in future*, so that the working people might have meat and bread. In many instances the parsons agreed to lower their tithes in proportion to the rise in the wages of the chopsticks. But imagining, I suppose, that the terrible hangings and transportings had so terrified

the labourers as to make them again submit to a potato-diet, the farmers in many instances reduced the wages to a potato standard; and wherever new fires have blazed, this appears to have been the case. To talk therefore of *want of education* amongst the labourers, to talk of their having been *seduced by cheap publications*, argues a degree of ignorance equal to that which dictated a board of commissioners to get rid of the people at the very time when there were not enough of them to get in the harvest! Just as if cheap publications or dear publications were wanting, to convince men that they were entitled to *some little portion* of the meat and of the bread, the whole of which had been produced by their own labours!

I have the pleasure to tell you, that the labourers in the east, and in the south, and in the west, are a great deal better off than they were in the year 1830; and that it is my opinion, that the thing will go on (Reform Bill or no Reform Bill) till they again have their due share of the produce of the land. It is curious to observe the many wonderful effects produced by that memorable strife, which, as I have stated, began in the Isle of Thanet. It is surprising how solicitous the land-holders have become to provide for the well-being of the labourers. Amongst other curious instances of this, is a *bill*, now actually before the House of Lords, for making *allotments of land to the chopsticks*; and thus *hushing* them into content. You have heard in England, and I dare say you hear your own wife now, singing to the children in the cradle:

Hushy, baby hunting!
Daddy's gone a hunting,
To get a little rabbit's-skin,
To wrap baby up in!

I never see any of these projects without thinking of this lullaby of the nursery. Ah! my good lords! it is not *that*, that the chopsticks want! They want to see the small farms that they formerly saw: they do not want to be set on to waste the marrow of their bones, to break up poor lands, and to make them good for the benefit

of the *parish*; that is to say, for the *benefit of the rich*: they want their due share of the produce of the *good lands*; and this scheme whenever it shall become talked of amongst them, will only make them see the more clearly that they do not possess that which they ought to possess. Here lies the *great difficulty* of the THING! By jails, by treadmills, by troops: by means of one sort and another, the *thing* could get over every other difficulty, as long as it remained at peace with other nations; for people assembled in masses of scores of thousands, the *thing* need not, and it does not, care a straw. As far as public opinion goes, while that is allowed to have any weight, great masses are formidable to the *thing*; but when we come to something beyond that, the great masses are nothing. The chopsticks are *every where*; without them there is no such thing as food, raiment, or property; against universal discontent and hatred in them there is no defence, and no protection. They are as prevalent as the air, and as darkness and light. There is this circumstance belonging to them, that they are actuated by no *caprices*; they are rendered discontented by no *imaginary wants*. In the language of Scripture, they say, "Give us food and raiment convenient for us." If they have these, no persuasion will urge them to deeds which bespeak discontent: if they have them not, in England, nothing will make them contented. How often, good God! have I warned the Government against proceeding upon the belief, that Englishmen would lie down and starve quietly! I warned the Duke of Wellington, upon his coming into office as prime minister, to adopt measures to prevent things from coming to that state in which the labourer should find himself reduced to the choice of *hanging* or *starving*; for that, if things were brought to that pitch, if the labourers once had the choice of hanging, or certainty of starving, Englishmen had shown, in all ages, that they preferred the former to the latter. And, we recollect well, that the newspapers told us, that the bands of chopsticks, going

to those who were at work in the fields, put this question to them: "Which do you choose, to be hanged, or to be starved to death?" The answer always was, "To be hanged." "Well, then, come along with us." Such and so strictly have my predictions been verified with regard to this matter.

However, I have, as I said before, the very great pleasure to tell you, that I now see reason to hope, that this great source of trouble is likely to come to an end; that the land-owners are convinced that the people of England are not to be reduced to potatoes; and that they are disposed to adopt measures of justice towards those, without whose hard labour their estates would not be worth a straw, while they themselves would be helpless and miserable creatures. Be assured, however, that all their attempts will fail, until the taxes be so reduced, as to make this government as *cheap* as that under which you have the happiness to live.

This letter contains a great deal of matter, very interesting to Englishmen who are in the United States; I therefore request you, if you can, to have it republished in some newspaper of New York; and if you cannot do that, to have a small edition of it published in a cheap pamphlet, by that excellently good man, Mr. DOYLE, of New York; and if he do not sell enough to cover the expenses and to pay himself for his trouble, I beg you to pay the balance on my account, and to add it to the amount of the CORN. Ask Mr. DOYLE to get for me Ramsy's History of the American Revolutionary War; also the American Kalendar for the present year or the last year; also the newest edition of the American Tariff; and you will please to send them to me by the way of Liverpool; for, in this case, we have nothing to do with *Liverpool mariners*.

Upon looking over my letter I perceive that I have forgotten one thing, which it was my intention to mention to you. We have here a *great political philosopher*, whose name is THIMBLE, and who really is the great pivot upon which the present Ministry turns. His "*first name*," as the Scotch call it, is PETER.

This philosopher has lately put forth a sort of manual, to be the guide of his Majesty's profound Ministers. It would be tedious to describe to you, in detail, the contents of this very elaborate publication; but the substance I will state, because it will not only amuse you, but will enable you to judge of the minds of those of whom this SQUIRE THIMBLE is the guide. The Squire (of whom, by-the-by, you saw a good one in my comedy of the surplus population) says that which amounts to what is expressed in the following propositions:—

1. That the people of this country are, in their sexual propensities, like the stock upon a farm, taking for instance, the *swine*.
2. That, if left to themselves, they would increase in the same manner that swine would increase, if suffered (according to the American phrase) to remain *unaltered*; that the increase of their numbers would not be so rapid as the increase of swine, because the females have generally but one at a time, and that only once a year, while swine bring from seven to fourteen, and bring them twice in the year.
3. That, nevertheless, the increase of the people would be so great, that, in about five-and-twenty years, there would not be room for them to *stand upon the Island bolt upright*.
4. That the labourers in agriculture, who breed so fast and who rear up their young ones with so much care, and whose young ones are so strong and vigorous, are the present great source of danger to the country; and especially since they have taken it into their heads not to live upon potatoes and other refuse of the ground.
5. That, if they be suffered to feed upon meat and bread, there will be not a sufficiency of food for the nobility, gentry, clergy, lawyers and doctors, pensioners, sinecure-people, retired allowance-people, half-pay of army and navy, and soldiers, and fundholders.

6. That, in other words, if the labourers in agriculture be suffered to increase, or even to exist in their present numbers, and be suffered to have wages sufficient to give them bread and meat, and good clothing, they will take so much money, that there will not be enough left to pay rents, tithes, and taxes, to support the *high* classes as they are now supported.
7. That, if these classes be not thus supported, the *tradesmen* in great and fashionable towns will be ruined; and that the journeymen will also suffer greatly.
8. That, therefore, something must be adopted by the Government to accomplish one of three things: *FIRST*, to compel the agricultural labourers to live upon potatoes, sea-weed, nettle-tops, and other herbage, such as is not good enough to keep a pig in good care; *SECOND*, to send a large part of the agricultural labourers out of the country; *THIRD*, to prevent the country women from having children, except now and then, as they may be wanted.
9. That, unless one of these three be adopted and enforced, the "*educated classes*" will be *wholly destroyed*, and the *kingly government must and will be overthrown*.

Now, let me beg of you not to *laugh* at this; not to set up a "ha! ha!" And let me beg that no long-faced Yankee will give his jaws a twist, and exclaim "pawssible!" as much as to say, that is an *English lie*. I most seriously assure you that it is true; and if I were in London, I would send you PETER's book, in which he maintains these propositions; and my belief is, that if anybody were to contradict him to his face upon the subject, he would either roast them with his goose, or stab them with his bodkin. "But," you will exclaim, "is it possible that this man is 'the planet around which the Ministers roll?'" He is, I tell you: and if I were to send up a petition to any one of them to present, they would consult PETER before they would present it.

You will ask what are the *means* that Peter proposes to make use of, in order to effect his purposes; that is to say, in order to make the labourers live upon bad pig-meat, to quit the country, or to cease to breed at such an intolerable rate as they do now? Why! with regard to the first, and also with regard to the second, SQUIRE THIMBLE does, in fact, give the thing up as hopeless. But, with regard to the breeding affair, PETER has written an "*INSTRUCTIVE TREATISE*," in which he lays down all the rules, in the most elaborate manner, and upon *medical* and *surgical* principles. Here, however, his public spirit has to contend against "*a want of education*," a thing which is deeply lamented by the whole tribe of Scotch philosophers. With the prostitutes and pickpockets and robbers, whether in high or low life; with these Peter and his disciples find it very pleasant work; but, alas! these are the *poor breeders*; so that here is very little effect produced. It is in the *country* where the *breeders* are; and here "*there is a want of education*;" so that here the beautiful doctrine of non-breeding is wholly thrown away.

In order to get over this difficulty, the Government have appointed a board of commissioners, for the purpose of affording advice and facility to working people, willing to go out of the country, at the head of which board is, I believe, the eldest son of our Prime Minister. The board confined itself, at first, to invitations to the *male* sex; but having been reminded by me, that sportsmen, in order to keep up a great breed of pheasants, always make a point of preserving the *hens*, they have now issued an invitation for *unmarried women* to go out of the country; and here they will find thousands ready to go; but not a single breeder amongst all the thousands! So that PETER THIMBLE's projects will certainly all be defeated: and the only effect that they have produced, or that they will produce, is that of exciting well-merited ridicule and contempt. Perhaps it is the first time in the history of the world, that a government has existed and gone

on, with the whole nation, labourers and all, laughing at its projects.

PETER THIMBLE is right enough, indeed, with regard to the effects of the labouring people getting proper wages. It must lessen rents, tithes, and taxes; it must drive tradesmen out of great and expensive towns; it must produce distress among hundreds of thousands of journeymen and servants: *it is producing all these effects now*. Every one indirectly dependent upon the taxes feels the effects of this augmentation of the ploughman's meal. If the change were *more sudden*, the distress in these devouring classes would be much greater than it now is. The big farmers and their families feel greatly the effect in this change of the situation of the labourers. A two or three hundred pounds is a good deal, as the yearly profits of a farm: a large part of these is now taken away by the labourers: a larger part will be taken away this year than there was taken away last year: a still larger part will be taken away the year after; and thus it will go on, till it will answer the purpose of no man to be the holder of five or six farms in short the thing had gone on, till it became a question, whether the labourers of England would or would not live upon potatoes, and occasionally die by scores from starvation. This became a question; and this question having been settled in the negative, some one or more of the other great heads of expenditure *must give way*. We are now in a struggle for preserving the whole: the Government seems to have no notion of giving way. God send, that they may be convinced, *in time*, of the utter impossibility of upholding the whole system, and that, by yielding to that which common sense and necessity dictate, they may preserve the country in peace, restore to it its liberties and its prosperity, and make it worthy of you and all your family coming back to it, and ending your days in it: and thus I conclude this long and rambling, though, to you, I trust, not uninteresting letter.

I am always your most obliged

And faithful friend and servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MY PETITION ABOUT EMIGRATION.

IN the last *Register* was my petition, relative to the scarcity of labourers in Lincolnshire and in the East Riding of Yorkshire; and praying that *no more public money* might be expended on any of the Scotch projects for getting the labourers of England out of the country. My London papers did not meet me either at Sheffield or at Nottingham; so that I have not yet read an account of what took place at the presenting of my petition, which was sent from Nottingham on Monday, the 12th instant, and which was, it would seem, presented the very next day; and, let me take this opportunity of observing, that Mr. Alderman Wood did his duty upon this occasion, with a promptitude such as I have seldom witnessed in a similar case in any other Member of Parliament. I have long been acquainted with the Alderman; but, upon this occasion, I did not make use of that acquaintanceship for the purpose of having the petition presented; but merely said to him in these very words:—"Sir, as one of your constituents, I enclose you a petition, which I beg you to have the goodness to present to the House as soon as possible. I am, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant, Wm. Cobbett." I expected it to be presented very soon; but I was surprised, on arriving at Birmingham on Wednesday the 14th, at learning from *THE SUN* newspaper, that the petition had been presented. There was *no report* of what took place in Parliament. But I have been told that PEEI'S-BILL-PEEL (that sprightly gentleman) made an awkward attempt to be sarcastic, in which I am told he has since been joined in a publication by the hulky, empty-headed *fool-Liar*, who, not content with a former exhibition of his cowardice, is now anxious to perform over again his cryings for mercy! But Mr. HUMPHREYS, I am told, observed, upon this petition, that *I was mistaken* with regard to the *expense of the board of Commissioners* and their proceedings; for that that commission and its pro-

ceedings were attended WITH NO EXPENSE TO THE PUBLIC. Mr. HUME ought to have hesitated before he made a positive assertion like this, tending to throw discredit upon the whole of a petition of so much interest to the country. As to the fact, it is Mr. HUME who is in error and not I. I am aware that the persons emigrating are to *pay for their own passage*; but I am also aware that the public furnishes the ships and everything necessary for the voyage, and I never yet knew any such undertaking on the part of the Government in which the public were not a loser. Besides, supposing the commissioners to have no salaries, have not the public to pay for the clerks and messengers and for the postage of letters innumerable? Mr. HUME may perhaps find it difficult to fish out these items of charge in the navy, the ordnance, and the colonial estimates: but Mr. HUME has at times complained bitterly of the *expenses* of PRINTING; and, before he so positively contradicted a fact stated in my petition, he ought to have ascertained, that the immense mass of printing caused to be done by this board of commissioners was *not paid for by the public*. I say that it has been and is paid for by the public; and upon this alone I had a right to pray, as I did, that the labourers of England might no longer be taxed for this at once insane and most mischievous purpose.

The truth is, that Mr. Hume is pretty sharply bitten with the philosophy of PETER THIMBLE, and the rest of those whose selfish insincerity, or whose folly, induces them to ascribe the suffering of the working people to a "*surplus population*;" and Mr. HUME has no objection to the squandering of a little of our money for the purpose of indulging himself in the furtherance of projects founded on this stupid whim. He is very scrupulous in *totting up* the items of expenditure on other matters; but here he will allow the Government to squander as much as they please. Their projects, if they could carry them into execution, would drive away Englishmen to make room for swarms in the

barren north; and, therefore, upon these projects the Government may squander. Mr. HUME may do what he pleases, but the projects *shall not succeed!*

But there was *another* part of the petition, on which, as far as I can learn, Mr. HUME said nothing; namely, my complaint, that while all these projects were on foot, for getting rid of the English *working* people, *millions* have, as I believe, been uselessly expended in the barren *Islands* of Scotland, for the express and *avowed* purpose OF PREVENTING THE SCOTCH FROM EMIGRATING! Was not this good ground of complaint for an Englishman who has paid a part of those millions? Let Mr. HUME move for an account of the sums expended by the commissioners for the carrying on of that affair; and I will bet Mr. Hume a hundred real sovereigns against a hundred pounds of Greek bonds, that is about a thousand to one, that the bare *printing* and the *plans*, relating to the Highland job; that these *papers alone*, have cost the English *more than the amount of three years' poor-rates for the county of Sussex*. Let Mr. HUME move for an account of this expenditure, that we may see how much the people of England have been robbed of by the means of this unparalleled job. *Twenty-nine years ago* I complained in my Register of this monstrous job. I have not the Register here, or I would look out the passage. I remember to have besought the late Mr. WILKINSON to protest against this rascally affair; and I pointed out to him: that we were actually *adding to the national debt* (for *loans* were making at the time), in order to send English money into Scotland, for the purpose of causing people to be kept and bred upon mountains and heaths incapable of producing them food.

Now nothing can be more easy than for Mr. HUME to move for the Act of Parliament to be read, warranting the Highland project, then to move for an account of all the sums expended in virtue of that Act of Parliament! stating the several years during which the

expenditure took place, and distinctly describing the several items expended in each year; together with the Parliamentary votes on account of that project; and also for a copy of the report of the committee, on which report the Act of Parliament was founded. Let Mr. HUME decline to do this if he please; let him believe, if he please, *that we do not mean to have the money back again out of cunning proprietors of the Highlands*; but let him not, if he mean to go quietly through this life, endeavour to make appear to be false, truths stated in a petition by me; let him and PETER THIMBLE, and the poor bewildered creatures of the Government, have an antipathy as strong as they please to the plain good sense proceeding from my pen and tongue; let them if they please indulge the childish hope of making a Parliamentary Reform without materially changing this at once rickety and cruel system; but let them not again I say expect that impunity which has so long been experienced by those whose main business it has been to cajole and deceive the people,

I again thank Mr. Alderman Wood for his promptitude in complying with my request. This statement was due to the Alderman as well as to myself, it being necessary to show that the objections of the "*brace of brainless brokers*," and those of Mr. HUME in particular, were not well founded; and that every word in the petition, which he did me the honour to present, was founded in truth. When I get home, I will, if I can find them, send the Alderman some of the printed papers sent forth by the BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS. He will then see who it is who is paying for the expenses attending that board. But who pays, I should like to know, for the *numerous advertisements which this board has put into the public papers!* Upon other matters Mr. HUME would have traced to its source this sort of encouragement *laudably given to literature!* In short, the Alderman can, whenever he pleases, ascertain the truth of the facts which I have stated in my petition, which, on the part of the jobbers and

Scotch totters, it would have been much wiser to suffer to be received in silence.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. This, after all, is founded only on *hearsay*; only on what I have *been told* that the report contained. If I have not been correctly informed, that which I have said above, with regard to Mr. HUME, and also with regard to PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL, and even the FOOL-LIAR publisher, will, of course, pass for nothing.

THE FAST.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

As the various dissenting congregations in the metropolis will probably pursue different courses in reference to the approaching fast, and the motives of such as decline compliance with the Government order may be liable to misconstruction, the Minister and Deacons of the General Baptist Church, Worship-street, Finsbury-square, deem it right to state the reasons which have induced that Society to determine upon the "non-observance" of the fast.—First: Because this church, though fully purposing to include in their ordinary religious services a thankful reference to the continued favours of Divine Providence, and a dutiful resignation to the trials it appoints, yet consider that an object, innocent in itself, becomes objectionable when a compliance with it involves the recognition of human authority in matters of religion.—And, secondly: Because this church, however reluctant, as such, to enter into political considerations, cannot but regard the enjoining fast as originating with certain pretenders to evangelical superiority, who, by their inveterate opposition to national improvement, have helped to occasion the ignorance and consequent vice which they would now make the ground of national humiliation, and represent as a Divine judgment the misery and disease to which their own measures have mainly conduced.

MY PREDICTIONS AGAIN.

(From the same.)

WEST-END TRADES-PEOPLE.—We regret to hear that the tradesmen of the nobility in London complain very much of dulness of trade, and that several in situations where the rents are high have signified their intention of *throwing up their leases and quitting the country*, unless a great reduction be agreed to by the landlords. The person from whom we have this information has been enabled to ascertain the comparative receipts of 1828 and 1829, with those of 1830 and 1831, of more than fifteen of the leading tradesmen in Bond-street, Regent-street, and Oxford-street; and, according to his account, there is a falling off in the latter two years of *more than one-third*. This is attributed, partly to the prolonged discussion of the Reform Bill, and partly to the *absence of some of the first families*, who have taken up their residence in *cheaper spots* than the metropolis. It appears, indeed, that the scarcity of money, the difficulty of collecting it, even when persons have it to pay, and the *retrenchment of the upper classes*, were never so great. As a proof of the two latter, it is mentioned to us, that many of the nobility have paid only *half of the amount due for boxes at the Opera* for more than two years, and that those who do pay, among whom is the first lady in the realm, insist upon a *discount of five per cent.*—*Court Journal*.

PARSON-JUSTICES.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

A RETURN has lately been laid before Parliament (P. P. No. 39) of the Justices of the Peace who have qualified to act in the several counties in England and Wales, by which it appears that there are 5,371 justices qualified, of which number, 1,354 are clergymen, and 4,017 are laymen. The perusal of this abstract, which we annex, will, we are confident, lead to some curious, and perhaps serious reflections, which we may hereafter more particularly notice; at present we would only observe, that there is not *one* clergyman in the counties of

Derby and Sussex, and yet we have never heard that any inconvenience had been found in either of these counties from the want of clergymen. The county of Derby has a population of 237,170, and there are 79 magistrates, or one to every 3,002 souls. The county of Sussex has a population of 272,328, and 189 magistrates, or one to every 1,441 souls. We presume that in both counties there are enough of justices. The county of Bucks has a population of 146,529, and 144 magistrates, of whom fifty-four (or nearly one-half) are clergymen; and there is thus in the proportion of one magistrate to every 1,000 souls! The zeal manifested in favour of the anti-reform candidate at the late general election in Bucks may be thus accounted for. In Cornwall, Herefordshire, Lincoln, Norfolk, Somerset, Brecon, Denbigh, Glamorgan, and other counties, it will be seen that *ONE-HALF* of the justices of the peace are clergymen; and we think some practical conclusions may be come to regarding the state of these counties as to crime, from an examination of the list; and it may be curious to notice the connexion between the clerical magistrates and anti-reform Lord Lieutenants. The attention of his Majesty's Ministers to this connexion may not be without its use, if they contemplate a reform in the magistracy; or if *they* do not, for those that shall come after them. It will be curious to hear what excuse there can be in Norfolk, for instance, for having seventy-eight clergymen, when that county is so thickly studded with resident gentry and men of character and fortune to do the duties of the magistracy. We notice Hereford county, with a population of 110,976, and 155 justices, of whom 58 are clergymen, *i. e.* there is one magistrate for every 718 souls in the county. This looks cathedral-like—part of the church-staff—and can any man say that such a number of magistrates in an agricultural county can be requisite? Whilst in Yorkshire, with a population of 1,371,296, and a large proportion of their manufacturers, there are only 414 magistrates, or one to every 3,312 souls. Will any man consider these inequalities,

and not say that the appointments to the magisterial bench must be, in many cases, made to suit parliamentary views, if nothing worse? We shall only call the serious attention of our readers to the table, and we trust that each will make his own remarks.

It is to be observed that the magistrates of towns are not included in this list.

LIST OF MAGISTRATES OR JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN EACH COUNTY IN ENGLAND AND WALES WHO HAVE QUALIFIED, APPOINTED BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Names of the Counties.	Names of the present Lord Lieutenants.	Number.		
		Clergy	Lay.	Total.
Bedford	Lord Grantham	19	27	46
Berks	Earl of Abingdon	28	95	123
Bucks	Duke of Buckingham	54	90	144
Cambridge	Earl of Hardwicke	23	28	51
Chester	Earl of Stamford	16	58	74
Cornwall	Earl of Mount Edgcumbe	36	54	90
Cumberland	Earl of Lonsdale	15	39	54
Derby	Duke of Devonshire	79	79
Devon	Earl of Fortescue	42	141	186
Dorset	Earl Digby	25	43	68
Durham	Marquis of Cleveland	23	59	82
Essex	Viscount Maynard	51	119	170
Gloucester	Duke of Beaufort, K.G.	49	127	176
Hants	Duke of Wellington	19	131	150
Hereford	Earl Somers	58	97	155
Hertford	Earl of Verulam	41	102	146
Huntingdon	Duke of Manchester	7	18	25
Kent	Marquis Camden, K.G.	2	145	147
Lincoln	Earl of Derby	24	151	175
Lincoln—Parts of Hol- land, Kesteven, and Ludley	Duke of Rutland, K.G.	17	27	44
Middlesex	Earl Brownlow	52	59	111
Monmouth	Duke of Portland	16	153	169
Norfolk	Duke of Beaufort	13	41	57
Northampton	Hon. John Wodehouse	78	119	197
Northumberland	Earl of Westmoreland	35	49	84
Nottingham	Duke of Northumberland	6	40	46
Oxford	Duke of Newcastle	10	41	54
Rutland	Earl of Macclesfield	18	53	71
Salop	Marquis of Exeter	3	6	9
Somerset	Earl of Powis	38	106	144
Stafford	Marquis of Bath	53	97	150
Suffolk	Earl Talbot	16	70	86
Surrey	Duke of Grafton	58	98	156
Sussex	Lord Arden	39	215	254
Warwick	Earl of Egremont	189	189
Westmoreland	Earl of Warwick	24	42	66
Wilts	Earl of Lonsdale	12	18	30
Worcester	Marquis of Lansdowne	18	71	89
York—East, West, & North Ridings	Earl of Coventry	44	92	136
	Earl Carlisle, Earl Harewood, and Duke of Leeds	163	311	414
WALES.				
Anglesea	Marquis of Anglesea	7	14	21
Brecon	Duke of Beaufort	24	37	61
Cardigan	W. E. Powell, Esq.	11	53	64
Carmarthen	Lord Dynevor	9	75	84
Carnarvon	Lord Willoughby de Eresby	14	17	31
Denbigh	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	24	41	65
Flinn	Earl Grosvenor	15	26	41
Glamorgan	Marquis of Bute	18	36	54
Merioneth	Sir W. W. Wynn, Bart.	9	14	23
Montgomery	Lord Clive	13	31	44
Pembroke	Sir John Owen, Bart.	10	35	45
Radnor	Lord Rodney	4	29	33
Total		1354	4017	5371

STANLEY'S IRISH TITHE BUDGET,

Laid before the House of Commons,
on Tuesday, the 13th of March.

(Plenty of time for remarks hereafter.)

Mr. STANLEY wished, in the first place, to express his deep regret that the course of conduct which he thought it his duty to pursue on this subject should have laid him open to an imputation, from any part of the House, of deceiving or entrapping the House into a hasty measure. His Majesty's Government felt it their bounden duty to go along with that which was the unanimous feeling of the whole of the committee that had been appointed to inquire into this subject. He was aware that very cogent and imperative circumstances alone ought to induce a Government to propose to the legislature any alteration of what was considered part of the law of property in the country: but he said that the papers on the table of the House fully disclosed the necessity of the measures to which his Majesty's Government was about to have recourse. It was in the month of November, 1820, that the first open and systematic resistance to the collection of tithe in Ireland manifested itself. Sir John Harvey, the Inspector-General of Police in the province of Leinster, whose evidence would be found in the report of the Committee, described the extent to which the combination against tithes speedily led in his district. He said he did not conceive there was any part of his district which he could state to be wholly free from that combination. Major Tandy said that a similar spirit prevailed in the county of Kildare. Mr. Fitzgerald declared that the resistance was spread over Tipperary, and the South of Ireland, and other witnesses described it as extending over Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and existing in a trifling degree in Kerry; while the noblemen and gentlemen who held the responsible situation of Lords Lieutenant of Counties gave the same information with respect, not to Catholic counties, but to the counties of Londonderry, Armagh,

and Donegal. The first duty of the Government, when this systematic and organised resistance commenced, was no doubt to use all the ordinary means which the law placed at their disposal to preserve peace and order, and to enforce the legal demands of the Clergy. And it would be found, by reference to the evidence, that all that could be done with this view had been effected. The present Government was not to be charged that these outrages were the work of their hands. The seeds of this violence and insubordination must have been—and it was well known that they were—deep rooted. This at least he could say, that, before he had the honour of holding the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, the first illegal notices and declarations against the payment of tithes were already in progress at the time of the present Government coming into office. Every protection which a large military force and the employment of the whole body of the police could afford was given for the recovery of the debts which were due, and the protection of property. He trusted to the indulgence of the House if he was compelled frequently, in the course of his address, to refer for his justification to that which could alone be his justification—namely, the evidence. Major Brown, who was first employed as a Sub-Inspector of Police in the county of Kilkenny, and had been much engaged in the affairs of the county, stated that a force of 350 men was employed under his orders for the purpose of protecting persons distraining cattle, for a period of two months, every day, sometimes twice a day; that he was out personally very frequently, and that the police during that time were indefatigable. And this was within three months after the systematic resistance to tithes first commenced. In that short period it had become necessary to have a numerous police and military body in operation to enforce a civil demand in two counties where the opposition had never before appeared. The mode of opposition which was adopted was such as it was extremely difficult to deal with. There were various modes, none of which were new—

for tithes were not a new grievance in Ireland; but the opposition had never before been carried to so wide, and therefore so dangerous an extent. Intimidation, violence, and outrage upon process-servers—combination against the seizure of cattle—combination against the purchase of cattle when sold—combination against offering any facility for the disposal of cattle—in short, every symptom manifested itself that was characteristic of an organised system adopted by the whole population acting as one man, in opposition to the payment of a legal due. So far was intimidation carried, that it not only became difficult to provide any persons, however necessitous their condition, who would expose themselves to the invidious and dangerous task of process-servers, but in many of the great towns in Ireland it was almost impossible to get an attorney to take a fee from a client, or to afford his legal assistance in recovering a legal due. This fact would really appear so incredible, that he felt it incumbent upon him to substantiate it by a reference to the evidence. Mr. Fitzgerald said that, supposing the other difficulties to which he alluded to be got over, the next would be to find an attorney to move the processes at the Quarter Sessions—that generally speaking, in his neighbourhood the attorneys were so intimidated, that they refused to move tithe processes—that one case had come within his own knowledge, of four magistrates on their way to attend their duties on the bench, who were mistaken, at the town of Thurles, for attorneys, and the mob told them not on any account to move tithe processes—that if they did they should never leave that part of the country alive: and here he wished to observe that intimidation in Ireland was a very different thing from intimidation in England. English gentlemen, who were so used to the protection of the law—who knew that in this country the law was paramount, and that the exceptions were the violations of the law—who saw the whole population embarked on the side of the law, and that there was no man who would not

consider it a credit to him to further the ends of justice, and to bring a delinquent to punishment—persons who witnessed all this could form no idea of the effect which was produced in Ireland by a mere anonymous notice, or a threatening placard, which would be disregarded in England, and treated as a piece of contemptible mockery; they could have no idea of the power which measures of intimidation and menace exercised in Ireland on the minds, not only of the lowest and most degraded of the people, but also of the higher and better orders. It would be acknowledged how much more easily in Ireland, with a scattered population, residing in miserable and easily-destroyed houses, apart from each other and remote from assistance, amongst numbers of persons short of work, and consequently ready for acts of violence, those threats could be carried into effect, against which the best police or the most vigilant government could not protect those who had exposed themselves to private malice which might be wreaked in nightly vengeance. And had not these intimidations been carried into practice? From the earliest times had we not heard of violence and outrage, particularly on this subject of tithes? Was there a year when the odious office of process-server did not subject individuals to popular violence and brutal outrage, sometimes even ending in bloodshed and murder? And this violence reacted upon itself in this way:—The exposure to danger and outrage which men thus incurred would have the effect, that the office would not be undertaken by any but the most desperate and abandoned characters, whose conduct, although it could not justify, would be such as almost to palliate, those outrages which might be committed upon them. But even supposing that no violence were committed, a tacit combination existed, that no seizures of cattle should be made if the law could possibly be evaded. Major Brown, in his evidence, showed the description of this opposition. He said, that the whole of the population were upon the watch, that signals were made

on the approach of the drivers and the police, and the cattle were carried off and placed under lock and key; and as the law did not permit doors to be broken open, not so many seizures were made as might be expected; that the cattle, when seized, were brought to the pound, and were invariably bought by the owner on the day of sale. He had already said that all the aid of military and police which the Government had at its disposal had been given, and he would now beg the attention of the House while he described what was the success of those measures. Sir John Harvey said, that, by employing an overwhelming force at the parish of Graigue for two months, he was enabled to collect about one-third of the arrear due; that by that period another half year had become due; so that not a tithe of the tithe of the clergy was collected, but only one-third of the tithe in one single parish. He stated this as proof of the first resolution he meant to propose, which was a resolution of fact, declaring the extensive system of organised opposition by which the powers of the law were rendered unavailing. He had heard a great deal said of the opposition being confined to particular parishes, and not extending beyond one or two dioceses. He was ready to admit that where violent resistance to the law had taken place did not exceed two, or, he believed, three districts. But the House would form a very erroneous estimate of the extent or effect of the combination if they confined it to those places where actual collisions had taken place, for they would find from the evidence that many of the clergy, under a deep sense of the impossibility of recovering their rights, and impressed with the awful responsibility to which, as men and as ministers, they would be exposing themselves, by calling upon the Government to resort to violent or strong measures to enforce their rights, had submitted to a total annihilation of their incomes, and were consequently reduced to the extremest distress and privation. He should not have felt it necessary to allude to this were it not that, in the discussion, on a former night, it had been held that the clergy were not suffering that pressing and imperious distress which was represented. The Committee would therefore excuse him if he begged leave to substantiate his statement by two extracts from the evidence. Mr. Fitzgerald stated that Archdeacon Cotton and the Rev. Mr. Woodward had both positively declined pressing their claims—that Mr. Woodward said he could not conscientiously seek tithe that must be enforced with the probable effusion of blood. Being asked whether it was within his knowledge that many of the clergy are, in consequence of the opposition, reduced to great distress, he answered, “I know that they are in great destitution. Men who last year held an income of 800*l.* or 1000*l.* a-year, are this year in want of the necessaries of life.” Sir John Harvey said, on the same point, that he had heard of some instances of two and three years’ tithe being due to the clergy. And what was to be implied by the destitution of their situation? It was not that they were obliged to deprive themselves of the luxuries or superfluities of life, to part with a carriage which they did not want, or a servant whom they could spare. Sir J. Harvey said, “A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted told me that he had just been sending a sheep and a few potatoes, and a small note, to a gentleman who was formerly in comparative affluence, and that he had neither a shilling nor a pound of meat in his house. And this testimony was supported and repeated by several who had no interest in misrepresenting the facts. Dr. Hamilton, as well as Sir John Harvey, described the clergy as being in a pitiable state of distress, and stated that he knew two in absolute want. The Rev. Mr. Barrett wrote that there were three years’ tithes due to him, and no person would undertake to execute a decree. But he would more particularly refer to the letter of the Rev. Mr. Moore to Sir William Gosset, dated 7th of January, 1832. This was not one of those pampered clergymen who were so much cried out against for indulging in the luxuries and superflui-

ties of life. He was an unhappy gentleman living, or rather starving, in a remote district upon an income of 70*l.* or 80*l.* a-year. And what was his account? He said, "Three years have elapsed since the appointment to my present curacy took place; for the first year my salary was punctually paid, but for the last two years I may say it has ceased. Although my rector is most anxious to pay me my small pittance, yet, from the continued reluctance and increased resistance to pay tithe, he has not the means. It is true I could apply to my diocesan, but he can give me no redress; for even if the parish were sequestered, I should be unable to collect the tithe. But why should I be so devoid of feeling as to worry and harass an unfortunate gentleman, situated as he is, having a family consisting of a wife and seven children to support, for which he can with difficulty procure food and raiment, although at this moment upwards of 1100*l.* are due by his parishioners. In the mean time I would respectfully inquire what am I to do? In another month two years' salary will be due, and in less than another month I shall be obliged to make up the sum of 100*l.* Small as my salary (70*l.* per annum) is, still to a man having a family and small establishment to support, as well as to try to support an appearance with those in my own rank, it must be very distressing to want that trifle such a length of time." Gentlemen might say that the clergy were sufficiently paid, and that the savings of one year ought to compensate for the losses of another. But his answer was, Suppose a clergyman to be a conscientious man, and from a notion of duty to consider himself bound to save no part of his income, but to spend all that he derived from his tithes in his parish, was he to be told that that was an argument for leaving him alone, without rendering him any assistance to recover his just claims? These were the facts upon which he proposed to move the first of a series of resolutions, which, although for the sake of clearness he would state it separately, he yet wished it to be taken as part of a set of measures upon

which conjointly his Majesty's Government was inclined to act, and which conjointly they submitted for the consideration of Parliament. The first resolution which he proposed to found upon the facts which he had stated was—

"That it appears to the committee, that in several parts of Ireland, an organised and systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, by which the law is rendered unavailing, and many clergymen of the Established Church are reduced to great pecuniary distress."

These were the facts upon which he proposed to found the course which his Majesty's Government was about to adopt: and the first question was, What course was it their duty to pursue, not less with a view to do justice to the individual clergyman who was suffering under the distress produced by the resistance to tithes than to uphold the law, and prevent its being rendered systematically unavailing? He believed there was no man, at least he hoped he might venture to say there were few, who would hesitate to say that, under such circumstances, a body of men holding the situation occupied by the clergy were entitled to every assistance and relief that could be afforded them by Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Even those who most objected to the course which his Majesty's Government was about to pursue, did not pretend to say that they ought not to use every means in their power to relieve the clergy. But he said in answer, How, or on what principle, were they to relieve them? Was the House prepared to say that, because there was a systematic opposition to a legal due, by which the clergy were deprived of their income, the country was to step forward and make good the losses—that the public purse was to be drawn upon for relief, and no ulterior steps should be taken? He said that this would be an injustice, not to the clergy, but to the country. It would be a premium upon disaffection. (Hear, hear.) It would be a bribe to violate the law, a temptation to turbulent conduct, and a condemnation, strong as language could pronounce, of those who submitted to the payment of tithes,

without the interposition of the strong powers of the law. (Hear, hear.) Was this the encouragement which the House was prepared to hold forth? Was it the pleasure of the House to say, that because the province of Leinster was disturbed, while Connaught was tranquil, while Ulster was tranquil, whilst Munster was tranquil, while all England was obedient to the law, and Leinster alone had revolted—he could use no phrase less strong than revolted—against the law, that for that reason they were to take money out of the public purse, for the purpose of putting into the pockets of those very persons by whose misconduct the loss had been occasioned? Was the House prepared to say, that it would pay men for resisting the law, and that, while peaceable men had no remedy for their losses, turbulent and violent persons should receive instantaneous relief? He did not think that the people of Ireland, or tranquil Ireland, were prepared to hold out such an opinion. But if they were to relieve the clergy, who were reduced to this distress by no fault of their own (cheers from the opposition benches), he wished here to make a distinction. He knew he had been asked, in opposition to relieving the clergy at all, what he would do if there were a general resistance to the payment of landlords' rents? Now he could conceive a case where, if the whole population of a district rose up in arms, and refused to pay rents, it would be the duty of the legislature to say, "We will relieve the landlords, and enforce the authority of the law." But he granted that, if by local grievances, by exorbitant rents, and oppressive proceedings, the landlords had driven the population to acts of outrage and violence, the landlords would then have no case to come before Parliament (cheers), or if they did come they would be spurned and scouted from the doors of that house. But was this applicable to the clergy of Ireland? (Cheers.) Was it they who fixed the amount which they were to receive? Did they impose an exorbitant sum on the occupier of the land? Were they even charged, did any man venture to charge them, with having demanded more than the law assigned them? (Cheers from the Opposition.) He knew not whether he was to interpret those cheers as an intimation that the clergy were liable to the charge (renewed cheers from the Opposition); but this he knew, that his hon. friend the member for Armagh, in moving his resolution on a former night, had distinctly stated that the clergy were not to blame. Every passage in the evidence which would be before those hon. Gentlemen who so loudly cheered showed that the clergy, as a body, never were exorbitant in their demands. If the inquiry were pushed to its utmost extent, the conclusion which it would suggest, as to the burden upon the occupier of the soil, would not be very unfavourable to the clergy in comparison with any other body. He stated, without fear of contradiction, that whereas in England it was notorious that the tithe amounted to one-fifth part of the rent, and the rent was fairly calculated at one-fifth of the produce, from all the evidence, and from the tables which would be found in the papers, and figures which could not be mistaken, in Ireland, the calculation was, that the tenant had a fair interest in the land, not only if he was charged with all repairs, all buildings, and all improvements, but if the landlord did not wring from him more than one-third or two-fifths of the produce; and he appealed to the papers whether he was not correct in stating that, so far from the tithes amounting to one-twelfth of the gross produce, the value of the tithe which was even professed to be collected—setting aside bad debts and arrears which were never paid—did not amount, he would not say to one-tenth of the produce, but even to one-tenth or one-fifteenth; and he believed, in the whole of Ireland, not to one-twentieth part of the rent. (Hear, hear.) He asked them upon what ground a charge could be made against the clergy—in the teeth of evidence and facts—of being exorbitant in their demands. He returned, then, to the proposition which he had

been proceeding to consider. In what manner was it expedient that the sum due to the clergy should be levied? To him it appeared consonant with all rational ideas of justice and good government that the sum, if levied, should be levied from those who ought to have paid it without any legislative interference. Well, then, what was the course which his Majesty's Government proposed to pursue, and which had been already pursued in similar cases (for similar cases had arisen upon former occasions)? He begged the House to look at the peculiar nature of the resistance in this case. There were precedents in 1786, 1787, 1799, and 1800, and on those occasions—although he did not mean to say that they were alike in all their circumstances—God forbid that he should say the cases were parallel!—but owing to the disturbed state of various parts of Ireland, the clergy were, from the combinations which were entered into, unable to assert or vindicate their claims. The opposition was to the previous proceedings, and there was this peculiarity in the case of tithes—that a clergyman had occasion to collect from a number of persons making small payments, and was consequently placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty by the expense and delay to which a combination to resist payment exposed him. It was with reference to the previous proceedings that former legislative measures had reference; and it was in that way that his Majesty's Government proposed now to legislate in the bill which would be brought in, if the committee agreed to these resolutions. On former occasions it had been left to the clergy to dispense with the notice which, according to the ordinary forms of law, it was necessary to serve upon every parishioner, and in serving which almost all the scenes of violence, outrage, and bloodshed occurred. Those measures rendered a notice exhibited in some conspicuous place in the parish a sufficient intimation, on the part of the clergyman, of his intention to enforce his claims. This was the case on former occasions, and to this extent the plan which he should propose on the present occasion was the same. But then he might be told that they were using coercive means, and arming the Government with a dangerous authority, by taking from the clergymen the remedy which he ought to possess, and placing it in the hands of a powerful body—the State itself. He must observe here that the charges of extraordinary severity, and of enforcing the payment of tithes at the point of the bayonet, and all such violent language, was totally inapplicable to the measures proposed by his Majesty's Government, and only tended to prejudice the House and the country unjustly against them. (Hear.) He said that, if it was right to enforce the payment of tithes at all, the course proposed by his Majesty's Government, while it would be effective was the most lenient, the most indulgent, and the most mild towards those who were to be subjected to its operation. They proposed to advance to the clergyman a sum of money, forming a very small proportion of his demands of arrears for a year, in consideration of receiving which he should surrender all his claims against his parishioners individually, and place the assertion of his rights in the hands of the Government. In this he deviated from the course pursued formerly, and he thought he should find no difficulty in vindicating that deviation by this view of the case—that in former instances extraordinary encouragements and means were given to those who suffered from the combinations to visit their own wrongs upon those from whom they had sustained them. The present was, in his judgment, a more lenient and a more equitable plan. He would trust nothing—he would not say to private revenge, but to private irritation, or feelings of retaliation or prejudice, but would leave in the disinterested and indifferent hands of Government the enforcing such portion of the arrears as they judged could be recovered from solvent tenants, without pressing upon the laborious, industrious, and oppressed classes of the people. The Government felt that they might, perhaps, be enabled

to do away with the litigation between the clergyman and his parishioners, by placing itself in the condition in which the former now stood, and by taking such steps for the recovery of his arrears as he was unable to take himself; at the same time allowing the two parties to come at once to the point at issue with the same evidence, in precisely the same form, and before the same Court in which their disputes were adjudicated; and when it was proposed only to recover the one year's arrears of tithes, the Government by no means meant to debar the clergy from recovering their anterior arrears. He must, therefore, claim for Government the simple tribute which justice demanded to be awarded to their intentions, and assert that it was impossible for any measure—if the law was to be vindicated, and if the House should deem it necessary to put down the resistance which was made to the exercise of just rights—he would repeat, it was impossible to devise a plan that could be more lenient towards the refractory tenants, or be less open to the opposition which had been offered to it, before even it was known, than that measure which the Government was about to adopt, and which had—he must say somewhat prematurely—been stigmatised as an attempt on their part to cram the tithe system down the throats of the Irish, at the point of the bayonet. (Hear.) It was not the principle of the present Administration to ask for extraordinary powers, although they had been urged to do so by those very persons who now wished to use that desire as an argument against them; but he felt that the Members of the Administration would be unworthy the name of Government, if they were to suffer to continue any longer the systematic refusal to pay tithes which was at present adopted, and adopted too by people who were well able to pay them. He asserted, therefore, that if the Government were to sit down quietly under the present resistance—to allow the law to be violated with impunity, and to suffer themselves to be told, and told truly, that such a violation of the law resulted from their apathetic conduct, he felt that he could

no longer continue to form one of such an Administration. God forbid that such an Administration should continue to occupy their places, or to have the control of the affairs of the country! He had felt it therefore necessary to say this much in vindication of the Government, and also in proof of the fact, that the measures which they were about to adopt were not, as was asserted, measures calculated to stir up further dissension, and to provoke a civil war in Ireland. The next resolution which he had to offer, was

“That it is in the opinion of the committee expedient, in order to afford relief to the suffering clergy in Ireland, that a sum of money be issued out of the Consolidated Fund, and placed at the disposition of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, under the advice of his Privy Council, should be authorised to issue such relief as may be judged necessary to the incumbents of benefices, of which the tithes have been withheld, the sum of money advanced to each being so administered, as to diminish in proportion as the income of each incumbent increased.”

The reason why the sum to be advanced to each incumbent was to diminish in proportion as his income increased, was, that though all were, to a certain extent, in great distress, yet the distress was much more severe on those clergymen whose tithes did not amount to any considerable sums, than on those whose incomes were nominally larger; and, therefore, it was felt that their case was more severe than the others. In return for this assistance, and as a security for its repayment, the Government intended to propose that his Majesty should be authorised by those clergymen, who accepted such assistance, to levy and enforce the arrears of tithes which were due for the year 1831, without any reference to arrears of tithe for a period antecedent to that year, which the acceptance of this assistance did not debar the clergy from recovering themselves; and that on the recovery by the King of the arrears for 1831, the sums advanced on them should first be repaid, and the balance which remained paid over to the legal owners. He had now gone through the series of resolutions which it was his intention to submit to the committee

for their approbation, but he felt bound to say, that he should have felt extremely reluctant to press them on the House, without, at the same time, giving a pledge of the intentions of Government that an alteration should take place in the existing tithe system of Ireland. He knew how strongly the feelings of the Irish were excited on this subject, and he knew also that the appointment of the committee up-stairs had occasioned the disturbances with regard to tithes to subside for some time, and that it had also tended to retard and to put off the collisions which were expected to have occurred in Ireland. He must also in candour acknowledge that Ireland would have been very justly disappointed if, whilst the resolutions which he had proposed were to be adopted, no relief was to be afforded her—and if also there was no intimation on the part of Government of an intention to effect some change in the system, under the evils of which she at present laboured. His own view of the matter was, that the present tithe system of Ireland, inasmuch as it had ever required extraordinary measures to enforce its endurance, was radically wrong. and if he looked back through the series of centuries which had elapsed since that system was forced on Ireland, he found it had ever proved the fertile source of litigation and of turmoil, and throughout the whole records of her history he found a constant succession of laws which were framed for the purpose of quelling those disturbances, and of punishing the refractory tenantry; he wished he could say he found as many laws for bettering their condition, or for affording them relief. (Hear, hear.) He averred, therefore, that it was, in his opinion, not the amount of the tithe which was the source of the grievance; it was not because the tithe was 2s., or, as he believed, 1s. 3d. an acre, that the tenantry complained; but it was the system by which it was enforced which formed the real grievance, and that which was most complained of by all parties in Ireland. He would not stay to inquire whether the tithes were paid by the tenant, the landlord, or the consumer, but he would

go at once to the real complaint of the tenantry, which was, that the amount levied for tithe was ostensibly an extra charge on their earnings, which they were called upon to pay to a person from whom they received nothing whatever in return. He had no doubt himself that, whilst so great a demand existed for land in Ireland, and whilst the tenantry there were so eager to enter into covenants to pay landlords sums which they afterwards found themselves unable to raise, the removal of tithes would only give the landlord additional facilities for exacting additional and exorbitant rents. He said also, that the great grievance of which the tenantry complained was, that they were forced to pay these tithes to the ministers of a religion in which they did not believe, and which they were taught to decry; and he felt that such a complaint was well-grounded; for though the demand for tithe was one which was strictly legal, and one which the tenant was bound to pay, and under other circumstances would most probably pay readily; yet as the money was paid by him at once to the Protestant clergyman, the objection was, in a religious point of view, the same, whether the sum demanded was three-pence or three shillings an acre. But so far from the grievance consisting in the oppressive weight of the amount levied for tithes, the fact was entirely the other way, for it actually consisted in the smallness of the tithe which each tenant had to pay. It was in evidence on the report, that if the charge for tithe was two shillings an acre, it would be an obvious one, and one too which would not be li'ely to be lost sight of in bargaining for a lease of eighty or a hundred acres; but the tithe was so small, that when the landlord and the tenant agreed about the terms of the lease, it was not thought worth while to make any stipulation as to who should pay it; at the same time, that though this demand on the small holder was so small as to be unworthy of consideration individually, yet taken aggregately, it was a matter of serious consideration to the clergyman, whose income is made up of such small dues, and it

often proved to be a source of grievance to the person who had to pay it, in consequence of its being divided amongst several persons. It was in evidence on the report of the committee that such was the fact; for with a view to show how this matter stood, the committee had added to the appendix of the report a paper, by which it appeared (having taken the two last parishes in each diocese where the Tithe Composition Act had been carried into effect for the purpose of obtaining a fair average) that there were in those parishes 12,884 persons who were called upon to pay 11,300*l.* in tithes, or in round numbers about 11,000*l.* from 13,000 persons, and these sums were not levied at one payment and by one person, but they were demanded by the vicar and the rector, and at two different periods of the year by each. The evidence in the report also stated that there were many instances where tithes were due for which there were seven or eight claimants on the tenant, and that the subdivision was carried to such a minute extent, that demands on which expenses might be incurred, and on which the tenantry might actually be served with processes, and carried into court, amounted in some cases to no more than three farthings—(hear, hear)—on the half year's tithes. It ought to be recollected also, before the clergy of Ireland were charged with extortion and oppression, and before any comparison was instituted between them and the clergy of England, that their situation and prospects were widely altered, and they ought also to recollect that England was freed from what he considered to be the curse of Ireland, the minute subdivision of land which existed there. In many parishes in Ireland the clergy would receive no tithes at all were it not for the potato gardens, and this was chiefly in consequence of the breaking up of the land in that country into such minute subdivisions. Independent, therefore, of the grievances of which the tenantry of Ireland complained, not only in a religious point of view, but also in consequence of those tithes being exacted by so many claimants, he felt

himself perfectly safe when he conceived that this change was desired by the clergy of Ireland themselves. They felt that the present system was constantly bringing them into personal collision with their parishioners, and that such a condition was not one which ought to exist between a clergyman and his flock, even although the latter might not be of his religious tenets. They felt then, for the sake of their own as well as of others' welfare, that some change was necessary; and it was in evidence that they had expressed an eager desire to catch at any change by which they would secure a respectable maintenance, and by which they would be enabled to discharge those duties which appertained, not so much to their clerical characters as to their situation in their respective parishes—namely, that of gentlemen resident cultivators of the land, in which character alone they would be enabled to effect a great deal of good amongst their surrounding parishioners. If only on this ground alone, a change of the system would do much good; for, divested of his character as a tithe exacter from the tenantry around him, they would look up to him for benefits by which he would become endeared to his parishioners, and in which character he would effect more good than under the existing laws he could ever hope to do. He therefore thought it highly necessary to hold out hopes to the people of Ireland that some plan would be proposed by which the clergy would receive some permanent remuneration; at the same time it must be distinctly understood that, whatever amount of remuneration might be awarded to them, and in whatever form it was made, it would come from the land. They might certainly be led to expect that it would be shifted from the tenant to the landlord; but it would most probably ultimately, owing to the competition, come to be settled in certain proportions between the landlord and tenant. He therefore could not at present hope to see any permanent alterations in the system carried into effect; but he could only, in conformity to his duty, point out to the attention of Par-

liament the necessity which existed for examining the subject with a view to future legislation, without venturing to suggest any plans for their adoption. He had omitted, in the course of his remarks, to refer to one branch of the subject of very considerable importance. It was obvious to all who considered the effect which the present system of tithes had upon agriculture, that its very essence was the imposition of a tax, not simply upon the land, but upon the successful application of capital, industry, and intelligence, in its cultivation; and this operated greatly to discourage all attempts at improvement in agriculture. To change this must be their first object; and towards this the Tithe Composition Act had certainly gone some way, though by no means to the extent which was necessary. He would say it might be effected by a general commutation of land for the clergyman's tithes; or then, however the surrounding land might improve, he would have no share in those improvements, nor could his demand of tithes operate as a check upon the cultivator's skill or industry, at the same time that it would tend to raise his own revenues by increasing the value of his own land. He therefore, without pursuing this subject further, simply submitted the resolutions which he had proposed to the House, as forming a whole series to which he desired the assent of Parliament, and upon which they would proceed to legislate. They were called upon to read Ireland a lesson of which she stood too much in need—namely, that she might much more safely look for the justice and the kindness of England, than hope to extort anything from her fears, or by any attempts at intimidation. They ought to be told that what would be denied to their threats would be granted to their intreaties; that an attentive ear would be given to their complaints, which would be shut against their denunciations; and that England would ever be found as ready to afford them succour as they were to demand it. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

“Die Jovis, 8° Martii, 1832.

“That it appears to this House that in several parts of Ireland an organised and systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, by which the law has been rendered unavailing; and many of the clergymen of the established church have been reduced to great pecuniary distress.

“That, in order to afford relief to this distress, it is expedient that his Majesty should be empowered, upon application to the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to direct that there be issued from the Consolidated Fund such sums as may be required for this purpose.

“That the sums so issued shall be distributed by the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, in advances proportioned to the incomes of the incumbents of benefices, wherein the tithes or tithe-composition lawfully due may have been withheld, according to a scale diminishing as the incomes of such incumbents increase.

“That for the more effectual vindication of the authority of the law, and as a security for the repayment of the sums so to be advanced, his Majesty be empowered to levy, under the authority of an Act to be passed for the purpose, the amount of arrears for the tithes or tithe-composition of the whole or any part of the year 1831, without prejudice to the claims of the clergy for any arrear which may be due for a longer period; reserving, in the first instance, the amount of such advances, and paying over the remaining balance to the legal claimants.

“That it is the opinion of this House that, with a view to secure both the interests of the church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of system will be required: and that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those belonging to lay impropriators, by commutting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for or investment in land.”

TWO-PENNY TRASH will be published next Saturday. It will be addressed to the people of **PRESTON** in one part, and to the people of **LEEDS** in another part; and it will contain, 1. Instruction for raising the **CORN**, and for raising **MANGEL-WURZEL**. 2. An account of **THE LIAR'S** curious works in Hampshire about the corn. 3. A statement of the circumstances, explanatory of his calling **MITCHELL A SPY**, and of his accusing **SMITHSON** of **ROASTING THE BIBLE**. I have now made personal and particular inquiry into the whole of this matter.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or "TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 11s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and

under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only *warrant* the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, **FIRST** as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in *little round*

dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice,

and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £. s. d.		
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0	0	3½
1 Bush will plant more than seven rods.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

THORNTON, R., Horsham, Sussex, common-brewer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

JOHNSON, H., Oaklands and Midhurst, Sussex, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNETT, S., Conduit-st., Bond-st., mercer.
BODMAN, W., and J. Carwardine, Bristol, soap-manufacturers.

COPE, P., West Bromwich, Staffords., chemist.
CRISP, W., Bath, innkeeper.

DEPREE, G. J., Savoy-wharf, Strand, paviour.
EDMANDS, J., Strand, cheesemonger.

FISHER, J., Regent-st., Marybone, hatter.

GOATER, J., High Holborn, victualler.

LOUD, J., Hooper-street, Westminster-road, license victualler.

REYNOLDS, J., Union-street, New Hoxton, coal-dealer.

SALT, T., Birmingham, livery-stable-keeper.

TAYLOR, J., Nottingham, boot-maker.

WOODFIELD, T., White-street, Moorfields, horse-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DOW, J., Glasgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, MARCH 20, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

LEACH, C., New Manor-st., Chelsea, baker.

BANKRUPTS.

ABBOTT, J., Elliott's-row, St. George's-road, bookseller.
BISHOP, J., Whittlebury-street, Euston-sq., carpenter.
BRADLEY, G., Stockport, Cheshire, innkeeper.
CURNIN, T., Birmingham, victualler.
DRACKLEY, T. jun., Thornton, Leicestershire, farmer.
EVANS, W., Carmarthen, draper.
FISHER, F. jun. & W. J., Bristol, sail-makers
HARRISON, H., Liverpool and Manchester, commission-agent.
JOHNSON, J., Norwich, glass-merchant.
JONES, S. W., Usk, Monmouthshire, draper.
KEYTE, S., Minories, oilman.
PURNELL, O., Gloucester, currier.
TUCKEY, E., Birmingham, victualler.
WILSON, S., Chich St. Osyth, Essex, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AITKEN, G. and W., Gorbals of Glasgow, cotton-spinners
GREENSHIELDS, S., Glasgow, merchant.
LOW and Readdie, Pomarium, Perth, wrights.
OSWALD, C. jun., Perth, upholsterer.
SWAN, J., writer to the signet, dairyman or cow-feeder, at Meadowbank, and under-writer, Edinburgh.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 19.
 Supplies since this day se'nnight have been good, as it respects English, Irish, and Scotch wheat, English and Scotch barley, Scotch malt, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, English beans, and English, Irish, and Scotch flour, and English malt; of English and foreign wheat and oats, as also peas and seeds, from all quarters, very limited. — Of foreign flour, beans, peas, barley, or rye, from any quarter, there have been none.

This day's market was rather thinly attended, both by London and country buyers; but as the sellers were unwilling to submit to abatements—under the impression, it was supposed, that the absence of a market on Wednesday, on account of the general fast, would increase the demand of some of those who were present—the trade, as to each kind of corn, as also malt, seeds, and flour, was exceedingly dull at last week's prices. Indeed it was the pretty general opinion, about noon, that where extensive sales could be effected, an abatement of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter would be submitted to on most kinds of grain. However, we cannot alter our last Monday's quotations.

* Wheat 52s. to 66s.
 Rye —s. to —s.
 Barley 24s. to 33s.

— fine 35s. to 41s.
 Peas, White 35s. to 39s.
 — Boilers 39s. to 44s.
 — Grey 33s. to 37s.
 Beans, Old 31s. to 36s.
 — Tick 33s. to 37s.
 Oats, Potatoe 24s. to 27s.
 — Poland 22s. to 23s.
 — Feed 18s. to 23s.
 Flour, per sack 55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 46s. to 50s. per cwt.
 — Sides, new ... 48s. to 50s.
 Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to 130s.
 Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
 Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to 88s. per cwt.
 — Carlow 84s. to 91s.
 — Cork 88s. to 90s.
 — Limerick ... 88s. to 90s.
 — Waterford... 80s. to 86s.
 — Dublin 76s. to 78s.
 Cheese, Cheshire ... 56s. to 76s.
 — Gloucester, Double... 56s. to 61s.
 — Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 54s.
 — Edam 44s. to 54s.
 — Gouda 48s. to 52s.
 Hams, Irish 58s. to 65s.

SMITHFIELD.—March 19.

This day's supply of beasts was good; of eep, lambs, calves, and porkers, rather nted. The trade was throughout very dull; th prime small mutton at an advance, in me few instances, of 2d. per stone; but with utton, generally, as also beef, lamb, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,800; sheep and lambs, 17,300; calves, 100; pigs, 130.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 23.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The prices the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	83½	83½	83½	83½	—	83½

CHOLERA MORBUS FOR THE PARSONS! PILLS FOR THE PRIESTS!! BOLUSES FOR THE BISHOPS!!!

1. This Day is published, price 3d. each, Nos. I. and II. of the

POOR MAN'S BOOK OF THE CHURCH.
 (Not by Doctor Southey.)

"This is a very clever little publication, and contains a greater variety of well-digested and interesting matter than many other works

of greater bulk and price : we cordially recommend it to the support of ALL interested in the abolition of tithes and the reform of the church. It is illustrated with very spirited engravings."—*Morning Advertiser*.

2. A "DOUBLE KNOCK" AT THE PORTALS OF EPI-COPA! SAINTS AND CLERICAL SINNERS.

Twelve closely-printed columns, quarto, with Caricatures, for One Penny! every Friday.

A SLAP AT THE CHURCH!

. The Bishop of London has written a letter to the publisher of "A Slap at the Church," from which the following extract is made:—"I have sufficiently warned you; and if, after this, you continue to vend the mischievous and horrible publication I have mentioned above, depend upon it you will be speedily visited with the punishment you merit."

Its contemporaries speak of it thus:—

"A SLAP AT THE CHURCH!—The artillery of the press has long been too heavy for that crumbling, toppling, thousand-fissured structure, the ponderous national church, and here is another gun brought to bear against it, which will fire ten thousand balls a week in at its windows and doors."—*Bulletin*.

"An infamous publication: it is disgraceful to the metropolis."—*Courier*.

London: W. Strange, 21, Paternoster-row; Cowie, 312, Strand; Watson, 33, Windmill-street, Finsbury; Hetherington, 13, Kingsgate-street; Gorway, 11, Crown-street; Purkiss, Wardour-street, Soho; and all Booksellers.

THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. 111., for April, Price 1s. 6d., will be published on Monday, April 2d.

Edited by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; (to whom all communications are requested to be addressed).

Sold by W. F. Wakeman, 9, D'Olier-street, Dublin; Smith, and G. and J. Robinson, Liverpool; Lewis, and James and Joseph Thomson, Manchester; Butterworth, Birmingham; Baines and Co., Leeds; Davey and Musket, Bristol; Timms, Bath; Brooke, Dewsbury; Welton, Egham; Bacon and Co., Norwich; Thurnam, Carlisle; and all Booksellers.

THE MARK LANE EXPRESS; a New Agricultural and Trading NEWS-PAPER, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs and Markets to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; Quantity on hand, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of all men of business throughout the Empire.

N. B. The Keepers of Commercial Inns, and those who have Ordinaries on Market Days, attended by Farmers, Cornfactors, Millers, Yeomen of the County, &c., will find the "Mark-Lane Express" the best and cheapest Monday Paper they can lay upon their tables for the use of their Customers.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers, Newsmen, and Clerks of the Roads, throughout the Empire.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,

93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. d.	
Colours.....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12 0
Figure 1 Silk ditto.....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Barogan ditto.....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4 0
Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the cut and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.	

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT,**

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 75.—No. 14.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 31st, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



“Castlereagh has a project for making posterity pay, not only the interest of the debt, but the half-pay of the officers of the army and the navy. Posterity will not, I hope and believe, be fools enough to pay a farthing of it. The thing is neither more nor less than a *loan*! What next? What devil's tricks has the borough-system yet to play? I should not at all wonder to see the **TITHES FUNDED**. Don't start, parsons; many things much more unlikely have taken place. A seizure of some sort or other must happen somewhere. To fund the tithes would be a thing a great deal more natural than to fund the half-pay and pensions of officers and soldiers. A large sum of money advanced upon the tithes would, as Castlereagh says, ‘*divide the burden with posterity*.’ However, these hints will be sufficient. My readers will see what a rich vein our noble political philosopher has struck upon here. Every expense may thus be funded; and I now give it as my decided opinion, that the Ministers will at last propose to fund the funds.”—*Cobbett's Collective Commentaries*, 2d May, 1822.

THE REFORM BILL,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS AT LAST.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

Kensington, 28th March, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THIS bill is before the House of Lords at last. On the 27th of March the bill was brought up to the Lords, from the House of Commons, and on the motion of Lord Grey was read the first time. His lordship then moved that it should be read a second time on Thursday the 5th of April. Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe intimated that they should not oppose the second reading of the

bill. They said that it was *better* than the last bill, and, generally speaking, *I say so too*. They said, however, that they hoped to improve it in the committee; and we know too well what they mean by improvement. The Bishop of London signified his intention of voting for the second reading; and further said, that though he could wish some little alterations to be made in the bill, he would not support any amendment to mutilate or destroy the essential principles of the bill. The Duke of WELLINGTON, who lately signed a petition against reform, in company with the Botley Parson, and the like of him, expressed his intention to vote against the second reading; and I need not say, that the son of old Herbert did the same. This lord said that he would pursue a *straightforward course*! I never knew a Herbert do otherwise. True they are, as the needle to the Pole: they have *one point* in view, and from *that point* they never vary. That point being in direct opposition to a reformed Parliament, it is hardly necessary to say what they would do upon such an occasion. What was most material, however, upon this occasion, was, that Lord GREY said, that *he would agree to no alteration in the bill that should be destructive of its essential principle and its efficiency*.

This is the state of the affair at present. And now, what will they do in the committee? I suppose that they mean there to endeavour to render the bill inefficient, for the purpose of making the House of Commons the true representatives of the people; but it would be infamy on the heads of the authors of the bill, if they were to permit them to succeed in this, if, as is said, they have the authority to make peers sufficient to carry the bill. I may, without any presumption at all, say, that I know the opinions of the people of England upon this subject, at this moment, better than any other man living. I have recently been in all the

considerable towns in the two most populous counties in the kingdom; not populous from the unnatural collecting together of persons assembled to squander away the earnings of the industrious part of the nation; but populous from the assembling together of persons, every soul of whom seems to be busily engaged, from morning till night, in creating things necessary to the people of the nation, and things constituting a great branch of its real wealth: not assemblages of idlers and blood-suckers; not crowds of human beings, to the far greater part of whom you can, with propriety, say, "What the devil business have you here?" "What right have you to be at all?" "To what purpose are you fed and clothed?" Not masses of creatures, who, like the cockroaches or earwigs seem to have been created by pestilential influence. I have been amongst, I have seen and heard, great masses of people; I have seen them and have heard them in detail; I well know their opinions; and I know their opinion upon this subject to be this: that if Lord Grey have the King's authority to make peers sufficient to carry the bill, and if he do not make them, his intention and his wish must be, not to carry the bill; and that then he will deserve at the hands of the nation, *that which I do not think proper to describe*. If he have *not the power* to create the peers, everybody believes that he will be unable to carry the bill; and that then he has only one choice; namely, to retire and *explicitly declare to the nation that the King would not give him the power*; or to retire in silence, and be covered with everlasting reproach. The like reproach would be his lot if he were to agree to anything that would render the bill at all *less favourable to popular rights and popular influences*. To remain in place without carrying the bill, in its present form and substance, at the least, is impossible; the government would crumble to pieces in his hands; the fiscal laws would be disobeyed, as the tithe laws now are in Ireland; he must know this, and therefore he will hardly attempt it, though *his great addition to the standing army,*

and arming his thousands of police with swords; though these and several other "*improvements*" pretty clearly indicate, that he is preparing for that which it is unnecessary to describe in detail. It is unnecessary here to use any argument to prevail upon the Lords to ~~pass~~ this bill; but there is a set of people, tax-eaters of course, who make use of this argument: "Well, what will the people do, if the Lords reject the bill? Suppose they do refuse to pay the taxes and the tithes, they will only plunge every thing into confusion; they will only produce anarchy; they themselves will suffer most from that; for *after cutting one another's throats till they are tired*, they will again submit, not only to a government like the present; but to one ten thousand times *more despotic*, preferring any thing to universal carnage; and, in the mean while, **THE LORDS WILL HAVE KEPT THEIR ESTATES AT ANY RATE.**"

As I have always expressed, and most sincerely express, my wish that nothing should be done to destroy the House of Lords, thinking that that House, when confined within its legitimate bounds, is one of the best protections for the people's rights and liberties; I now say, God preserve the Lords from listening to this argument. I beseech them to look at what took place in France, where rivers of blood were shed, where despotism as bad as the former despotism reared its head; but it did not reach the great body of the people; the revolutionists distributed the lords' estates, and though *royalty was restored*, there was NO RESTORATION OF ESTATES; and if universal confusion arise in England, is it to be believed that Lords' estates will be more sacred here than they were in France? The hostility of the nobles against the people would be much more marked here than it was in France. The people will, if the bill be rejected, look upon the Lords as the sole cause of all the evils that will ensue. In such a state of things, who is to hope that, if a state of confusion arise, the people will not act upon that persuasion.

I hope that there is no Lord of Parliament who will not turn with horror from the argument which I have above stated; but if there be any one weak enough to listen to it, I beg him to recollect the proposition, made in the assembly of delegates of Pennsylvania, at the beginning of the American revolution. The lands of that state were almost wholly held by persons, who had *leases* of them of one sort or another. The *proprietors* were, to a man, opposed to the revolution. The assembly of delegates, in order to put the occupiers on their side, and in order to preserve the peace of the community, proposed to enact, that every occupier should STAND FAST; and that, if he were guilty of no breach of the peace for a year and a day, and were obedient to the laws during that time, THE ESTATE THAT HE HELD SHOULD BE HIS OWN FOR EVER! Instantly the face of things changed; instantly every occupier became the friend of the revolution; and of that revolution we well know what was the end: we well know that in its progress there was no bloodshed; we well know that the great proprietors lost their estates; we well know that though the form of the thing was different, the substance of it was the same in France; we well know that the distribution of the estates of the nobles, was the main cause of the success of the French revolution; for succeed it did in spite of our thousand million of taxes and thousand million of debt to prevent its success.

God forbid that such a distribution should take place in this country! God forbid that the Lords should wake up some morning and find their tenants the owners of their farms; but, if the nation should be reduced to the dire necessity of steeping their hands in each other's blood, or of imitating the Pennsylvanians or the French, who is there that would decide for a general cutting of throats? For my part, as far as I am individually concerned, I should think nothing of being compelled to earn my bread by the most degrading of labour rather than see events of this

description take place in England, knowing, as I do, that it would be a breaking up of the community, the best that the world has ever seen; but I have, for many years, been afraid that things might be pushed to this extremity; this fear I have expressed several times in my *Register*, and particularly in a *Register* of 1829, where I conjured the nobility to think betimes of this possible consequence of resisting the prayers of the people for reform.

The bare pronouncing of the words "stand fast," operated like an electric touch on the State of Pennsylvania. I remember that Mr. Galloway told me, at his house at Watford, in Hertfordshire, that it was *this measure* that decided the fate of that English Government in America. Much about the same was done in every other state as well as in that of Pennsylvania. All arrears of rent due to the great proprietors were cancelled; all debts due to English merchants were as good as cancelled by authorising the debtors to pay the amount into the treasury of the state in a paper money not worth more than a penny or two-pence in the pound; so that ninety-nine hundredths of the people clearly saw and distinctly felt that they had a deep interest in the overturning of the royal Government.

Again, I say, God forbid that a state of things should arise in England tending to produce a resort to similar means; but, at the same time, it is impossible not to see that the danger may arise; it is impossible not to see that the Lords have the power of preventing it from arising; and it would argue a total disregard for the interests of the country not to beseech them so to act as to prevent that danger; not to beseech them to let England have the honour of exhibiting to the world, that which the world never yet saw, the making of a great change, without a resort to any act of violence or to any invasion of property. It is for the good of the country that there should be great owners of the land; it is for its good that there should be several ranks in society clearly distinguished from each other. The House of Peers has, even within my recollection,

tion, several times stood between the people and oppression; if I thought that this Reform Bill had a tendency to subvert that House, I would oppose it with all my might, deeming the risk too great to be run even for the sake of getting rid of our present intolerable burdens; but, still, if reduced to the terrible necessity of choosing between a law like that of Pennsylvania and general bloodshed in England, which way does nature bid me to decide!

I trust, however, that we are to stop far short of dangers like this; and that the Peers, seeing that the people are so unanimous in their prayers for the passing of this bill, and, at the same time, so moderate in their desires, and so firmly attached to the present form of government, will, on their parts, pass the bill with very little hesitation, and will thus take out of the minds of even the most wild and extravagant, all desire to see overturned, or robbed of its privileges or prerogatives, any one of the other two great branches of the government. Above all things, I beseech them to turn a deaf ear to the arguments of desperate men, above stated by me. Let them be assured that the people will not cut one another's throats; let them be assured that the people are all of one mind; let them be assured that there is no difference of opinion amongst the people upon the subject; that there is nobody opposed to the bill, except those who live on the abuses of the present system; let them be convinced that these are but as dust in the balance; let them be assured from me, who know the fact, that the people are resolved to have cheap government; that they well know the causes of their poverty; that they well understand the situation and the resources of their country; that they know well why the standing army is augmented at the end of eighteen years of peace; that they also well know why policemen are armed with swords; that they do not ascribe these terrific changes to the taste or disposition of any particular individuals; that they know that they are the natural effects of the system; that they know that such means of coercion must go on increas-

ing, as long as the present fiscal system shall exist; and that, therefore, they are looking forward to the execution of the Reform Bill as the means of changing the system.

It appears that there is a petition presented to the Lords, by the National Political Union, which begins in these words:—"That your petitioners humbly submit to your noble House that the time has arrived *when a great change must be made in the system* under which this nation has long been governed: that this inevitable change may be *gradual and peaceful*, or *sudden and violent*: that it remains with your noble House to determine in which of these two ways the change shall be made." Nothing ever was more true than these words. The whole of the petition is excellent; it consists of truths necessary for the Lords to know; but in these words we have that which the Lords ought always to have before their eyes. The present system has run itself out; it must be changed; and this bill, which was called for by the people, which is a thing created by circumstances, furnishes very good means of making the change gradual and peaceable.

It would be very gross affectation to appear not to perceive that *I am a great bugbear* in this case; that I am anxious for the change, in order that it may produce me gratification of some sort or other. It would produce me great gratification, because I know it would produce that which I have always had most at heart, namely, good living and good clothing to those who do the work. Well as I love my country, good reason as I have to love my country-people, respected and beloved as I am by millions of them, I never would have returned to it, had I not entertained the hope of being able to assist in mending the lot of the industrious classes; and even now, and held here at this age, by ties that tug at every heart-string, I would not now stay another fortnight, to endure the disgrace of forming part of a nation of paupers, were it not that I hope to be able to render great assistance in restoring

them to the state in which their forefathers were. I have no private feelings to gratify: I would not walk a hundred yards to receive a million of money to keep it to myself. I am infamous for ever whenever I touch a farthing of the public money. No change of circumstances or situation can give me more fame than I possess, or render it less necessary to place a stone to tell where I lie. I have no motive, and I can have no motive, in all the wondrous exertions that I am making, other than that of promoting the good of my country; and as to the possession of power, being well aware that it must be accompanied with its responsibility, I would, as far as self is concerned, shun it as I would shun the pestilence. I have always desired to see the working people restored to happiness without any material shock being given to any establishment whatever, either in church or state. In proof of this, let my *Register* be referred to from the year 1800 to the 1805. In 1806, I pleaded with the Ministers, as if I were pleading for my life, to put a stop to the progress of the system which I told them must end in causing a breaking-up of establishments: for twenty years past I have been insisting that some of the establishments *must give way*. We are now arrived at a state of things which convinces even the Ministers that something must give way. I believe, with the National Political Union, that to make this giving way gradual and peaceful, the passing of this bill is necessary; and most anxiously wishing that it may take place gradually and peacefully, I exhort the House of Lords to pass this bill *unmutilated*, and thus to fill the nation with hope, and restore it to content and harmony.

WM. COBBETT.

DOOM OF THE TITHES.

AFTER the Reform Bill, this is the most important of all the subjects that can engage public attention. Under other circumstances, we should have to

remark upon the very pretty works at the police-offices about the *walkers on the fast-day*, and about the *horrible conspiracy* of the dagger-of-lath association. I should have to remark upon the fulfilment of my prophecy about arming the gendarmerie with swords and pistols. But when I think of this tithe-work; when I think of this, I laugh at the policemen's swords, and even at little Hobhouse's augmentation of the standing army.

Reader, I beseech you to look at the motto, it was written just ten years ago come the 2nd of May next; and is not that which is now proposed by the Government very much like a *funding* of the Irish tithes? The King is to advance, that is to say, lend a sum of money to pay the tithes due to the Irish parsons; the Ministers have Exchequer-bills out at the same time, that is to say, are borrowing money on promissory notes; the Irish parsons are paid out of a parcel of money of which Exchequer-bills form a part, the Exchequer-bills will be funded first or last, and thus the Irish tithes are, in fact, funded.

If I were Lord Grey, I would fund the whole of them in Ireland and in England too; that is to say, I would borrow about eight millions a year, and give them to the parsons; then I would issue Exchequer-bills to pay the interest with; and then I would fund the Exchequer-bills; and thus make the Jews, English and foreign, and the English usurers calling themselves Christians, pay the whole of the tithes. Ridiculous as this may seem, it would be the easy way of getting the thing done. Bank notes must be made a legal tender in order to give effect to the thing; and so the flame would go out by degrees, as the candle burns down into the socket; ridiculous as this proposition seems, something very much like it will take place; and if it do not, I will consent to be considered to have a head as empty as that of PEEL'S.

But let me amuse my readers here with giving them a curious instance of robbery committed on me by Brougham. I do not mean felony in the eye of the

law: I mean literary robbery. WATERTON, of WAKEFIELD, committed lately an act of this sort. It was very flagrant, to be sure; but not more flagrant than the robbery committed by Brougham, of which robbery I am going to produce proof. In the year 1832, the proprietor of the STATESMAN NEWSPAPER gave me 10*l.* a week for writing a commentary on the proceedings of the Collective. On the 1st of May in that year, I wrote an article on the measure for funding the pensions and half-pay. The paper was published about three o'clock in the afternoon; and BROUGHAM, at about nine o'clock the same evening, went and repeated it like a parrot, in the House of Commons, and passed it off as his own. I will now give the article first and then the speech; and I will venture to say, that, except in the case of Waterton aforesaid, an instance of such flagrant plagiarism never was before witnessed in this whole world. I do request the reader to look well at these two pieces, and to say whether he could ever again look the public in the face, if he had been guilty of literary robbery so barefaced and so mean. I should observe here that these Collective Commentaries were formed into a volume of three hundred and four pages, double column, and the volume sold at six shillings. This volume contains very little besides matter written by myself; and those who wish to have complete collections of my works, should by no means omit to get this volume, which contains a complete commentary on the proceedings of Parliament for the year 1822, and has, at the end of it, a list of the Acts of Parliament passed during that year. I now proceed to insert the article first and then the speech.

COBBETT.

"The measure is this: to fund the pensions and the half-pay! To get people to contract to pay them. To make them over to the contractors. To put them out on farms, as they do the poor of some parishes. In short it is a loan that the Collective is to make, to get money to pay the pensions and the half-pay with. This is a stark-naked loan; and there is no doubt the plan being carried into effect; for cause some taxes to be taken off.

"Suppose here to be an officer who has half-pay of 100*l.* a year. It is for his life. The Government contracts with me, suppose, to pay this officer; and it pays me, not the 100*l.* a year at first, but less; and in time it pays me more than 100*l.* a-year. So that in the end I get by it; but, then, the Government has less to pay for the present; this is what Castlereagh calls dividing the burdeus with posterity! Posterity will not, we hope and believe, be fools enough to bear any portion of it. However, the thing is a loan; and the certificates for the officers' and soldiers' pay and pensions are the scrip! What next? What devil's tricks has the borough-system yet to play? Upon exactly the same ground the King's allowance, that of his family, all the pensions and sinecures, the placemen and judges' salaries, may be funded. Paine said, that he should not wonder if Pitt were, at last, to fund the Bank-notes, and issue other paper as evidence of the debt. There is no knowing, as we have often said, what shape the thing will assume at last. We have only to look at the history of the South-sea bubble, to be convinced that the powers of humbug are infinite. We should not at all wonder to see the tithes funded! Don't start, parsons. Many things much more unlikely have taken place. A seizure of some sort or other must happen somewhere. To fund the tithes would be a great deal more natural thing than to fund the half-pay and pensions of officers and soldiers. A large sum of money advanced upon the tithes would divide the burden with posterity! Indeed. However, these hints will be sufficient. Our readers will see what a rich vein in our noble political philosopher has struck upon here. This new funding system may be carried to lengths of which few men are yet aware."

BROUGHAM.

"Mr. Brougham entirely concurred in that suggestion, and begged to ask the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would extend his plan to the whole of the national debt? (Hear, hear.) Having taken one leaf out of the right hon. Gentleman's book, the country could not do better than take another. And now it occurred to him, there were many expenses of the Government to which so admirable a system might clearly be made applicable. There was the Civil List—(hear, hear); the Pension List—(hear, hear); those charges were annuities dependent upon lives. What could be better than to farm the pensions off at once? (Hear, and laughter.) Nay, Ministers themselves might be provided for upon the same principle. (Hear, hear.) Their tenure for place was almost equal to tenure for life.—(Laughter.) Whatever might be the goodness of their holding, it seemed at least tolerably secure; and he (Mr. Brougham) doubted not to find contractors for the Mi-

"nisters as well as for the half-pay officers. (Hear, and laughter.) He really was bound to press the measure upon the consideration of the right hon Gentleman: a discovery so important ought not to be neglected. Nor were the powers of the measure confined even to the salaries of Ministers; for the whole royal family might be furnished out in the same way, to the relief of the present generation (which much wanted such relief), and at the expense of a trifling burden only upon our happy posterity."—(Cheers and laughter.)

Here, then, you see this flash orator; this famous botherer calling forth repeated cheers and repeated peals of laughter, and getting a reputation for wit all over the country, merely by repeating, like parrot, magpie, or jackdaw, my words, which he had just read in the STATESMAN NEWSPAPER. Now, what can you think of such a man as this! He supposed that none of his hearers had read the paper at that time: the literary theft served him for the time. I had a low opinion of him before, but after this I always despised him from the bottom of my heart. Upon hundreds of occasions he has plundered me in this way; but never in a manner quite so barefaced as this. As to the *fact*, my article is to be found in the Collective Commentaries, page 113. And BROUGHAM'S speech is to be found in the report of the proceedings of parliament on the 2nd of May, 1822. I exposed the plagiarism at the time, but it had not then come into any man's head to make the barefaced plagiarist member for Yorkshire, or a Lord Chancellor.

So much for Brougham and his literary robbery; and now for the question of tithes *as regards England*. When I was at Leeds, I told Mr. Bower, the mover of the resolution on which the Leeds petition was founded, that he would soon find, that the people in the south and the west and the east would not remain silent upon the subject of the tithes; and that they would never willingly consent to the employing of force to compel the Irish to pay tithes. At every town at which I was in the north, I pledged myself for the good conduct of the people of the south in all respects, but particularly in respect to the tithes. In the bloody Times news-

paper of the 24th of March, I find a beginning of a fulfilment of my predictions in this respect. It gives an account of a meeting in the county of CORNWALL, and of the very sensible petition agreed to at that meeting. I shall insert the whole, begging the parsons to observe, that the BLOODY, which has a very fine nose, seems to express its approbation of the petition.

A meeting of the owners and occupiers of land of several adjacent parishes was held on Tuesday, at Car-green, Cornwall, to petition the legislature on the subject of the present system of tithes. As this is the *first meeting* of the sort in England, we give the petition, which was unanimously adopted:—"That your petitioners being impressed with the many and grievous evils arising from the present system, do earnestly implore your right honourable House to *remove so intolerable a burden*. That the present mode of paying the clergy by tithes is *injurious to religion*, and *contrary to sound policy*. That your petitioners are *fully persuaded that tithes are public property, and may be disposed of in any way the Legislature may deem fit*. Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray your right honourable House to *restore to the people of England their ancient and legal rights*. Your petitioners also most humbly pray your right honourable House to *remove all ecclesiastical from political power—to disunite church and state; allowing every parish to choose its own minister*. That your petitioners *hear with regret that coercive measures are in contemplation to be enforced against the tithe-payers in Ireland*. Your petitioners therefore pray your right honourable House to *suspend all proceedings against their Irish brethren respecting tithes*."

An excellent petition! An excellent example! An example for the whole of England; and I am sure it will be followed in every parish in England. It is here that the change is to begin; it is here that the first *giving way* is to take place; and if the Government and the Parliament be wise, here the change as to property in laud may stop; but if they be not wise, I do not say that it will stop here. The people now know everything about this church property; they have all been at the trough; they have all tasted of the "*pig's-meat*," as Dr. BLACK had the folly to call it; they have all "drunk deeply" of this "*wash*;" but here these Cornish men tell the Lords that tithes are *public property*, and that the Parliament may dispose of them as it may deem fit. They pray to be restored to their ancient and legal rights; they clearly show that they understand the whole of the matter; and that they are no longer to be deceived. But what pleases me most is, they pray that force may not be employed against their Irish *brethren* respecting tithes. This is the language that I myself had always been using. I have always deprecated harsh and contemptuous language towards the people of Ireland. I said, from the first, that it would be impossible to make the people of England approve of the employment of force for the purpose of compelling the Irish to pay tithes. Wise STANLEY, when he brought forward his Irish budget, called the tithes "*a tax*," "*a grievance*," "*a perpetual blister*." Very well, then, is this perpetual blister to be enforced at the point of the bayonet? Are the "*oblations of the faithful*" to be collected sword in hand? Is it thus that the Church religion is to be upheld and propagated in Ireland? Oh, no! the whole thing must be removed, and Ireland must be made happy in proportion to its fruitfulness; the present system has been carried on till it can be carried on no longer.

While, however, all other men seem to be convinced that tithes must cease in Ireland, Lord MILTON, if the following document be genuine, is of a differ-

ent opinion. The reader will see that it is taken from a Dublin newspaper, and I shall remark upon it only upon the supposition that it is a genuine document.

The Fitzwilliam estate in Wicklow, is, we understand, placarded with printed papers, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Grosvenor-place, March 10, 1832.*

"Dear Challoner,—The information you have imparted to me, that a meeting has been held in one of the town-lands of the parish of Kilcolummon, with a view to *withhold the tithe* and *church-rate*, has caused me great regret. I was in hopes that the inhabitants of our part of the country had too deep a sense of the importance of respecting the rights of property, and of obeying the laws, to permit them to contemplate what I can call by no other name than a scheme of *spoliation and robbery*. It seems that the occupier proposes to withhold payment of tithe, &c.; but let me ask, what is it that entitles the occupier himself to the land which he occupies? Is it not *the law* which sanctions the lease by which he holds it?—The law gives him a right to the cattle which he rears on his land, in the plough with which he cultivates it, and to the car in which he carries his produce to market; the law also gives him *his right to nine-tenths* of the produce of his land, but *the same law assigns another tenth to another person*. In this distribution of the produce of the land there is no injustice, because the tenant was perfectly aware of it when he entered upon his land; but in any forcible change of this distribution, there would be great injustice, because it would be a transfer of property from one person to another without an equivalent—in other words, it would *be robbery*. The occupier must also remember that the rent he pays to the landlord is calculated upon the principle of his receiving only nine-tenths of the produce—if he were entitled to the other tenth, the rent which we should call upon him to pay *would be proportionably higher*. All our land

'is valued to the tenants upon this principle; but if tithes, &c., are swept away without an equivalent, *we should adopt a different principle*, and the landlord, not the tenant, would be the gainer. This consideration may perhaps be sufficient to induce the tenants to pay what is due from them; but, nevertheless, I must beg that you will enforce upon them the necessity of making these payments; and I beg that you will take immediate measures for *making me acquainted with the names* of those who have refused to pay either their *composition* of their church cess.—Yours, most truly,

"MILTON."

—*Dublin Morning Register.*

Lord Milton talks of spoliation and robbery in the style of a crown advocate when prosecuting a man for sedition. Robbery means a taking away of something which is in possession of another, and taking it away by violence too. Here is no taking away at all: it is a refusing to give. He talks of the law: here is no law violated; for the occupier quietly suffers the parson to take. The occupier yields to the law; and it is no crime in him if the parson can find nobody to purchase the things so taken. If he cannot find a purchaser in the whole county, it is evident that the law ought not to exist for the taking, and that, in fact, the law has ceased to exist. Lord Milton talks of the law assigning a tenth to another person. So it does; but the same law assigns that tenth in trust, for the purposes of religion, and for the relief of the poor. And if the purposes of the trust be not complied with, the law is, in fact, violated by the receiver of the tithe. The tenant was indeed aware that the trust was abused. That the law had become dormant; but the clergy have taught us that dormant laws, relating to the church, never die. Lord Milton should be told, that, though the laws at the Reformation changed the religion, and gave the tithes to a Protestant instead of a Catholic priesthood, they remain what they always were with regard to the distribution of the tithes.

He should be told that the three-fold distribution of the tithes is still the law of the land, and that the poor-rates and the church-rates ought to be paid out of them first, before any portion of them be touched by the priest. This not only was the law, but it IS THE LAW. He is, I dare say, very well provided with lawyers; let him, then, bring a lawyer to contradict this statement of mine; to draw up a legal opinion contrary to it; and then let him put his name to that opinion. I challenge him to find a lawyer out of the whole of the bar of England and Ireland able to do this. Lord Milton says that the rent would be higher if there were no tithe to be given to the parson, and that the landlord, and not the tenant, would be the gainer. He is mistaken here again; for the much larger part of the tithe would go to the poor and the keeping up of the churches, and would, by no means, go into the pocket of the landlord. To be sure the tenant knew that the abuse existed; he knew that the trust had been violated; but that is no reason at all why he should not endeavour to avail himself of the benefit of the law.

Besides, are there no land-owners in Ireland who are not tenants? Are there no small proprietors in Ireland? There must be some at any rate; and shall not they refuse to yield their support to this monstrous abuses of trust? In England we know that the small proprietors are innumerable; and must not these wish their bits of land to be free from the all-searching eye and the all-grasping hand of the clergy? Must not they wish for the restoration of the practice of the law, which allotted that the poor should be relieved and the churches repaired out of the tithes?

The threat of Lord Milton at the close of his letter, is perhaps as great an act of indiscretion as was ever committed by mortal man: it is impossible that it should do good, and may do a great deal of harm. When the Irish people are reviled in this manner, because they refuse to pay more into the hands of a notoriously violated trust; when they are called spoliators and

robbers, only because they will not be active instruments in a misapplication of the resources of their country, they may be tempted to retort, they may be tempted to recriminate; they may be tempted to hunt out instances of *real spoliation and robbery* committed in their country! But thus it always is: power never listens to reason: habit makes it believe itself irresistible; and the consequence always is, its own destruction.

I wish men would speak out upon these occasions; and if they did, they would say at once that it is not for the sake of religion that the tithes exist. They would say flat and plain, that the tithes are a mass of property owned by the aristocracy. The Duke of Devonshire told us, a few years ago, that he was the owner of the great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland. When I was at Leeds, I found that the same Duke owned the tithes of that parish. When I came to Barnesly, I found the tithe-owner to be the Duke of Leeds; and I think they said that he owned those of Wakefield too; while those of the next town, Sheffield, I think they said were owned by the Duke of Norfolk. In these cases, the tithes are generally let to some middle man, who furnishes up all the old ecclesiastical law, which knows of no lapse of time, so that the exactions are generally severe, the law-suits innumerable and ruinous, and the ill-blood and contention and strife absolutely without end; and, indeed, it is manifest that, without the abolition of the tithe system, without its total abolition, there never can be peace again in this kingdom. In the great towns, the charges on account of the church are perfectly enormous. A lay impropriator generally comes and takes away the tithes, and then there comes a tax of from 6d. to 1s. in the pound on the town for church-rates. These taxes have become oppressive beyond all bearing, and the people are resisting them every where. Go where you will you hear of these oppressions of the church. The people complain of them more than they do of the assessed taxes. The new Act-of-Parliament churches,

as they call them, have added prodigiously to the number of dissenters; and all is discontent and all is uproar with regard to the Church and its demands; there is hardly a town in the North in which the people are not engaged in a deadly strife on this account. The people know that there are not less than three hundred parishes in England and Wales in which the churches have been suffered to fall down, and in which of course there is no church services at all, and in which people are left to teach religion and administer the sacrament themselves. Yet they know, that in these parishes, the tithes and even the Easter offerings are most rigorously collected, while the new churches have been built out of the taxes, and of course even these parishes thus abandoned have been compelled to contribute towards the building of new churches elsewhere. All this, all the audacious non-residence, all the still more audacious pluralities, are now well understood by the people; and by all the people too! They well understand how the pluralists, how the deans and chapters, how lay impropriators, carry away out of the parishes that which ought to remain to be expended in them, and spend it in places of dissipation, and in no small part out of the kingdom. These are abuses so monstrous, that no man has the hardihood to attempt an apology for them, and therefore the thing must go to pieces.

One of the Lords or one of the Commons, I forget which, observed, as an objection to the Reform Bill, that a Reformed Parliament would not only take away the tithes and the lay impropriations, but would go to the abbey lands. If this bill pass, and if the tithes be completely abolished, not a word shall we ever hear about abbey lands; but if this strife continue for any length of time, no man can tell to what extent a resumption may go. The second volume of the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, contains a list of the parcels of abbey land property in the several counties of England, Wales, and Ireland. I by no

means wish to see it disturbed; its origin is by no means the same as that of the parochial property: it was never intended for the same purposes. It was not charged with the same duties and services; but it was *public property*, and as such it was taken and granted away; as such it would, in case of necessity, be still considered, if this strife about the tithes were to continue for any long time. I hope that the government and the parliament will see the danger. I trust that the wisdom of the parliament and the moderation of the people will never suffer this matter to be agitated. But I beg those who are concerned to bear in mind the difference between the conduct of the *pious* English reformers, and the *profligate* French jacobin leaders; both put down the Catholic church; but the leaders in the reformation of England took the abbey-lands to themselves; while the vile jacobins of France distributed them amongst the whole of the people, by sale, and *brought the proceeds into the public treasury*. I wish no practical inference to be drawn from this; but when degrading appellations are applied to popular leaders; when selfish motives are represented as essential to them; when a contrast is drawn between their general character and that of the noble classes, I wish the above two facts always to be borne in mind.

A great point, as connected with tithes and all church property, a great point to establish, and to establish beyond all question, is, that every species of church property had its foundation in motives of *charity*; that everything given to the clergy, either in oblations or lands, or under whatever names, was **A GIFT TO GOD FOR THE USE AND BENEFIT OF THE POOR**. To establish this point is a matter of the greatest importance at this time; and to effect this object I would spare no pains. About six weeks ago, I inserted a letter from a gentleman in Spain, who had sent me a book, recently published in Spain, on "**THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE INCOME OF THE CHURCH OF SPAIN**." I said that I deemed this book to be of the greatest importance to us at this

time; and that, as soon as I returned to London, I would publish it in a little volume, as the translation would then be finished. I have found the translation finished, but I have changed my mind as to the *mode* of publication, and shall now publish it in about three successive numbers of the *Register*. By this mode of proceeding, I shall cause it to be read in every part of this kingdom, and shall spare my readers the expense of purchasing the book, and, which is still more, the trouble of getting the book. This work was published in Spain in 1828, *with the license of the government*. We know Spain to be the most Catholic country in Europe. Our parsons have taught us to believe strange things about the superstition and tyranny of the clergy in Spain. It is therefore worth while for us to hear what the clergy of that country publish about the origin of tithes, and of all church property. We shall find that the littlefinger of our hierarchy is heavier than the loins of the hierarchy of the Catholic clergy of Spain; and we shall find the clergy of that hierarchy forward to avow, that they have no property in tithes, lands, oblations, or anything else; but that they receive *the whole in trust, for the relief and benefit of the poor*. Let our parsons answer this book; let our parsons and lay impropiators deny the contents of this book; or let them at once surrender the property to be applied to the uses for which it was originally destined. In my whole lifetime I never read a book more interesting than this, and I now proceed to tender it to the attentive perusal of my readers.

OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF THE INCOME
OF THE
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

Of the nature of Ecclesiastical Property in general.

THE church is the community of the faithful, congregated under a supreme

head, viz., the Roman pontiff, as successor to the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ, for the visible direction of the whole body of the church. The bishops of the Catholic world are the successors of the other apostles, for the government of those parts of the church which have been entrusted to their care. They are like vigilant shepherds, constantly watching for the good of their sheep. They supply the faithful not only with spiritual remedies for the welfare of their souls, but moreover with proper and copious means for their bodily wants, distributing among them rather plentiful alms out of the patrimony of the church.

The practice of these charities, we may observe, was early established from the very first centuries of Christianity, since to that effect the order of deacons was instituted, to whose particular care the superintendence of the tables at which the poor were fed was entrusted by the apostles. They knew very well the regulations enacted by Moses, with a view to prevent begging, and the practice of the synagogue was adopted by them in behalf of the poor. Alms were collected in the Christian assemblies, as the apostle teaches us. The faithful in the true spirit of charity, contributed voluntarily with their goods for the maintenance of the necessitous. There were in the churches regular boxes for the collection of these pious contributions, and every thing thus collected was distributed among the poor. The part taken out of them by the ministers of the church was rather considered as a merely necessary means for the support of their lives, than as a remuneration for their services. Since they were wholly intent on the instruction of the faithful, they could find no leisure to get their livelihood through the means of any honest dealings; and it was considered but fair that those who served the church should live out of its property. It is true that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Thessalonians says, that he had troubled nobody for his but that he had rather supplied his necessities and those of his disciples out of his manual labour: but

we must not infer thence that he meant to subject his successors to the same practice. The zeal of his charity enabled him to perform his apostolical duties, as well as those of an industrious citizen; but God, who promised to his church the blessing of his everlasting assistance, did not promise to endow all his ministers with such an active zeal as he was pleased to bestow upon a man chosen as a vase of election to preach the mysteries of his divine law among nations. The same apostle repeatedly said, that the preachers of the Gospel ought to live out of the fruits of their preaching, and that he who attended the altar, ought to take his part out of the oblations presented upon the same altar. In consonance with this, he says in his Epistle to Timothy, that the presbyters are worthy of double honour, *i. e.* pay; this being the common interpretation of that word, and the sense in which it is used by the jurists.

Since we have no authority to suppose that during the period of the heathen persecutions, the church had got possession of landed property to any considerable extent; and since, on the other hand, we are perfectly aware that in the times of the apostles it was customary to sell off any such property, and to bring in the price of it, together with the other oblations, for the support of the necessitous; we may infer from it, that no formal solemnity was yet established in those ages for the purpose of perpetually appropriating to God that sort of property. Its conveyance or sale, far from being prohibited, was rather considered necessary to accomplish the objects of its destination, namely, the feeding of the poor, especially since, otherwise, the estates were exposed to the pillage of the imperial ministers during the period of the persecutions; but after the peace, when the church began to possess quietly its own property, the sale of those estates was not allowed, but under particular circumstances. This prohibition did not change in the least the original and real nature of the ecclesiastical landed property. The church kept possession of its estates

for the benefit of the poor, according to the original object of the donors, who granted them with this view.

Nobody usurped the authority of appropriating for his own use the ecclesiastical property, during the first period when the charity of the Christians remained uncontaminated. The church possessed its estates, and the bishops distributed the revenues according to the will of the donors.

The prohibition of disposing of the ecclesiastical landed property, together with the liberality of the Christians, produced to the church a great accumulation of wealth, which soon proved the origin of a great many abuses lamented by St. Jerome, who used to say on this account, that under the Christian emperors the church had become more wealthy, but, for all that, less virtuous. It is probable that the decrease of that primitive charity with which the first Christians used to consecrate their property to God, originated mostly in the opinion commonly entertained of the immense ecclesiastical wealth; there being nothing more unfavourable to the liberality of the people, than such an opinion. The great quantity of alms collected by the mendicant friars, and the little offered to cathedrals and monasteries, are a practical proof of this truth.

The abuses observed with regard to the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues, compelled the church to adopt a new system of discipline. The clergy were entrusted with the mere administration of the church property, but without its being at all considered as their own. It is but too true that many among them grossly overlooking the condition under which this trust has been committed to their care, make use of the property of the church in a way far different from that which is conformable to the nature of it. They are true sectarians of Judas, refusing the poor what for the mere sake of the poor was deposited with them. The church deprecates such conduct, and the canon law denounces it, enjoining them repeatedly to dispose of the ecclesiastical property in the proper way. The council of Paris tells them plainly

enough, that the administration of it was given to them in order that they might distribute its revenues as the apostles did. St. Paul, who worked assiduously to get his livelihood without becoming a burden to the faithful, is an excellent model for their conduct, since he distributed every thing among the poor, and never took any for himself. The clergy, as it is already stated, are not bound to such perfection, but surely they cannot find a sufficient apology for a distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues contrary to the injunctions of the canon law and to the will of the donors. The Christians never parted from their goods with an intention of enriching the clergy, but simply with a view that they might hold them in trust and distribute them as the laws of the church direct.

Even after the changes introduced in the modern discipline with regard to the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues, the real intention of the Christians offering their property to God, was, in fact, in after times, the very same as professed by the faithful of the primitive centuries. Let any one examine the tenor of the deeds of grants executed after the eighth century, and it will be found that the will of the donors has always been the same. We observe in those documents, that the donors offer thereby their property to God, for the support of the clergy employed in the service of the church, for the maintenance of the poor and for the pilgrims.

We further observe, that the final object of their liberality is the spiritual welfare of their souls, and those of their relations, friends, &c., since they thought that their grants were like a sort of alms for the ransom of their sins. Alms, indeed, are undoubtedly held as one of the best means to obtain mercy from God; and all agree in acknowledging that what is not distributed among the necessitous does not really deserve the name of alms. From this it follows, that the ecclesiastical property, by its true nature, is the patrimony of the poor, and the ransom of sins.

This has been constantly the professed opinion of the church, enforced both by the canon and the civil law, and this

was the belief of the fathers, both of the ancient and of the modern centuries. St. Gregory did not hesitate to say that the estates of the Roman church were the property of the poor. This was also the avowed opinion of St. Augustin, as well as of St. Prosperus, who, in his epistles to St. Hilary and St. Paulinus, tells them that they held the church property, not to dispose of it as a master does of his own, but to administer it and distribute its revenues among the poor. St. Isidorus, when he was consecrated bishop, used to employ himself in the distribution of alms from morning to night. St. Bernard, in fine, very forcibly says, that anything whatever of ecclesiastical property kept by a minister of the church for his own use, besides his food and clothing, is not his own, but it is rather a *theft* and a sacrilege.

This way of thinking was common in the eastern, as well as in the western church. The fathers, in the council of Calcedonia, with a view to remove from the bishops any sort of suspicion with regard to their conduct in the distribution of the revenues of the church, appointed expressly for that purpose some particular ministers called *œconomi*, whose office it was to administer and distribute them under the superintendence of the bishops, so that they might watch mutually upon each other as to the proper manner of that distribution.

Though the Latin church did not create so early this sort of ministers for the administration of the ecclesiastical patrimony, it was not less attentive to the benefit of the poor. The ecclesiastical property in the church of Rome was distributed in four parts, one of which was assigned to the bishops, another to the clergy, another to the poor, and the last was destined for the repairing of the church and its muniments. In Spain, the revenues of the church were equally distributed in three parts, namely, one for the bishops, another for the clergy, and the third for the repairing and muniments of the church; but though there was no especial assignation made for the poor, they were by no

means left unprovided, since their subsistence was secured in the parts assigned to the bishops and clergy, all of whom were particularly commanded to support the poor: we may, in confirmation of this, have reference to the collection of the canon laws prepared by St. Martin for the council of Lugo, and afterwards published in the second council of Braga. The fathers there enforced the ecclesiastical censures of the council of Antiochia against all those who dared to defraud the poor, for the support of whom was really assigned whatever remained from the ecclesiastical property, deducting only the part necessary for the support of the ministers of the church, earnestly exhorting them at the same time to content themselves with their food and clothing, according to the injunctions of St. Paul.

We observe, moreover, that notwithstanding the assignations already described, nothing was more carefully attended to by the holy bishops, than the relief of the necessitous; so that in case of need, they frequently overlooked the ecclesiastical prohibitions, and distributed among the poor not only the part assigned to them, but even that which was particularly destined for the ostentation of divine worship. In proof of this, we will extract a beautiful passage of St. Ambrose, in his apology against the Arians. "Would it not be better," says he, "to apply the sacred vases, when other means are wanted, for the purpose of feeding the poor, than to leave the same exposed to the profanation of sacrilegious hands, or to the pillage of enemies? The church does not want any gold to keep it, but chiefly to relieve the poor. If the necessitous come to starvation, how can the ministers of the church withstand the reproaches of Jesus Christ? Our Saviour will reproach them certainly, and say: You had gold in your possession, and might have relieved the poor; why did you allow the enemies to kill the captives, for whose ransom you could pay! Would it not have been better to preserve the live vessels than the golden ones? How can the minis-

"ters answer this reproach? It would
 "be useless to quote as a plea, 'I was,
 "'O Lord, afraid to detract from the
 "'magnificence of the temple;' the di-
 "vine reply will be: 'The sacraments
 "do not derive their virtue from gold—
 "the ransom of the captives consti-
 "tutes the best ornament for my
 "temple—and the most precious vases
 "are those which are employed in
 "keeping up the life of man."

By a change of discipline introduced
 in after times, the ecclesiastical property
 was divided into *benefici* (a sort of
 livings), and their administration entrusted
 to the *beneficiarii* (their possessors); by
 this alteration the practice of the former
 assignments was discontinued, but ne-
 vertheless the objects of the distribution
 of the revenues of the ecclesiastical
 property remained the same as before:
 it being the property of the poor, must
 be distributed amongst them. It was
 given to the clergy to relieve them from
 mendicity, but not to enrich them or
 their relations. The fathers in the
 council of Trent enjoin them particu-
 larly to divest themselves of such a
 criminal feeling, which has proved the
 source of a great many evils lamented by
 the church. We will conclude this
 chapter by quoting a passage of the ce-
 lebrated Gaufridius, abbot of Claraval.
 "The labourer," says he, "is truly worth
 "his hire, and who serves at the altar
 "must live by it. Let him live by the
 "altar, but let him be satisfied with his
 "food and clothing, according to the
 "precept of the apostle. Let him live
 "by the altar, but let him not be en-
 "riched; let him not waste in vain
 "expenses the sacred oblations; let
 "him not accumulate wealth, as St.
 "Jerome observes, out of the eccle-
 "siastical property. Let him live
 "by the altar, but let him not erect
 "sumptuous palaces, appropriating for
 "purposes of luxury that which is natu-
 "rally destined for the purposes of
 "charity. Let him live by the altar, but let
 "him not accumulate riches; nor spend
 "in vain and superfluous enjoyments
 "the sacred property of the church.
 "Let him live by the altar, but let him
 "not enrich his relatives with the re-

venues of the church. Let him re-
 member, that it is a sacrilegious deed
 "to apply the goods of the poor, to
 "those who are not in need. The pa-
 "trimony of the church is the patrimony
 "of the poor, and the ministers of the
 "church are guilty of a sacrilegious
 "impiety, if they attempt to keep
 "for themselves anything whatever be-
 "sides their food and clothing, be-
 "cause they are not the proprietors,
 "but simply the administrators and
 "distributors of the patrimony of the
 "church."

CHAPTER II.

Of the Foundation of the Church of Spain, and of its Revenues till the time of Constantine.

At the time predestined by the Eter-
 nal Providence for the promulgation of
 the divine law from Mount Sion, and
 for the annunciation of the Gospel from
 Jerusalem, the apostles came out to in-
 vite the inhabitants of the earth to the
 inheritance of the kingdom of heaven.
 They made, for their evangelical con-
 quest, towards different regions, under
 the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The
 whole world was darkened at the time
 under the influence of idolatry. Spain,
 as well as the other provinces of the
 Roman empire, worshipped the demon
 under the forms of gods, the work of the
 hands of men. This abominable wor-
 ship was deeply rooted among a people
 of constant habits by nature.

St. James the Great was the apostle
 chosen by God to eradicate idolatry
 from Spain. His evangelical zeal suc-
 ceeded in destroying the worship of the
 demon, and in establishing that of the
 true God. Spain was the first which,
 through his exertions, had the honour to
 pay homage to the Virgin Mary, in
 whose memory the temple of Zaragoza
 was erected, in the lifetime of our
 Lady.

A province so particularly favoured
 must have been the delight of the
 apostles, and so it was, since not only its
 shores were honoured by St. Paul, but
 even the prince of the apostles favoured
 them with his preaching; and, accord-
 ing to St. Gregory VII., seven disciples

of St. James were consecrated bishops, and sent thither by the two above-mentioned apostles for the propagation of the Gospel.

As soon as these apostolical men entered Spain, they began their pious work with the utmost zeal, propagating the doctrine they had learned from the apostles. Their labour was crowned with such rapid success, that in the time of Tertullian, who flourished in the second century of the church, there was not a single spot in Spain where the true God was not worshipped. About the middle of the very first century Spain testified the Christian doctrine with the blood of its martyrs, since St. Secundus suffered in the persecution of the year 64, together with many others, whose legends are lost, on account of the fury with which they were destroyed by the imperial ministers.

In proportion as the doctrine of Jesus Christ was propagated, the number of evangelical ministers was also augmented, because the first bishops in the churches recently established instituted rectors to govern them and to promote the foundation of others, just in the same way as was done by the apostles. When the number of Christians was considerable, a place was destined for the purposes of prayer and instruction, and thus consecrated into a house of the Almighty.

Most of the churches, of which we have got any information, had no regular revenues towards the expenses of the Christian worship. The Christian meetings were held as unlawful, and the faithful therefore were obliged to meet during the night, or, if it was in the day-time, in caves and other places impenetrable to the beams of the sun; wherefore the expenses of lighting were unavoidably incurred. The Christians in Spain used to communicate daily in both kinds, and since bread and wine were necessary articles for the communion service, thence the necessity of this expenditure. They were also obliged to purchase religious books, having them frequently destroyed by their persecutors: they wanted sacred vessels; they practised hospitality to-

wards strangers; they supported the virgins, the widows, the orphans, the confessors, the sick, and the martyrs; and they, finally, held charitable entertainments or suppers called "*Agapes*."

These expenses were not peculiar to the church of Jerusalem, but generally incurred by all Christian churches, because the discipline was everywhere the same during the first centuries. The disciples of the apostles introduced in the newly-established churches all the practices they had learned from them, and the ecclesiastical rites, were of course universal. At least, so they were in the church of Spain, because we know from the authority of Gregory VII., that the bishops sent into Spain by St. Peter, introduced there the apostolical practices; and it is unquestionable, that the above-mentioned ones were observed in the church of Jerusalem; it being, therefore, likely that the disciples of St. James, who had witnessed in that city the martyrdom of the apostle, carried into the Spanish church a system established upon the principles of the most perfect charity.

To all the expenses already described, the liberal oblations of the first Christians were, no doubt, sufficient. The laborious and simple tenor of their lives, enabled them to supply easily their mutual wants, because a little is enough to encounter the mere exigences of nature. On the other hand, the happy union among the Christians during those times, established among them a system of general confidence, by virtue of which nobody spared his own patrimony, being perfectly aware that he should not stand in need of anything while it was in the possession of his brothers: the system of living in common being so perfectly established among those Christians, that, at the time of Tertullian, nothing was considered private but their wives.

The frequent persecutions raised in those days against the Christians, were a great obstacle to them in the acquisition of landed property; and, as Eusebius asserts, the Emperors Diocletian and Maximilian took from them

even the few small appropriations they had got. The Roman laws prohibited the bequest of property to communities or any sort of collegiate bodies, none being lawful but those left to certain individuals; in after times this prohibition was partially altered, a special privilege having been granted in favour of those communities authorised by the laws: but as Catholic assemblies were considered illegal till the reign of Constantine, the church could not profit by that privilege until that period. Spain was a Roman province, and entirely subject to the Roman laws.

The Spanish church, therefore, had no property for the support of its ministers, who entirely depended, of course, on the charity of the faithful; and in order that the maintenance of the clergy should not prove very burdensome to the laymen, the fathers in the council *Illiberitanum* allowed the former to practise honest dealings to get their livelihood, which is an evident proof of the scarcity of means possessed by the Spanish church to support its ministers; since nothing short of an imperious necessity could have induced those holy bishops to allow the clergy the use of worldly trade, so repugnant to the sanctity of ecclesiastical vocations; in consideration of which, the above-mentioned permission was limited to the sphere of their own domiciles.

The use of oblations was very common in the first centuries. The Christians, who used to communicate very often, never approached the altar without offering something, except in the case of extreme poverty. The oblations were usually made either daily or weekly, and consequently they were denominated either *diaria* or *hebdomadales*. They consisted chiefly in bread, wine, victuals, money, and such other articles which might prove useful either for the wants of the faithful or for the performance of the ceremonies of divine worship. There were some other oblations called *mensuales*, because they were monthly distributed among the clergy and the poor: for these collections there were in the

churches several boxes, wherein the faithful deposited the money they chose to pay, nobody being obliged to do it.

In Spain, this practice was introduced by the holy bishops sent by St. Peter to that province, wherein they established the same practices used in Rome and Jerusalem. The canon laws of the Illiberitan council afford a great many proofs of the apostolical discipline having been adopted in Spain; and Tertullian, who possessed very extensive information on the universal discipline of the church, speaks of the oblations as of a thing of constant and general practice: in Spain, at least, it was so, as we learn from the records of the Illiberitan council above-mentioned.

Another sort of ecclesiastical income known in the church from the very first centuries, are the *primitiæ* or the first fruits. The first Christians attributed the benefit of their crops not so much to the labour of the farmer, as to the blessings of that Eternal Providence who regulates and keeps the constant order of created nature; and they, accordingly, thought it a sort of ingratitude not to offer to God the first fruits of those crops received by them at his liberal hand. The fathers in the council Gangrensis spoke of the *primitiæ* as of an oblation assigned to the church from the earliest antiquity.

The church used to bless the *primitiæ*, from the apostolical times, as a ceremony through which the sacerdotal benediction was imparted to the whole crop. We do not know that the benediction of the fields, such as is now practised in some countries, was used at an early period; and we may therefore come to the conclusion that the benediction of the fruits spoken of in the Illiberitan council was merely the benediction of the *primitiæ*. The fathers in that council enacted that the Jews should not be allowed to bless their fruits; and this was with a view to honour the Christian benediction. It is a fact that the Hebrews, as it is stated in Leviticus, used to offer to God their first fruits after they were blessed by their priests; so that the benediction spoken of in the canon law of the Illiberitan

council was that of the *primitiæ*; because the canon law says, that through the means of that benediction from the Catholic priest, the fruits of the Catholic people were sanctified.

The oblations, therefore, and the *primitiæ* were the only patrimony of the Spanish church, from its first establishment, till the time of Constantine; and the only treasure from which the necessary means for the support of the faithful was derived. The church supplied their wants, and this charity was not confined among its own poor, but extended itself to the pilgrims, who were immediately admitted to the participation of the ecclesiastical goods, provided they were Christians and in the communion of the church; all were considered as children of Jesus Christ, and all were supported like brothers.

Though the Spanish church had no other income than that arising from the two heads above-mentioned, the offices of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were, nevertheless, kept with proper decency. The church in Spain, even during the heat of the persecutions, kept not only its own bishops, priests, and deacons, but also divers other inferior ministers; since we learn from the legend of the martyrdom of St. Fructuosus, who suffered in 259, that a lecturer of the name of Augustal begged to be allowed to take off the sandals from the holy martyr: and it is generally known that St. Vincent, in the church of Zaragoza performed the office of archdeacon in the third century. The charity of the faithful, owing to their frugality, proved a copious source, from which both the ministers of the church and the poor derived their support.

The Spanish church, however, although extremely poor, did not accept of all the oblations presented to her; the faithful only, in the Catholic communion, being allowed to come forward with their offerings: and it was strictly forbidden to receive any oblations for ~~christenings~~. The church held riches in contempt, in order to maintain the purity of its discipline, and that very contempt excited the liberality of the faithful, who contributed every-

thing which was sufficient for the support of the great many ecclesiastical duties.

The bishops, with the assistance of deacons, were the collectors and administrators of that income, without being called to account by anybody. None of the ecclesiastical ministers thought it lawful to appropriate for himself, out of the income of the church, but what was merely sufficient for his food and clothing, and the bishop, as a kind father, supplied his sons with every thing they might want.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Ecclesiastical Income of the Church of Spain, from Constantine to the Catholic Recurd.

The church whose kingdom shall last till the end of the world, according to the promise of Jesus Christ, was furiously persecuted during the three first centuries after her foundation, but all the cruelty of the Jews and the heathens was insufficient to destroy a building founded upon that strong rock against which the power of hell can never prevail. The impious ministers of persecution caused Christian blood to run like a stream, but each drop of it served only to increase the fertility of the seeds of the Gospel. The heathens at last became tired of a persecution, which rather seemed to invigorate the Christian faith; they abandoned accordingly their cruelty, and the church had the pleasure to receive into her fold those very bloody wolves that had destroyed her flocks.

Constantine, forced by the strength of miracles, readily embraced the precepts of that religion which his predecessors were unable to extirpate; but though peace was granted to the church by that prince from 312, it was not till 324 when the cruelty of persecutions was totally at an end, when in consequence of the defeat of Licinius, the church was at liberty to perform openly the ceremonies of the divine service throughout the whole Roman empire. The hatred of persecution was then changed into the favour of protec-

tion, and the imperial proclamations against the Christians converted into friendly privileges in their behalf.

The Christian assemblies became lawful, and Christianity being, by the efforts of Constantine, the reigning religion in the empire, the Catholics were allowed the free use of their religious ceremonies; they were advanced to the most exalted offices in the state; and their clergy, their widows, and their virgins, got even allowances from the public treasury.

The church, which down to that period had been rather poor, began to enjoy the right of acquiring every sort of property. The inheritances of the martyrs, of the confessors, and of the ecclesiastical ministers, who died without a last will (*ab intestato*) or without lawful heirs, were assigned to the church. The liberality of the emperors promoted that of their subjects, and the church derived such considerable wealth from this munificence that the succeeding emperors began to consider it rather injurious to the state.

The emperor Julian repealed many of those privileges granted to the church by Constantine, and under various pretences despoiled the church of her property. He endeavoured to conceal his impiety under the plausible reason that Christian perfection chiefly consisted in poverty. Valentinian in his turn repealed the edicts of Julian, but did not reinstate the church in the enjoyment of the privileges granted by Constantine. The same emperor issued an edict against the ambition of some ecclesiastical ministers, who contrived to get possession of the inheritances of minors and widows, and who, on this account, were stigmatized with the name of *Heredipetas*.

All these laws were enforced too in Spain, though, in all probability, the motives of their promulgation were unknown there. St. Jerome, speaking of these edicts, complains bitterly of the rapacity and covetousness of the Roman clergy and monks. The edict of Valentinian was sent to the Roman pontiff St. Damasus, in order that it should be published in his church;

and the fathers of that period do not complain of the law, but of the ambition of those against whom it was enacted.

About that time the church in Spain enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and its holy bishops promoted in their councils the most perfect discipline. The faithful willingly contributed their copious and plentiful oblations, and from their liberality the Spanish church derived a great deal of landed property, the revenues of which were carefully distributed among the poor by the bishops, who thus left to their successors the most excellent instances of disinterested charity.

The splendour of the Spanish temples was very considerable, since we learn that the church of St. Eulalia, at Merida, was ornamented with magnificent columns, beautiful marbles, and lofty towers: the irruption, however, of the barbarians, destroyed entirely that splendour. They inundated Spain in 409, and took possession of the whole country, except the province of Tarragona, which was kept by the Romans till 456, according to St. Isidorus. The church in Spain suffered a great deal under the control of a people, ferocious by their education, and inimical to the Catholics, by their profession of Arianism.

It pleased God to stop the fury of their persecutions in the reign of Amalaric. This prince, though an Arian himself, allowed the Catholics the free practice of their religion, and by his permission, the second Toledan council was held, in the fifth year of his reign. Theudis, his successor, confirmed his grants, and the blessings of peace were again enjoyed by the Catholics. The virtue of these rendered itself amiable even to the Arians; and Atangild, who professed their faith, displayed, nevertheless, his royal munificence towards Catholics, in the erection of the monastery Agaliensis.

The church in Tarragona did not suffer so much as the others, that province having not been subdued by the Goths, till the reign of Euric. The discipline then was the same as it had been during the period previous to the irruption of the barbarians, whose man-

ners had been since greatly softened through their intercourse with the Spaniards. It is true that the faithful there suffered a great deal from the cruelty of that prince, and his successor Alaric, but the impiety of the latter rather proceeded from political motives, than from his hatred to the Catholics, so that his persecution was not so violent, and he used to say that he never meant to make war against the saints.

The church, however, kept possession of her patrimony in many places: the Goths did not pay particular attention to tillage, and, accordingly, allowed many churches the possession of their landed property. The councils of Toledo and Lerida, held about that period, confirm this truth: there many regulations were enacted for the preservation of the landed property. Chattels were the special object of the rapacity of the Goths, who, according to history, very often pillaged the churches to enrich themselves with their spoils.

After peace had been granted to the church in Spain, the amount of her property greatly increased, and the magnificence of the public worship was considerably augmented. Gold and precious stones began to decorate the vases employed for divine service; and St. Gregory of Tours asserts that Chilbert, king of Paris, having entered Spain at the head of his army, carried back into France among other spoils, 60 chalices, 15 patines, and 20 gospel cases, which though richly ornamented with pure gold and precious stones, were more valuable still on account of their workmanship, than on account of the materials. It is also mentioned by Paul the deacon, that the holy Bishop Masma, in his church at Merida, ordered the most precious vestments of gold and silk cloth to be used in the Easter festivals, and that the same caused several hospitals and monasteries to be erected: notwithstanding this splendour, there were to be found some churches so poor, that they even wanted a stone baptismal font.

The church in Spain was soon doomed to suffer again a new persecution from Leovigild, who, strongly irritated at

the Catholic obstinacy of his holy son St. Hermenegild, whom he put to death; and his conscience bitterly affected with the remorse produced by this inhuman deed, directed his fury against the ecclesiastical ministers, who, in his opinion, were the advisers of his son's conduct, pillaged the churches, and exiled their bishops, appointing in their stead Arian sectaries. It seems likely that the churches governed by these heretic ministers kept possession of their property. Leovigild's fury, however, did not proceed from motives of rapacity, but from his hatred to the Catholic faith; so that, notwithstanding his impiety, he did not hesitate to reinstate the Servitan monastery in the full possession of its property, and even granted Nunctus, the abbot, an appropriation near Merida.

The church was always very careful about the preservation of her property, looking upon it as upon the patrimony of the poor. With a view to prevent dilapidation, the fathers, in the council of Valentia in 546, enacted, that upon the death of a bishop, an accurate inventory should be made of all the property of the church by the neighbouring prelate, and that a minister should be appointed to superintend over the administration and distribution of its revenues. It was also a constant regulation, forbidding bishops to dispose of the church-property without the intervention of the clergy, with a view to prevent any sort of dilapidation of the patrimony of the poor.

This discipline was still in vigour in 560, when the fathers in the first council of Braga enacted several regulations concerning the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues: the 7th canon law directs, that the property of the church must be divided in three parts; one for the bishop, another for the clergy, and the third for the church repairs and muniments: this latter was entrusted to the care of the arch-priest, or arch-deacon, who was accountable to the bishop for their distributions. This regulation was regularly observed in Galicia, Braga being then the metropolis of that province; and it was in

after times introduced in the churches throughout the whole of Spain, although it appears that the said practice had long before prevailed in the church of Tarragona. It follows from this statement, that the divisions or assignments used in the Roman church were never adopted in Spain.

The manners of some bishops and ministers of the church were in a certain measure affected by their intercourse with the barbarians; and in consequence of that, a great many abuses crept into the church. It is a common observation that special remedies are never adopted unless there are some ascertained disorders calling for them: accordingly, and from the tenor of the regulations enacted in the councils of that period, we may infer that simony and dilapidation were very common among the ministers of the church. The council of Tarragona prohibited the bishops to dispose of beyond the third part of the revenues of their parishes, and enjoined the clergy to refrain from all sort of dealings. The second council of Braga forbade the ministers of the church to receive anything for the administration of sacraments; the abuses in this subject having been so gross, that many poor people, to avoid extortions, had not their children baptized. And, finally, with the same view, to prevent dilapidation, the bishops were forbidden to dispose in any way of the ecclesiastical property but in cases of extreme emergency, and with the intervention of priests and deacons. By virtue of this and similar regulations, the church of Spain kept her property, in order to have it properly distributed; and the beauty of the *primitive church* was, as far as possible, renewed in Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Income of the Spanish Church, from Recared down to the Irruption of the Saracens

Since the announcement of the gospel, experience has confirmed the truth that the blood of the martyrs was the most effectual means for the propagation of Christianity. In Spain, too, this

was the case; the martyrdom of St. Hermenegild having produced the effect of the conversion of the Goths.

Recared ascended the throne when the greatest part of Spain were Arians. The church wanted her proper pastors, and a great many episcopal chairs were held by heretics. The poor, the widows, and the orphans, were utterly desolated, and no Catholic bishop could help them, the property of the church being pillaged and confiscated.

In 586, Recared renounced the errors of Arius, and embraced the true faith, getting for himself and his successors the well-deserved surname of Catholic. In due gratitude to God for that blessing, he reinstated the churches in the possession of the property confiscated by his father, and moreover erected and liberally endowed several monasteries.

This proved the happiest period of the Spanish church. The constant peace enjoyed during his reign, and his pious munificence, filled the church with joy and wealth. She not only got copious oblations with the restoration of her property, but even new honours and privileges. The bishops were ever since considered as the most exalted personages in the kingdom, and were allowed the prerogatives enjoyed by the noblemen or *grandees*.

Notwithstanding all this favour, the church in Spain was far from being rich. It was enacted by the canon laws, that two councils should be held yearly in every province, and the fathers in the third council of Toledo, in due regard to the poverty of the bishops, thought it advisable to exonerate them from that duty, limiting their attendance to the council to once a year.

The church in Spain had a right to the inheritances of her bondmen till the third remove, whenever they happened to die without lawful heirs. The slaves of the church, and those of her ministers, were exempted from serving in public works; and the free-born clergy, from 633, in addition to the above-mentioned privilege, were exempted from real and personal taxes. If the ministers of the Spanish church were possessed of no property at the time of

their promotion to holy orders, their inheritances lawfully belonged to the church : otherwise, they were inherited by their relations. If an ecclesiastical minister got any property as a gift from his friends, and had not disposed of it in his lifetime, that property belonged to the church.

The Spanish monarchs were always very liberal to the church. Sisebut founded the temple of St. Leocadia at Toledo : Chindasvint erected the famous monasteries of Compluto and St. Roman : Recesvint founded the church of St. John de Baño, near Dueñas : and Ervigius and Egica were proclaimed as benefactors to the church by the fathers in the 13th and 14th Toledan councils.

The notions concerning the inability of the monks to keep possession of their property were unknown in those times, and the rule of St. Fructuosus, enjoining those who embraced the monastic profession previously to dispose of all their property, was not in practice. The monks, therefore, keeping their own appropriations, consecrated them, together with their persons, to the service of God, under this form : *Sic me trado ad regulam*. They disposed of their own property without restraint during their lifetime, and upon their deaths bequeathed it to their monasteries.

The crown of Spain was not hereditary, and the bishops had a considerable influence in cases of election. They had not only a vote as the other noblemen, but moreover the right to pronounce the election lawful, and to anoint the newly-elected king. They protected, with their ecclesiastical censures, the persons of the kings and the royal family ; and they dethroned them with the same, and authorised the confiscation of their property, and that of their relatives, not unfrequently anointing in their stead the very same persons who had been accessory to the killing of their lawful sovereigns, as it appears from the records of the 4th and 12th Toledan councils. This extraordinary influence, and the dependance of the princes upon the authority of the bishops and abbots, encouraged the kings and all those who had any claim to the

crown to be extremely liberal to the church.

Her property was therefore greatly increased by that liberality and by private oblations, while at the same time the regulations enacted for the administration of it, kept it free from being dissipated. No conveyance of it was lawful, unless recommended by some peremptory emergency, and if any part of it was conveyed by the bishop without the agreement of the clergy, the contract was null and void. Nobody, besides, could come to the ecclesiastical property by any prescription of time. Under these regulations it was, of course, extremely difficult that the property of the church should be dilapidated ; and the church must have become very wealthy in the course of some years, since her property was so carefully kept for its natural object, namely, the support of the necessitous.

The strictest economy was also enforced in the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues. Though the right of the clergy to be fed out of the ecclesiastical patrimony was constantly acknowledged, the Spanish canon law took always particular care that the ministers of the church should not become burdensome to the people, in pursuance of the apostolical precept. The Spanish bishops knew very well that the principal destination of the ecclesiastical revenue was the support of the poor. In their behalf the Spanish canon law approved the enactments of the councils Agatensis and the 4th Carthaginensis, enjoining the clergy to employ themselves in some honest dealings to increase the means of their livelihood, having in view a double object, namely, to keep them from idleness, and to reduce the expenses of their support in favour of the poor.

The justice of the Spanish canon law was justly appreciated by the whole church, and the disuse of its practice is the only reason why that system of discipline appears now to be rather strange. It must be, however, acknowledged that even in the time of the Goths, some among the clergy paid but little attention to those holy regulations. King

Egica was compelled to lay before the fathers, in the 16th Toledan council, a catalogue of abuses, that they might be reformed.

The bishops in Spain, by virtue of a custom introduced there, received the third part of the canonical assignments, that, namely, which was destined for the repairs and muniments of the church, under the injunction, however, to apply it to its proper uses; which duty was often disregarded by some of them. They even usurped the part which was to be applied for the necessary maintenance of divine worship, and left the property of the church to their relations, appointing them to abbeys and curacies, even if they were laymen. The clergy and abbots, after their example, dilapidated the property of the church; and these abuses were so scandalous, that some ecclesiastical ministers were impudent enough to employ the ornaments and sacred vases in domestic uses.

The regulations above-described, having proved insufficient to prevent these abuses, the kings at last took upon themselves the protection of the canon laws: they accordingly pronounced void and unlawful all sales of ecclesiastical property made by the bishops without the intervention of the clergy, and further enacted that upon the consecration of a bishop, he should be bound to make, in presence of five honest men, an accurate inventory of all the property belonging to the church, that any part of it which might have been dilapidated, should be recovered by his successor; by which means some stop was put to the said abuses.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Ecclesiastical Income of the Church of Spain, during her captivity under the Saracens.

Nothing has a more effectual influence over human actions than example, and more particularly when it comes from the throne: the morals of the people are usually, therefore, in perfect consonance with those of their princes. Spain had the misfortune of being suc-

cessively governed by Witiza and Roderich, monsters of iniquity, and their example soon banished virtue from the country, and encouraged crime, irreligion, and cruelty.

The justice of God, though merciful towards the Spaniards, took however due vengeance upon the country, choosing the Saracens as ministers of his wrath: they inundated the country as an impetuous torrent, and nothing escaped their fury, but the ridge of mountains running from Galicia to Navarra: where the fastnesses offered a shelter to the fugitives to protect themselves against the general ruin.

The entrance of the Moors into Spain was signalized by the pillaging of cities and churches, and by the massacring of those who dared to resist their victorious arms. Those who could not withstand their impetuosity retired to the recesses of mountains, carrying with themselves the relics and sacred ornaments, more esteemed by them than their own chattels, which they abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors.

A great many Christians, however, attracted, either by the comforts of their own homes, or by that powerful feeling which attaches men to their native places, chose rather to remain among the barbarians: others ventured to fortify themselves in strong towns, though they were at last compelled to surrender under divers treaties.

Count Don Julian compromised to surrender his country, on condition that the Moors should allow the Spaniards the use of Christian worship, and the privilege of their being judged by national magistrates, together with the free possession of their property, binding themselves on their side to pay a moderate tribute. The Saracens, indeed, kept faithfully to the terms of that agreement throughout a certain period, and in the surrendered cities the Christians, of course, kept possession of their churches and their ecclesiastical property. Seven parishes were granted to them at Toledo, and at Cordoba they not only kept in their possession their former churches, but they were allowed to build

new ones : and, generally speaking, in most cities where they were on rather good terms with their conquerors, their temples and ecclesiastical property were secured to them.

Those cities, on the contrary, which resisted the Moors, did not get so advantageous conditions. Merida, upon its surrender, was compelled to surrender to the conqueror the whole property of its dead and wounded, and that of its church and clergy : the immunities and privileges granted to the Christians, were, on the other hand more or less advantageous, according to the personal feelings and natural disposition of the local Moorish governors. We may assert, that, upon an average the people in towns who surrendered under terms of agreement, paid only the tenth part of their fruits, while the fifth was extorted in towns forcibly conquered.

The Spaniards adhered faithfully to the purity of their religion throughout the horrors of their bondage. Their ministers kept their stations in the church, and were supported out of her revenues. Her property chiefly consisted in chattels and voluntary oblations. The charity of the faithful increased amid those calamitous circumstances, and their contributions must have been considerable, since they produced enough not only for the support of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in a rather respectable condition, but even for the erection of monasteries.

Cordoba was the centre of Christianity under the Moors, and the faithful were visited there with many hardships and persecutions. The Moors were no longer faithful to the conditions of their former treaties : they began to usurp the ecclesiastical property, and even to expose to sale the ecclesiastical offices : they began to extort from the Christians a monthly contribution besides the ordinary taxes, and not unfrequently they were so rapacious as to take from their hands the oblations presented upon the altar.

The ecclesiastical discipline did not suffer, however, any material innovation during that calamitous period. The

ecclesiastical revenues were administered according to the regulations of the canon laws, and the bishops who superintended their distribution, after paying out of them the ordinary taxes, applied the remains for the support of the clergy, the poor, and the repairs and muniments of the church.

Hospitality was exercised in the Christian churches, under the Moors ; and at Toledo, Sigüenza, Alcalá, Zaragoza, and other cities, this virtue was particularly practised, as St. Eulogius asserts. The bishops were bound to use it toward the strangers and pilgrims, and it is probable that all expenses incurred in their support came out of the ecclesiastical revenues, during that period. In fine, the discipline only suffered those little alterations which were unavoidable under the sway of those princes who merely tolerated Christianity to satiate their rapacity.

The truly apostolical charity of bishops, encouraged the faith of the Christians, and rendered them amiable to their own oppressors. Ministers possessed of such virtue, could not but administer properly the revenues of the church. Those of Malaga and Sliberi had nevertheless the misfortune to place in their episcopal chairs one Samuel, and one Hostegeris his nephew ; both of whom proved a disgrace to their holy character. The latter particularly used to employ the ecclesiastical property for profane purposes, and instead of receiving the pious oblations of the faithful as a voluntary contribution, used to extort them by violent means, under the authority of the Moors ; his impiety having been such, that he caused several ministers of the church to be publicly flogged through the streets of Cordoba, because they opposed his tyrannical exactions.

Tranquillity was restored gradually to the Spanish church, after the persecution of the Almohades. In proportion as the limits of the Mohammedan empire were reduced, the immunities of the Christians increased. The Moors were constantly kept in awe by the victories of the Christian princes, and the protection of the latter proved very ad-

vantageous to the faithful under the African yoke.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Landed Property and jurisdictional Rights of the Church of Spain, after the Expulsion of the Saracens.

The valour of the warriors who gloriously reconquered Spain, found a rampart in the recesses of her mountains, and the piety of the faithful found a shelter in the same.

The churches in the mountains were not contaminated with the Mohammedan worship, and they kept possession of that property which they enjoyed before the irruption of the Saracens. The clergy and bishops who escaped persecution were supported out of them, in the parishes of Galicia and Asturias.

But the Arabian empire in Spain began to encounter severe checks from the very first years of their settlement. The Christians coming soon out of their narrow retreats, began to carry their conquests over the open country, under the victorious banners of their brave monarchs, who always protected the religious worship. Don Alphonso, the Catholic, expelled the Moors from Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, rebuilding the destroyed churches, and appointing prelates and rectors of unimpeached integrity.

The towns from which the Moors were expelled were usually abandoned and uninhabited; and the kings, with a view to replace the population, granted several territories and appropriations to the soldiers who so valiantly and zealously assisted them in their conquests. These seignors got an almost absolute domain in those towns, and their tenants were held in a sort of vassalage. The churches at that time got likewise many of those domains, and the ecclesiastical revenues were therefore greatly augmented, as we shall see in the following chapters.

Since the population in those newly reconquered towns was very thin, the voluntary oblations of the faithful were insufficient for the support of the ecclesiastical ministers, and hence the neces-

sity of granting the church some fixed means to meet her expenses and to provide for the magnificence of divine worship. Many of the Christian princes, as a mark of their gratitude to the God of hosts for his assistance in their battles, consecrated to his service not only uninhabited territories, but even populous towns. Don Alphonse V. endowed the churches in the kingdom of Leon with a great many appropriations. Others allowed the churches a complete jurisdiction over their tenants, and exempted them from royal taxes; and others, finally, were so extravagantly liberal, that they prohibited the inhabitants of some towns to buy or sell their own commodities, until the monasteries had disposed of theirs.

Some prelates, forgetful of the duties of their holy profession, made an improper use of the authority which they derived from those privileges. A great many exchanging the martial coat for the ecclesiastical gown, carried into the sanctuary the habits of military license; and the history of Compostela records the case of an unworthy bishop who on his death-bed ordered his agent to take away from a widow, his tenant, a single cow, the only support of her poor family. In the records, also, of the cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, there are some passages indicating a great many extortions suffered by the people by similar abuses.

They at last brought discredit on the clergy, and on this account Don Alphonse the Wise attempted to deprive the ecclesiastics of the rights of civil jurisdiction granted to them by his predecessors, but the interference of Pope Nicholas III. prevented this measure from being carried into execution.

Jesus Christ, it is true, never granted to his apostles any sort of jurisdiction in temporal matters, but there is no prohibition why ecclesiastical ministers should not exercise it in cases of any special concessions granted to them by secular princes. The Roman emperors favoured the ecclesiastics with this sort of grants, and the conduct of many holy bishops, in this respect, proved that the favour of the princes was not ill placed.

This privilege of civil jurisdiction

gave to the church in Spain a considerable accession of wealth. The Spanish laws grant to seignors or lords of domains the pecuniary fines, which, in towns subject to the royal jurisdiction, belong to the royal treasury. The church in Spain had many seignories, and accordingly received the amount of fines which belonged to the ecclesiastical treasury.

Though this jurisdiction may be exercised by the prelates themselves, in Spain, they abstain from the use of it. The important duties of the ecclesiastical profession on one side, and on the other, the jealousy of laymen against ecclesiastical judges, has recommended the practice of entrusting always the administration of justice to secular persons. A great many are, besides, of opinion, that judges appointed by churches and monasteries, want usually that integrity, wisdom, and prudence, which become the ministers of justice. Some truth may be in this observation; but, at all events, it is not peculiar to ecclesiastical prelates. Such deficiencies are frequently found in all sorts of judges, whenever they are not liberally paid. This is commonly the case with judges of private seignories, and it is not to be wondered at if they turn the administration of justice to their own profit, when they are not sufficiently provided for their support.

(To be continued.)

TITHES RESISTED IN ENGLAND!

TITHES.—At the Petty Sessions held at Hexham on the 6th inst. Mr. J. RIDLEY, glove-manufacturer, appeared in answer to a summons for refusing to pay tithes. He was asked if the charge made by the proctor was just! To which he replied, all tithes were unjust, though there might be a law to sanction their exaction, and he could not conscientiously pay, for he considered paying tithes nothing less than giving a bounty to crime. Mr. R. was proceeding to prove his assertion, by stating that the persons originally authorised to receive tithes held that portion of the

public property in trust for certain purposes, but our tithe-mongers appropriated the whole to their own use, and therefore had betrayed the trust reposed in them, and breach of trust being a crime, paying tithes was in fact giving a premium to crime; but the Bench refused to hear Mr. R.'s observations at length, and urged him to compound with the proctor. To this he replied, that he durst as soon pay the tithe of his blood as the tithe of his property for such a vile purpose, and asserted that no honest man would dabble in tithes—this brought forth a growl from the lessee of prostituted property. Mr. R. would gladly have gone on to remark, that no human power had a right to exercise authority over the consciences of their fellow-creatures in matters of religion, if their tenets were not incompatible with the public welfare, and that it was an abuse of power to compel any person to contribute towards the support of any religious establishment, from the communion of which he conscientiously dissented; but he was silenced by the Bench distinctly stating that they sat to dispense justice according to existing laws, and not to make new ones. Something was said about the taxes, to which Mr. R. replied, that the tithe tax deserved the appellation of the tax of taxes; it was a tax on the conscience. He was told he would be compelled to pay. He said he would not be compelled to pay. He knew they might, if they durst, levy on the property, but it would be the last time, nor should he have another opportunity of practically protesting against the thing, for the tithe-extorting tax was near its last grasp. He was urged to act the Quaker, but declined, asserting that he could not dissemble, there was too much hypocrisy practised, and that if paying a penny, even by proxy, would free him, he would not pay it. He was then told he might withdraw.—Carlisle Journal.

WETHERELL will call this *high treason*, I suppose! He will see a pretty deal of it soon, unless the Government be wise enough to abolish the tithes by law.

AMUSING CORRESPONDENCE !*(From Sunday Times, March 4, 1832.)*

MR. HUNT AND THE BILL-BROKERS.—Messrs. Underwood and Chalk hold the acceptance of H. Hunt, Esq., M. P., for 57l 5s. 10d., due 28th of February. They wrote to him demanding payment, and received the following answer.

"Gentlemen,—I have received your elegant epistle, and I duly appreciate your impudent threat, which is couched in the true Change-alley slang. I have deposited it in my box of curiosities, as a genuine specimen of cockney ignorance and insolence.

"H. HUNT.

"March 1, 1832."

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent

by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPER CORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was grown; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have

had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow* if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family **FIRST** as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make **BREAD**, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-

flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,		PRICE.		
		£.	s.	d.
1	Far will plant nearly two rods	0	0	3½
1	Bunch will plant more than			
	SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6	Bunches will plant more than 40			
	rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12	Bunches will plant more than			
	80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25	Bunches will plant more than			
	160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

TWO-PENNY TRASH will not be published till next Saturday. It will be addressed to the people of **PRESTON** in one part, and to the people of **LEEDS** in another part; and it will contain, 1. Instruction for raising the **CORN**, and for raising **MANGEL-WURZEL**. 2. An account of **THE LIAR'S** curious works

in Hampshire about the corn. 3. A statement of the circumstances, explanatory of his calling MITCHELL A SPY, and of his accusing SMITHSON of ROASTING THE BIBLE. I have now made personal and particular inquiry into the whole of this matter.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

GLADWELL, J., Barking, Essex, shipwright.

BANKRUPTS.

DUCKETT, Sir G. Bart., Sir F. B. Morland, Bart., and T. T. Bernard, Pall-mall, bankers.

HEAD, J., & H. Marshall, Lawrence Pountney-place, & Battle-bridge, white lead-merchants.

JENKINS, J., Lostwithiel, Cornwall, cabinet-maker.

LAZARUS, J., Duke-st., Manchester-square, jeweller.

LEWIS, G., Vere-street, Oxford-street, broker.

MORGAN, T., St. Peter's-alley, Cornhill, wholesale ironmonger.

SMITH, T., Coleman-street, wine-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BROWNING, M. and Co., Edinburgh, iron-mongers.

SMITH, J., Tradeston of Glasgow, baker.

TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

HESLEDEN, R., Southampton, bone-merch.

KNIGHT, T., Haslemere, Surrey, draper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WEEKES, N., London-street, Fenchurch-street, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDRAS, W. S., Addlestone, Surrey, brewer.

BROOK, S. sen., Mirfield, Yorkshire, banker.

CARTER, E. and G., Northallerton, Yorkshire, fellmongers.

DAVIS, L., Mamhilad, Monmouthsh., miller.

DAY, W., Providence-buildings, New Kent-road, plumber.

JAMES, R., Bristol, mercer.

JAMIESON, R., and J. Sandiman, Ashton-under-Lyne, iron-founders.

JARVIS, E., Stoke-Damerel, Devonshire, sail-maker.

KEENE, G., Union-st., Southwark, victualler.

KEILY, R., Adel-court, Throgmorton-street, merchant.

MARSHALL, J., Norwood, potter.

SCRIVENER, H. N., Ratcliff-highway, pork-man.

WARD, J., Stowmarket, Suffolk, cattle-dealer.

WORTS, W., Colchester, medicine-vender.

WRIGHT, T., Birmingham, coach-builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MARCH 26.

—Our supplies have been, since this day se'n-night, of English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, English and Scotch malt and barley, and English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour, moderately good—Of rye, beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was well attended, both by London and country buyers; but, as the demands of most of these were limited, either from the effects of a decreased consumption, arising from a heavy stock of imported flour, the absence of families from town, for the purpose of avoiding the cholera infection, or the malting season drawing towards its close, the corn trade was throughout very dull; with wheat generally—though a few small very superior parcels may have supported the last week's currency, and its lower figures cannot be altered on account of improvement in quality—at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per qr.; with barley, oats, beans, peas, malt, and flour, at last week's prices.

Seeds, for spring sowing, are in somewhat increased demand, at a little improved prices; but in other kinds next to nothing is doing.

Wheat	56s. to 65s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	24s. to 33s.
— fine	35s. to 41s.
Peas, White	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers	38s. to 41s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	24s. to 27s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Feed	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 46s. to 50s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ...	48s. to 50s.
Pork, India, new ...	132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ...	—s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	84s. to 88s. per cwt.
— Carlow ...	84s. to 94s.
— Cork ...	88s. to 90s.
— Limerick ...	88s. to 90s.
— Waterford ...	80s. to 86s.
— Dublin ...	76s. to 78s.
Cheese, Cheshire ...	56s. to 76s.
— Gloucester, Double ...	56s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Single ...	48s. to 54s.
— Edam ...	48s. to 54s.
— Gouda ...	48s. to 52s.
Hams, Irish ...	58s. to 65s.

SMITHFIELD.—March 26.

This day's supply was throughout rather limited as to numbers, but of excellent quality, and fully, if not more than equal to the demand. The trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull; with the prime small Scots, &c. at, in some few instances, an advance of 2d. per stone; but with beef, generally, as also mutton, lamb, veal, and pork, at nothing beyond Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,623; sheep and lambs, 16,160; calves, 70; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, March 30.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull, at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. **ENGLISH GRAMMAR.**—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. **An ITALIAN GRAMMAR,** by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. **COTTAGE ECONOMY.**—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. **YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.**—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

5. **The ENGLISH GARDENER;** or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

6. **THE WOODLANDS;** or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

7. **PAPER AGAINST GOLD;** or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

8. **SERMONS.**—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

9. **TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY;** or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

10. **POOR MAN'S FRIEND.** A new edition. Price 8d.

11. **THE LAW OF TURNPIKES.** By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

12. **FRENCH GRAMMAR;** or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price bound in boards, 5s.

13. **THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.** Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

14. **MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE.** Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

15. ROMAN HISTORY, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar. Two Volumes. Price 13s. in boards.

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17. LETTERS FROM FRANCE: containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

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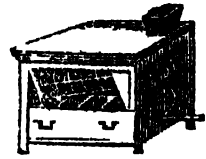
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END OF VOLUME I XXV.

